# HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION

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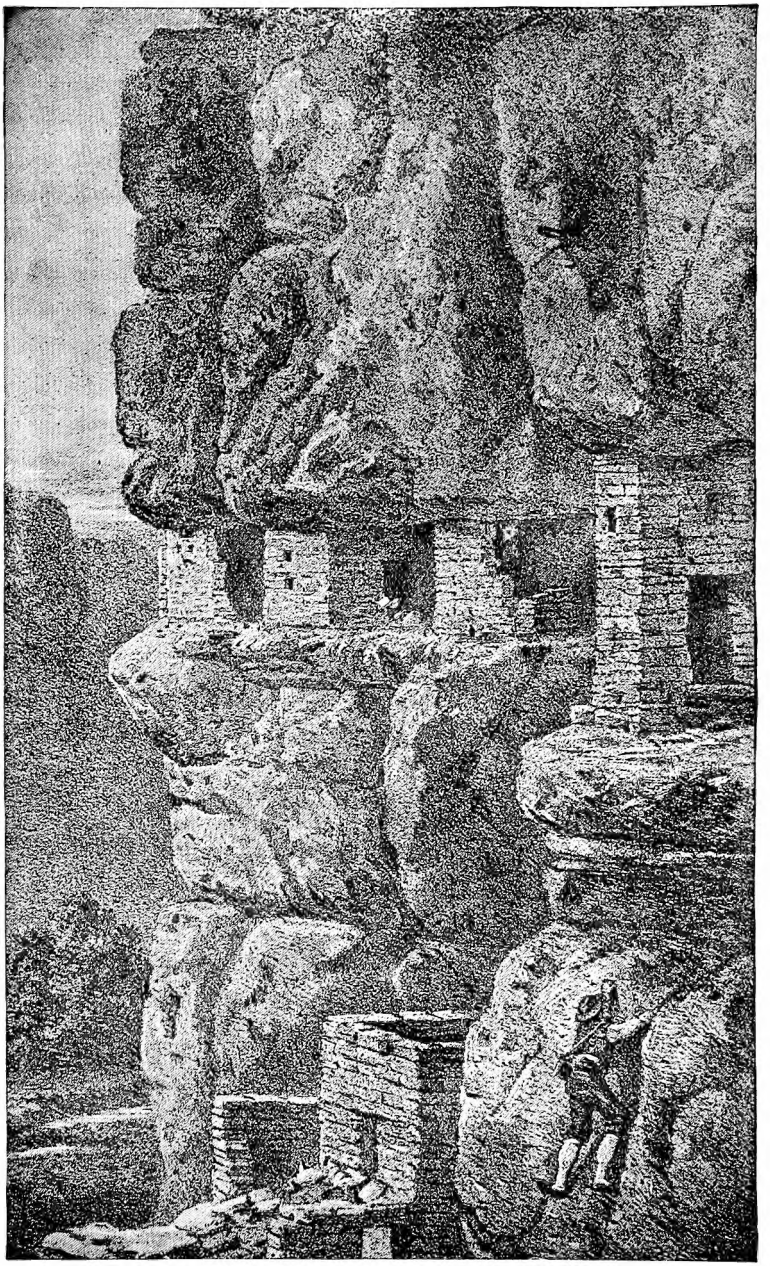

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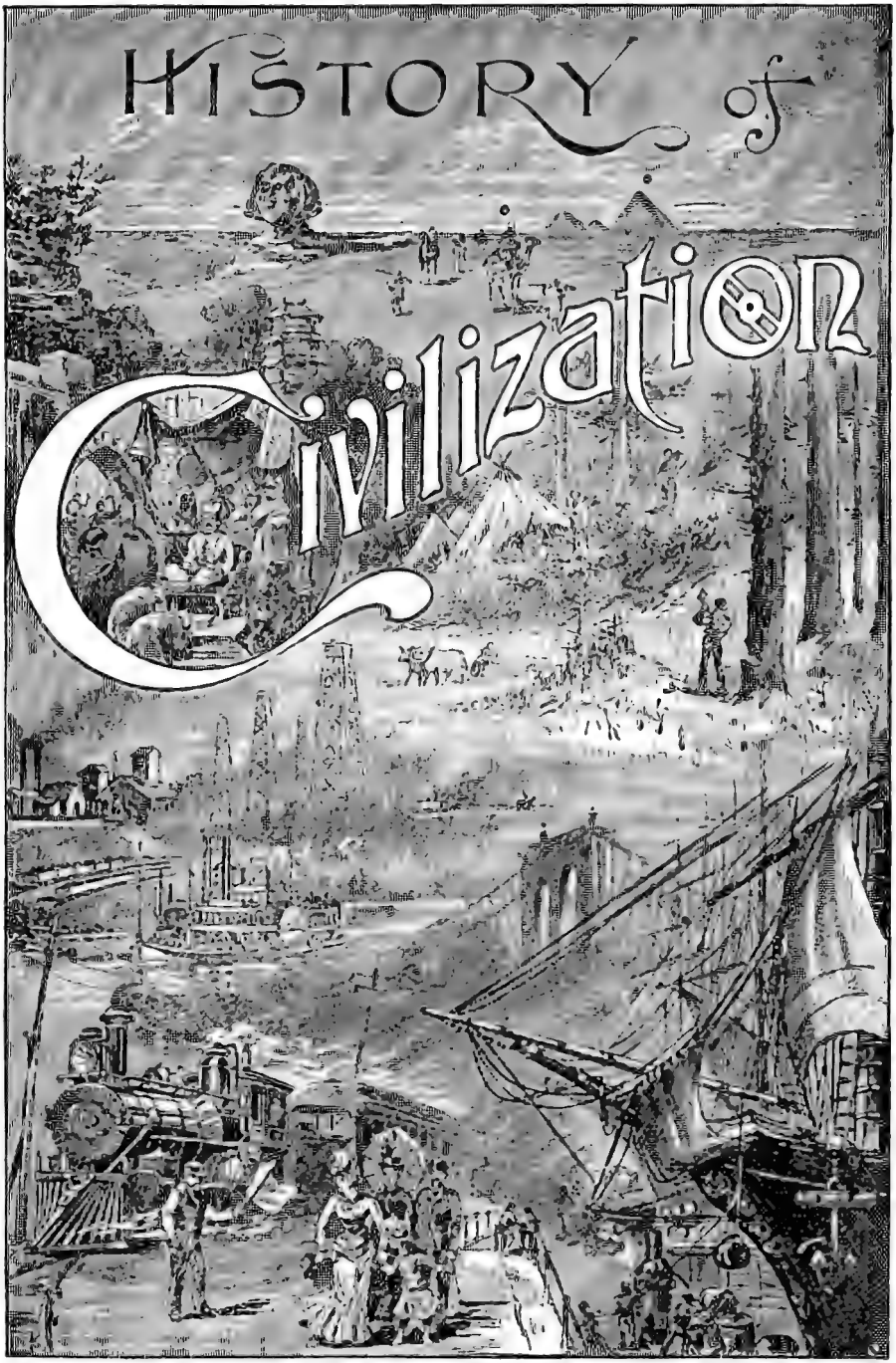
HISTORY of
Civilization

# HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION

VOL. I.

## The Prehistoric World; OR Vanished Races,

BY

E. A. ALLEN,

EACH OF THE FOLLOWING WELL-KNOWN SCHOLARS REVIEWED ONE OR MORE CHAPTERS AND MADE VALUABLE SUGGESTIONS.

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CINCINNATI:
CENTRAL PUBLISHING HOUSE.
1889.

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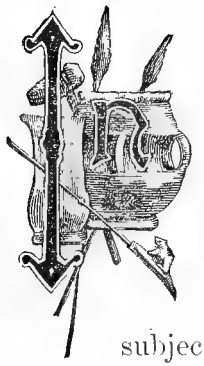
# PREFACE.



THIS series the author has sought to lay before the reader a detailed account of the development of culture, beginning with the most primitive times, and continuing the investigation down to modern eras. It is difficult to conceive of a more important subject. We live to-day in an enlightened state of society we call civilization. Nothing is more certain than that a few centuries back, the most important elements of our present civilization were unknown. Extending our observations further, we find grounds for believing that our present enlightened state has been developed from barbarism, and that barbarism itself is a growth out of savagism. We propose to trace as far as we can the steps which have thus served to conduct man from savagism to civilization.

The work is divided into four volumes, of which this book is the first. Our object in this volume is to give a description of life and times lying beyond the light of history. This is indeed an extensive subject, and calls for some explanation, both as to the general design of the work and what steps have been taken to secure correct information.

History is a word of varied import. In general, when we talk about history, we mean those accounts of past

events, times, and circumstances of which we have written records—not necessarily meaning alphabetical writing, because hieroglyphic records have furnished much true history. Hieroglyphic writing, which long preceded alphabetical writing, is itself a comparatively recent art. In no country do we find any records carrying us further back than a few thousand years before the Christian era. We have every reason to believe that the historical part of man's life on the globe is but an insignificant part of the whole. This historic period is not the same in all countries. It varies from a few centuries in our own country to a few thousands of years in Oriental lands. In no country is there a hard and fast line separating the historic period from the prehistoric. In the dim perspective of years the light gradually fades away, the mist grows thicker and thicker before us, and we at last find ourselves face to face with the unknown past.

This extensive period of time is not, however, utterly lost to us. We have simply to gather our information in some other way. Enthusiastic explorers, digging beneath the ashes of Vesuvius, have brought to light the remains of an entombed city. Of this city we indeed have historic records, but even if all such records had long since disappeared, we would gather much information as to the nationality of the inhabitants, their customs and manners, by a simple inspection of the relics themselves. Everywhere over the earth, entombed beneath the feet of the living, or crumbling on the surface, are the few relics of a past far antedating the relics of Pompeii. They are the proofs positive that some people inhabited the land in far away times.

Our object is to gather together the conclusions of the scientific world as to primitive man. We wish to see how

far back in the geological history of the globe we can find evidence of man's existence, and we desire to learn his surroundings and the manner of his life. There can be no more important field than for us to thus learn of the past—to read the story of primitive man, to walk with him the earth in ages long ago, with him to wage war on the huge animals of a previous epoch, to recede with him before the relentless march of the ice of the Glacial Age, to watch his advance in culture, to investigate whether there are any races of men now living which are the direct descendants of this primeval man.

The pleasantest part of an author's duty is to return thanks for assistance. After the manuscript was prepared with what care could be bestowed on it, it was determined to submit it to some of our best American scholars for criticism. Accordingly each of the gentlemen named on the title page were requested to review one or more chapters. As far as possible, each one was asked to review that chapter or chapters for which, either by reason of the position they held, or the interest they were known to take in such subjects, they would by common assent be acknowledged as eminently fitted to sit in judgment. In justice to them, it should be stated that they were not expected to concern themselves with the literary merits or demerits of the manuscript, but to criticise the scientific statements made therein. To each and all of these gentlemen the author would acknowledge his deep obligations.

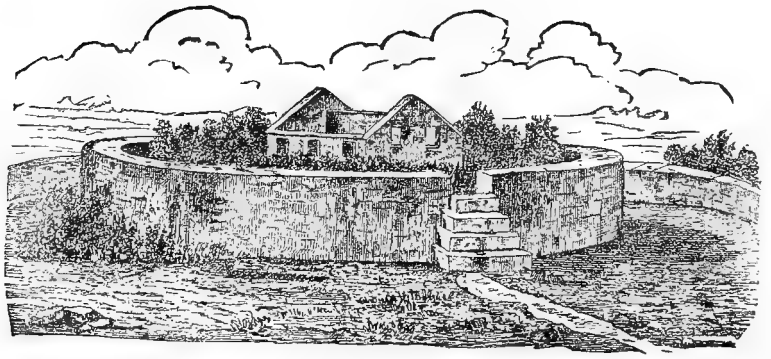
We are indebted to Rev. J. P. MacLean, the well-known archæologist, both for many valuable suggestions, and for the use of wood-cuts on pages 60, 138, and 396. We are also under obligation to Rev. S. D. Peet, editor of the *American Antiquarian*, for cuts illustrative of the

effigy mounds of Wisconsin. The officials of the SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, and the BUREAU OF ETHNOLOGY have our thanks for many cuts, for which credit is given them throughout the work.

Finally, the author wishes to say that it was the intention to make this work the joint production of the author and his partner, Mr. S. C. FERGUSON, but before any progress was made it was deemed advisable to change the programme. While the literary work has all been performed by the author, the many details necessarily connected with the publication of a book were attended to by Mr. FERGUSON.

E. A. ALLEN.

CINCINNATI, *January* 1, 1887.



Ruins of Cannar, Ancient Peru.

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THOU unrelenting Past!
Strong are the barriers round thy dark domain—
And fetters, sure and fast,
Hold all that enter thy unbreathing reign.

Far in thy realm, withdrawn,
Old empires sit in sullenness and gloom;
And glorious ages, gone,
Lie deep within the shadow of thy womb.

Full many a mighty name
Lurks in thy depths, unuttered, unrevered:
With thee are silent fame,
Forgotten arts, and wisdom disappeared.

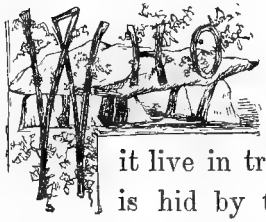
W. C. BRYANT.

# THE PREHISTORIC WORLD

## CHAPTER I.

### INTRODUCTION.

DIFFICULTIES of the subject—Lesson to be learned—The pursuit of knowledge—Recent Advances—Prehistoric past of the Old World—Of the New—Of Mexico and the South—The Isles of the Pacific—Similar nature of the relics—The wonders of the present age—History of popular opinion on this subject—The teachings of the Bible—Nature of the evidence of man's antiquity—Geology—Astronomy—Unfolding of life—Nature of our inquiry.



CAN read the book of the past? Who can tell us the story of Creation's morn? It is not written in history, neither does it live in tradition. There is mystery here; but it is hid by the darkness of by-gone ages. There is a true history here, but we have not learned well the alphabet used. Here are doubtless wondrous scenes; but our stand-point is removed by time so vast, the mist of years

is so thick before us, that only the ruder outlines can be determined. The delicate tracery, the body of the picture, are hidden from our eye. The question as to the antiquity and primitive history of man, is full of interest in proportion as the solution is beset with difficulties. We question the past; but only here and there a response is heard. Surely bold is he who would attempt, from the few data at hand, to reconstruct the history of times and people so far removed. We quickly become convinced that many centuries, and tens of centuries, have rolled away since man's first appearance on the earth. We become impressed with the fact, "that multitudes of people have moved over the surface of the Earth, and sunk into the night of oblivion, without leaving a trace of their existence: without a memorial through which we might have at least learned their names."[1]

To think of ourselves, is to imagine for our own nation an immortality. We are so great, so strong, surely nothing can move us. Let us learn humility from the past: and when, here and there, we come upon some reminder of a vanished people, trace the proofs of a teeming population in ancient times, and recover somewhat of a history, as true and touching as any that poets sing, let us recognize the fact, that nations as well as individuals pass away and are forgotten.

The past guards its secret well. To learn of it we must seek new methods of inquiry. Discouraged by the difficulties in the way, many have supposed it hidden from the present by a veil which only thickens as time passes. In the remains of prehistoric times they have failed to recognize the pages of history. They saw only monuments of ancient skill and perseverance: interesting sketches, not historical portraits. Some writers have held that we must give up the story

[1] Von Hellwald: "Smithsonian Report," 1866.

of the past, "whether fact or chronology, doctrine or mythology—whether in Europe, Asia, Africa, or America—at Thebes, or Palenque—on Lycian shore, or Salisbury plain—lost is lost, and gone is gone for evermore." Such is the lament of a gifted writer,[1] amongst the first to ponder over the mysteries of the past. At the present day, with better means at hand, a more hopeful view is taken. But here a caution is necessary; for, in attempting to reconstruct the history of primitive times, such is the interest which it inspires, that many allow imagination to usurp the place of research, and write in terms too glowing for history.[2]

The human mind is sleepless in the pursuit of knowledge. It is ever seeking new fields of conquest. It must advance: with it, standing still is the precursor of defeat. If necessary it invents new methods of attack, and rests not until it gains its objective point, or demonstrates the hopelessness of its quest. The world needs but be informed that on a given point knowledge is dim and uncertain, when there are found earnest minds applying to the solution of the mystery all the energies of their natures. All the resources of science are brought to bear; every department of knowledge is made to contribute of its store: and soon a mass of facts is established, and a new science is added to the department of human knowledge.

Thus, with our knowledge of prehistoric times, what so seemingly vain as to attempt to roll back the flight of time, and learn the condition of primeval man? All the light of ancient history makes but little impression on the night of time. By its aid we can but dimly see the outlines of the fortieth century back; beyond is gloom soon lost in night. But a few short years ago, men did not think it possible to gain further information. With the materials at hand, this could

[1] Palgrave. [2] Lubbock: "Prehistoric Times," p. 2.

not be done. The triumph of the intellect was simply delayed, not hopelessly repulsed. Geology was but just beginning to make good its claim to a place among the sciences. This unfolded to man the physical history of the world as read from the rocks, and deals with times so vast and profound that we speak no longer of years, but of ages. And with the aid of Geology grand secrets were wrung from the past, and new light was thrown on the manners and customs of primitive man. Thus the foundation for still another science was laid, called Archæology, or the science of Human Antiquities. These two sister sciences are the keys by whose aid we have not only acquired much information of a past that seemed a hopeless enigma—but, as Columbus on the waste of waters could perceive traces of land as yet invisible, so can the present seekers after knowledge trace the signs of a satisfactory solution of many of the great questions relating to the origin and history of the vanished races of mankind.

In whatever land we commence our investigations, we quickly come upon the evidences of an ancient life long antedating all historical information. Ancient Egypt has been a fruitful theme for the antiquarian's pen. The traveler has moralized over the ruins of her past greatness, and many pointed illustrations of national growth and decay have been drawn from her history.

Here was the seat of an ancient civilization, which was in the zenith of its power many centuries before Christ. The changes that have passed over the earth since that time are far more wonderful than any ascribed to the wand of the magician. Nations have come and gone, and the land of the Pharaohs has become an inheritance for strangers; new sciences have enriched human life, and the fair structure of modern civilization has arisen on the ruins of the past.

Many centuries, with their burden of human hopes and fears, have sped away into the past, since "Hundred-gated Thebes" sheltered her teeming population, where now are but a mournful group of ruins. Yet to-day, far below the remorseless sands of her desert, we find the rude flint-flakes that require us to carry back the time of man's first appearance in Egypt to a past so remote that her stately ruins become a thing of yesterday in comparison to them.

In the New World, mysterious mounds and gigantic earth-works arrest our attention. Here we find deserted mines, and there we can trace the sites of ancient camps and fortifications. The Indians of the prairies seem to be intruders on a fairer civilization. We find here evidences of a teeming population. In the presence of their imposing ruins, we can not think that nomadic savages built them. They give evidences rather of a people having fixed habitations, and seem to imply the possession of a higher civilization than that of the Indians. These questions demand solution; but how shall we solve the problem? Save here and there a deserted camp, or a burial mound, containing perhaps articles of use or adornment, all traces have vanished. Their earth-works and mounds are being rapidly leveled by the plow of modern times, and the scholar of the future can only learn from books of their mysterious builders.

In Mexico, and farther south, we find the ruins of great cities. To the student of antiquity, these far surpass in interest the ruined cities of the Nile or Euphrates valley. Babylon of old, with its walls, towers, and pleasure resorts, was indeed wonderful. In our own land cities, if not as ancient, yet fallen in more picturesque ruin, reward the labors of the explorer. Uxmal, Copan, and Palenque, invite our attention. Here are hieroglyphics in abundance, but

no Rosetta Stone supplies the key by whose aid a Champollion can unravel the mystery.

The luxuriant vegetative growth of the tropics, with its fierce storms, is every year hastening the obliteration of these ruins, and we must improve the time well, if we would learn from them what they have to say of the past.

The isles of the Pacific give evidence that, long before the dawn of authentic history, man lived there. Indeed, as the islands which gem that ocean, from their configuration and position, seem to be but the elevated plateaus and mountain peaks of a continent that has gone down beneath the blue wave of the Pacific, so, throughout Polynesia can be traced the fragmentary remains of a civilization, the greater portion of which has been completely buried by the waters of oblivion, leaving only here and there a trace to reconstruct, if we can, the entire structure.

The earliest remains of man are very similar in all lands. They consist of weapons of war and of the chase, implements of domestic use, and articles of personal adornment. Few and simple as they are, they are capable of imparting useful information as to early times. By their aid we become eye-witnesses of the daily life of primitive man. We learn that though lacking in almost every thing we consider essential for comfort and happiness, yet they were actuated by much the same hopes and fears as the men of the present age. The great burden of life was the same then as now. There was the same round of daily labor made necessary by the same ceaseless struggle for existence. Rude forts and warlike implements show there was the same encroachment of the strong on the weak as now.

This is a wonderful age in many respects. In none, however, more wonderful than in the wide-spread diffusion of knowledge. The ordinary people now understand more of

nature's secrets than the wise men of old. They are to-day interested in researches that a former generation would have relegated to the scholar and the man of leisure. No department of knowledge is retained for the researches of a favored few. The farmer, the mechanic, and the man of business are alike interested in a knowledge of prehistoric times. The rude implements of the past appeal to the curiosity of all. We arise from a study of the past with clearer ideas of man's destiny. Impressed with the great advancement in man's condition from the rude savagery of the drift, to the enlightened civilization of to-day, what may we not hope the advancement will be during the countless ages we believe a beneficent Providence has in store for his creature, man?

A history of the popular opinion of the antiquity of man is not only of interest, but should teach a lesson to all who think others are wrong because not holding the same views as they do. Hardly fifty years have passed since scientific men began to attribute to the human race an antiquity more remote than that assigned them by history and tradition. At first these views met with general opposition, much as did the theory of the present system of astronomy when it was first proclaimed. We laugh now at the ignorant fears and prejudices used to combat both.

It was claimed that the Bible taught that man had lived on the globe scarcely six thousand years. The Bible is the book to which the Anglo-Saxon mind clings with the greatest reverence. The memories of childhood are associated with its pages, and its very appearance recalls the prayers of long ago. It is not strange then that the Christian world guards with jealous care against any thing which may be thought to weaken the force of its statements.

But it is human nature to go to extremes: and, when

we give our support to one way of thinking, we find it difficult to be patient with those of the contrary opinion.

Now, the researches of some of the most eminent men and learned divines have amply shown, that there are no data given in the Scriptures on which to base an estimate as to the antiquity of man. Happily the Christian mind no longer shrinks from the conclusions reached by the scientist: and, indeed, it is the contemplation of the stupendous periods of Geological times, and the infinite greatness of the works of Creation as disclosed by Astronomy, with the extreme lowness of man's first condition as made evident by Archæology, that lend new force to the words, "What is man, that thou art mindful of him!"

The evidences on which we predicate an extreme antiquity for man are necessarily cumulative. It is not from one source alone that we obtain information, but from many. Eminent men in nearly every department of knowledge have lent their aid to the elucidation of this subject. It can only be understood by those who will fairly weigh the facts that modern discoveries have unrolled before their eyes. There are many who have not done this, and are consequently unable to project their mental vision so far back into the very night of time, as is now demanded for the beginning of man's first appearance on the earth. And, indeed, so enormously has this period been extended—so far back does it require us to go—that even the most enlightened investigator may well recoil in dismay when he first perceives the almost infinite lapse of years that are required by his calculation since the creation of man.

At this day the scholar must be ready to explain the steps by which he reaches his conclusions. Not necessarily explaining the minutiæ of his journey hither, but the main outlines of his course. This seems to call for a slight out-

line of Geology. The animal and vegetable tribes which have come and gone upon the earth, following each other like the shadows of passing clouds on a Summer's day, have left their remains in the rocks which at that time were forming. A close investigation of these remains shows that they form the record book of nature, wherein we are permitted to read somewhat of her secrets. This had long been a sealed book to man; but science, as we have seen, constantly extending her domain, at length taught him the alphabet.

And the Geologist now unfolds the past age of our world with a variety of detail, and a certainty of conclusion well calculated to inspire us with grateful admiration.

It is no longer a question that many ages must have rolled away, during which our world was totally unfit for life of any kind, either animal or vegetable.

The nebular theory of Laplace, as modified by the modern astronomers, so satisfactorily explains many of the phenomena of the solar system, that it takes rank almost as a demonstrated fact. According to the terms of this theory, our Earth, now so dependent on the sun for light and warmth, was itself a glowing orb, and as a bright star radiated its light and heat into space. Grand conception, and probably true. It is now useless to speculate as to how many cycles of almost infinite years had begun and ended, before Earth's fading fires gave notice that they must soon expire in night.

The stages through which the Earth passed in turn await the sun, save that there is no further beneficent luminary to give him light and heat: when time shall have quenched his fiery glow, death and night shall reign supreme, where now is life and light.

Time is long, and nature never hurries. She builds for infinite years, and recks not the time of building. The human mind is far too feeble to comprehend the duration of

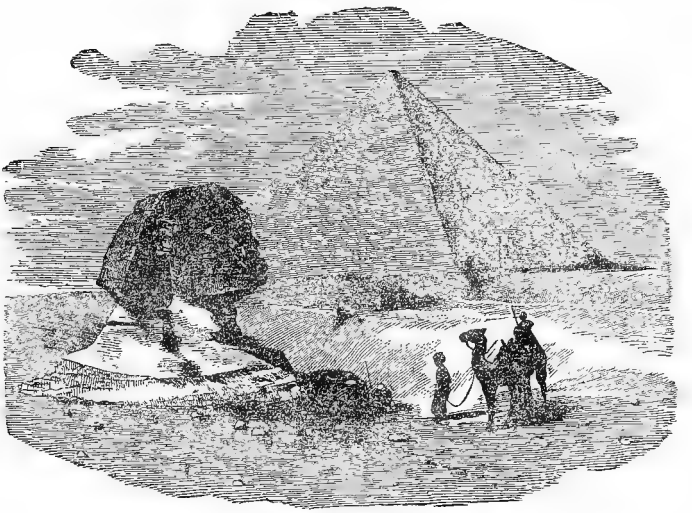
time that sped away and was gone ere the slowly falling temperature of the Earth admitted the formation of a crust over her surface. When that came, the first great scene was closed. The star had expired, the planet rolled in her annual course around the still glowing central sun. Now came the formative age of the world, when the great continents were outlined.

The atmosphere gradually freed itself from its weight of water-vapor, the rains descended, and the ocean took form and contour. We are concerned only with the outlines of Geology, not with its details. It is full of the most interesting facts, but is foreign to our present purpose. We will only say, there is a marked progression in the scale and importance of life forms.

The lower forms of animals appear first to be followed in time by the higher. It is true that some forms have survived through all the changes of Geological time to the present: yet, speaking generally, some forms of life are peculiar to each age, and the general phase of animal life is different with each period. They thus form epochs in the history of the world as read from the rocks, and though the beginning and ending of each age may blend by insensible gradations with that of the preceding and following, yet, taken as a whole, we observe in each such singularities of form and structure as to give name to each particular age.

In the fullness of time man appears; and it is our pleasant task to trace the evidence of his primitive state, his growth in culture, and his advancement made before the dawn of history. Our inquiry, then, is as to his prehistoric state. We use this term in the same sense as Dr. Wilson uses it: that is, to express the whole period disclosed to us by means of archæological evidence, as distinguished from what is known through historical records. We can not doubt

but that this includes by far the largest portion of man's existence. The time embraced within historical records, though different in different portions of the world, is but a brief period in comparison to the duration of time since he first went forth to possess the Earth. If we can make plain to our readers that man has lived in the world an extremely long time, going back indeed to a former Geological age—that his first state was very low and rude—that he has risen to his present high estate by means of his own exertions continued through long ages—and from this form a prophecy of a golden age to come in the yet distant future, we shall feel that we have not written in vain.

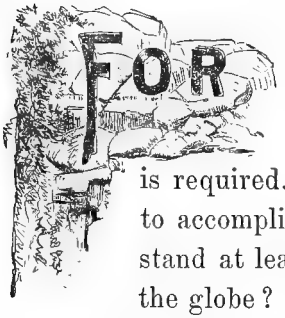


The Sphinx.

## CHAPTER II.

### EARLY GEOLOGICAL PERIODS.[1]

NECESSITY of a general acquaintance with the outlines of Geology—A time in which there was no life possible on the globe—Length of this period—On the formation of rocks—The record imperfect—The three great periods in animal life on the globe—Paleozoic age—Animal and vegetable life of this period—The Mesozoic age—Animal and vegetable life of this period—Advance noted—Abundance of reptilian life—First appearance of birds—Nature's methods of work—The Cenozoic age—Geological outline—Sketch of the Eocene age—Of the Miocene age—What is sufficient proof of the presence of man—Discussion of the Thenay flints—The Pliocene age—Animal and vegetable life of this age—Was man living during this age?—Discussion of this subject—Summing up the evidence—Conclusion.




A CLEAR understanding of questions relating to early man, a more or less extensive acquaintance with Geology is required. This is by no means a difficult task to accomplish. What so interesting as to understand at least the outlines of the history of life on the globe? To see how, following a definite plan, the vast continents have grown to their present size and form; to see how animal and vegetable life have evolved successively higher and higher forms; to see where in this wondrous drama of creation, this strange unfolding of life, the first faint, indecisive traces of man's presence are to be found; to learn what great changes in climate, in Geogony, and in life,

[1] The manuscript of this chapter was submitted to Prof. Winchell, of the University of Michigan, for criticism.

had occurred before man's appearance, let us pass in brief review the history of early geological periods.

As we have already stated, there must have been a very long period of time during which no life was possible on the globe. Of this era we know but little; for we find no strata of rocks of an earlier date than we know life, in its simplest forms, to have existed.[1] Still we are not less confident of the existence of this era, and the mind can dimly comprehend the scene, when a nearly shoreless ocean surged around the globe.[2]

As to the extent of time during which there was no life, we have no means of determining. That it was almost infinitely long is made apparent by the researches of eminent scholars on the cooling of lava. Toward the close of this extended period of time faint traces of life appear. Not life as we are apt to think of it. No nodding flowers were kissed by the sunshine of this early time. The earliest forms of flowerless plants, such as sea-weeds, and in dry places possibly lichens covering the rocks, were the highest forms of vegetable life. Animal life, if present, for the fact is denied by some, occurs in the very lowest form, merely structureless bodies, with no especial organs of sense, or nutrition: and their motion consisting simply in protruding and withdrawing hair-like processes.[3] Such was the beginning of life. This vast period of time, which includes the beginning, is known among geologists as Archean time.

From the close of this age, the history of life properly commences. It might be well to explain the means which the geologist uses to interpret the history of the globe. It is now understood that the forces of nature have always produced the same results as they do now. From the very

[1] Dana's "Manual of Geology," p. 146. [2] Ibid., p. 147.
[3] Nicholson's "Manual of Zoölogy," p. 59.

earliest time to the present, rocks have been forming. There, where conditions were favorable, great beds of limestone, formed from shells and corals, ground up by the action of the sea[1]—in other places, massive beds of sandstone or of sand, afterward consolidated into sandstone—were depositing. On the land surface, in places, great beds of vegetable *débris* were being converted into coal. Now we can easily see how the remains of organic bodies, growing at the time of the formation of these beds, should be preserved in a fossil form. Limestone rocks are thickly studded in places with all sorts of marine formations. Coal fields reveal wonders of early vegetative growth. From sandstone rocks, and shaly beds, we learn strange stories of animal life at the time they were forming. From a careful study of these remains, together with the formation in which they occur, not only in one locality but all over the earth, geologists have gradually unfolded the history of life on the globe. It is admitted that, at best, our knowledge in that direction is fragmentary. This arises from errors in observation as well as that fossil formations are rare, or at least localities where they are known to exist are but few. So our knowledge of the past is as if we were examining some record from which pages, chapters, and even volumes, have been extracted.

In consequence of this imperfect record we can not, as yet, trace a gradual successive growth from the low forms of animal and plant life, that characterized the closing period of Archean time, to the highly organized types of the present. The record suddenly ceases, and when we again pick up the thread we are surrounded by more advanced types, higher forms of life. Though we may hope that future discoveries will do much toward completing the records, we can not

[1] Dana's "Manual of Geology," p. 74.

PALEOZOIC FOREST

hope that they will ever really be perfected. So, from our present stand-point, the history of life on the globe falls naturally into three great divisions.[1] This is not only true of one country, but of all. This is no more than we might expect, when we reflect that nature's laws are universal in their action, and that the world, as a whole, has been subjected to the same set of changes.

The period following on after Archean time is called, by geologists, Paleozoic time.

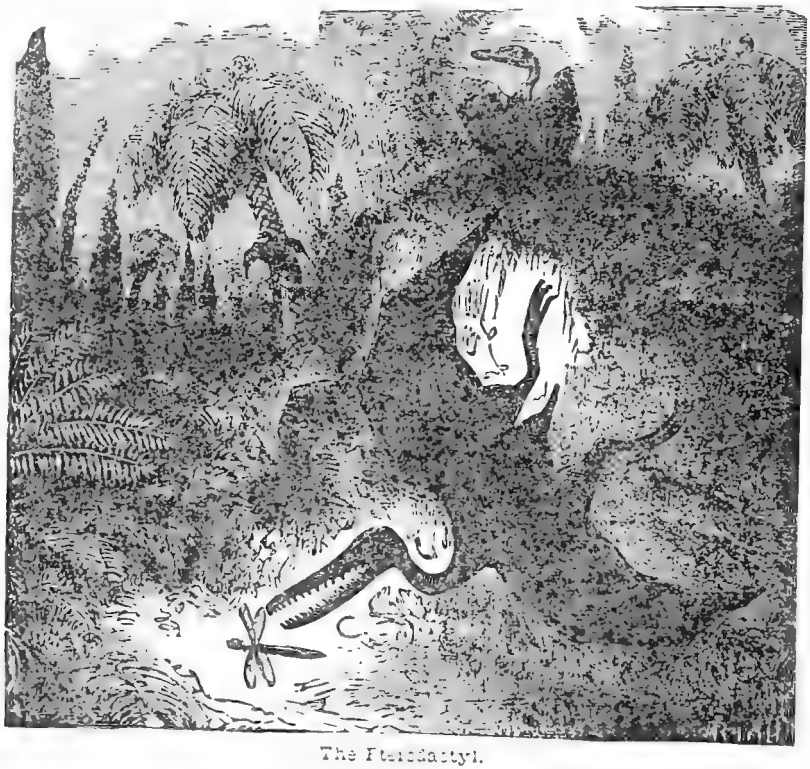
During the long course of time embraced in this age, the forms of life present wide differences from those of existing time.

This period produced the great beds of coal we use to-day. But the vegetation of the coal period would present strange features to our eyes. The vegetation commenced with the lowest orders of flowerless plants, such as sea-weeds; but, before it was brought to a close, there was a wonderful variety and richness of plants of the flowerless or Cryptogamic division. In some of the warmest portions of the globe, we have to-day tree-ferns growing four or five feet high. During the closing part of the Paleozoic time, there were growing all over the temperate zone great tree-ferns thirty feet or so in height. Some varieties of rushes in our marshes, a foot or two in height, had representatives in the marshes of the coal period standing thirty feet high, and having woody trunks.[2] Near the close of the Paleozoic time, vegetation assumed a higher form of life. Flowering plants are represented. Pines were growing in the coal measures.

In animal life a similar advance is noted. The class of animals having no backbone, or invertebrate animals, were

[1] Nicholson's "Manual of Zoölogy," p. 42.
[2] Dana's "Manual of Geology," p. 323.

largely represented. But, toward the close of the Paleozoic time, we meet with representatives of the backbone family. The waters swarmed with fishes.[1] Besides these, there were amphibians;[2] and reptiles in the closing portions.[3]



The Pterodactyl.

Thus we see what a great advance was made in life during this period. The forms of life during the early stages of this age were inferior in this, also, that they were all water species.[4] But, before it closes, we have a rich and varied terrestrial vegetation, and also air-breathing animals. The class Mammalia, to which man belongs, had no representative on the earth during the extended Paleozoic time.

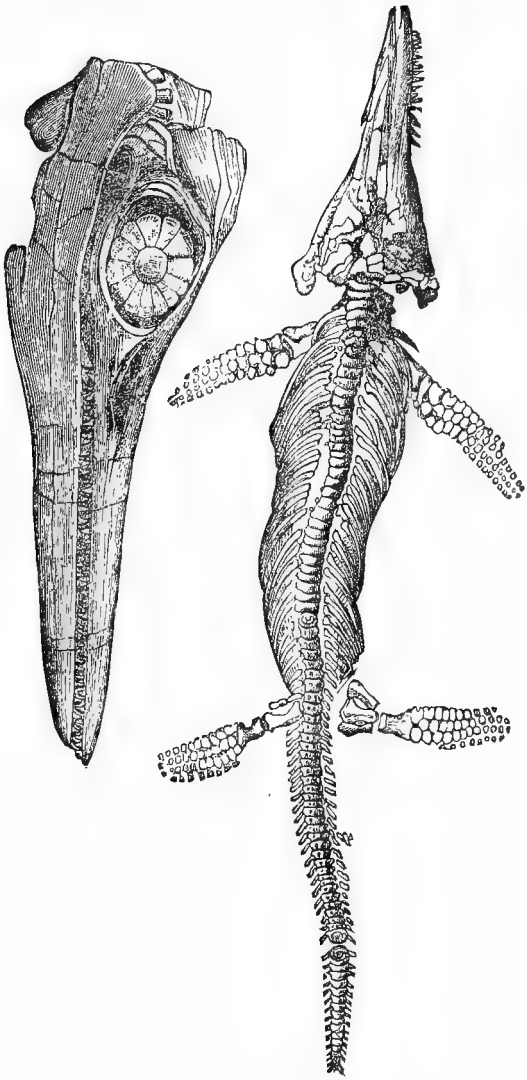
[1] Nicholson's "Zoölogy," p. 402.
[2] Dana's "Geology," p. 302.
[3] Dawkin's "Early Man in Britain," p. 6.
[4] Dana's "Geology," p. 382.

We can easily see, from the foregoing, how appropriately this period has been named that of old life forms. In imagination we can recall a scene of this old age. The air is sultry and full of vapors. The soil seems hot and steaming. This is a veritable forest, but we see none of the beautiful flowers which we associate with tropical vegetation to-day. In the branches of the graceful tree-ferns, we will look in vain for birds. They were yet far in the future. Neither were there any of the higher orders of animals present. Not a single representative of the great class of mammals enlivened the depths of the forest. There were fishes in the waters, but not the fishes of to-day. Some true reptiles and amphibians disported themselves in swampy jungles, but they were unimportant. Almost the only sound to break the stillness, was the hum of marsh-loving insects, the whistling of the wind, and the roar of the tempests, which we may well believe raged with the more than tropic severity of the present.[1]

The time at last came for the dawning of a new era. Vast changes had been taking place in the geography of both continents. The region to the south-west of the Green Mountains was upturned. The Alleghany Mountains were formed, and the region east of the Mississippi River became part of the stable land of the continent.[2] In Europe, nearly as great changes occurred. The conditions of life must have been greatly modified by these geographical changes. The life-forms bear testimony to this changed condition. Old forms die away, and are succeeded by those approaching more nearly our own times. The name of this period is the Mesozoic time, or the period of middle life forms.[3] It is instructive to notice the steady advance in the type of

[1] Haywood's, Heer's, "Primeval World of Switzerland."
[2] Dana's "Man. Geology," p. 395. [3] Nicholson's "Man. Zoölogy," p. 42.

life, both animal and vegetable. The abundant flowerless vegetation of the coal formation of the preceding epoch dwindles away. But the flowering trees increase in number and importance until, in the closing period of Mesozoic time, we have trees with deciduous leaves. A great many of our forest trees had representatives in the forests of that epoch.

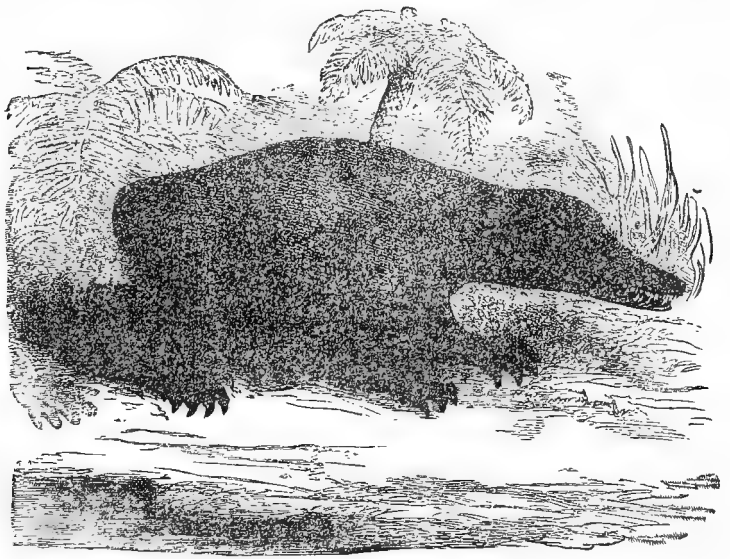


Ichthyosauri.

Palms and species like the big tree of California were growing side by side with species akin to our own common trees. But in the animal world there were many strange forms. This was the age of reptiles. They domineered on the land, in the air, and in the sea. On the land there stalked huge reptiles fifty and sixty feet long, and, when standing erect, at least thirty feet high.[1] Some of these huge

[1] Marsh: "American Assoc. Rep.," 1877.

creatures were carnivorous, living on other animals. Others fed on the foliage of trees. In the air, huge reptilian bats, veritable flying dragons with a spread of wings from ten to twenty feet, disported themselves.[1] In the sea there swam great reptilian whales, seals, and walruses.[2] There was a marvelous abundance of reptilian life. At the present day, there are not more than six species of reptiles in the whole world having a length of over fifteen feet, and not more than



The Labyrinthodon.

eighteen species exceeding ten feet in length. But from one limited locality, representing but one era of this age in England, there have been discovered four or five species of carnivorous reptiles twenty to fifty feet long, ten or twelve species of crocodiles, lizards, and swimming reptiles from ten to sixty feet long—besides multitudes of great flying reptiles and turtles. Doubtless similar scenes of animal life were everywhere represented.

[1] Marsh: "American Assoc. Rep.," 1877.

[2] Dawkin's "Early Man in Britain," p. 6.

Birds made their first appearance during the Mesozoic time, and here we obtain a clear view of nature's methods of work. There is no longer a doubt but that the first birds were simply modified reptiles. The first bird had a long jointed tail, and a bill well supplied with formidable teeth.[1] It was during this period that the first representative of the class Mammalia, to which man belongs, appears.[2] It is in the rocks of this era that we meet with remains of marsupials, the order to which opossums belong. This is the lowest of the Mammalian class. To the class Mammalia belong the most highly organized animals. They have been the ruling animals since the close of Mesozoic time. We must now watch their development with especial care. For this brief review, as far as it has gone, has shown a steady and gradual progress in life forms, the lower invariably preceding the higher. We therefore feel that it will be vain to seek for any trace of man until we find undoubted proofs of the existence of all the forms of animals below him. The last great division of time is called Cenozoic.[3] This means new life forms. In this age, the forms of life are much nearer our own. As it was some time during this epoch when man makes his appearance, we deem it best to go into more detail, and give the subdivisions of this period. It has been amply sufficient to give simply the outlines of the other periods.

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[1] Nicholson's "Manual of Zoology," pp. 419 and 504.

[2] When we talk of first appearance, we mean the discovery of remains. All who believe in the doctrine of evolution, know that the class Mammalia must have appeared early in Paleozoic times. Thus, Mr. Wallace says, "Bats and whales—strange modifications of mammals—appear perfectly well developed in the Eocene. What countless ages back must we go for the origin of these groups—the whales from some ancestral carnivorous animal, the bats from the insectivora!" and even then we have to seek for the common origin of these groups at far earlier periods. "So that, on the lowest estimate, we must place the origin of the Mammalia very far back in Paleozoic times." ("Island Life," p. 201.)

[3] This word is also spelled Kainozoic, and Cainozoic. We follow Dana, p. 140.

In order to fix more clearly the sequence of life, we will give an outline showing the periods we have reviewed, and also the subdivisions of the Cenozoic time, which we are now to examine with more care.

OUTLINE.

LIFE.

- **Archæan Time.** — The Beginning. Includes the long lapse of time when the globe could not support life, but towards its close faint traces of life, both animal and vegetable appeared.
- **Paleozoic Time.** — The Period of Old Life Forms. Forests of flowerless trees; but pines grew in the coal measures. Animal life largely invertebrate; but amphibians and reptiles among the vertebrate appear at the close.
- **Mesozoic Time.** — The Period of Middle Life Forms. Flowering trees increasing in number and importance. Deciduous trees make their appearance. Animal life largely reptilian. The class Mammalia represented by marsupials.
- **Cenozoic Time.**
  - Tertiary, or Age of Mammals.
    - Eocene.
    - Miocene.
    - Pliocene.
  - Quaternary, or Age of Man.
    - Glacial or Pleistocene.
    - Recent.

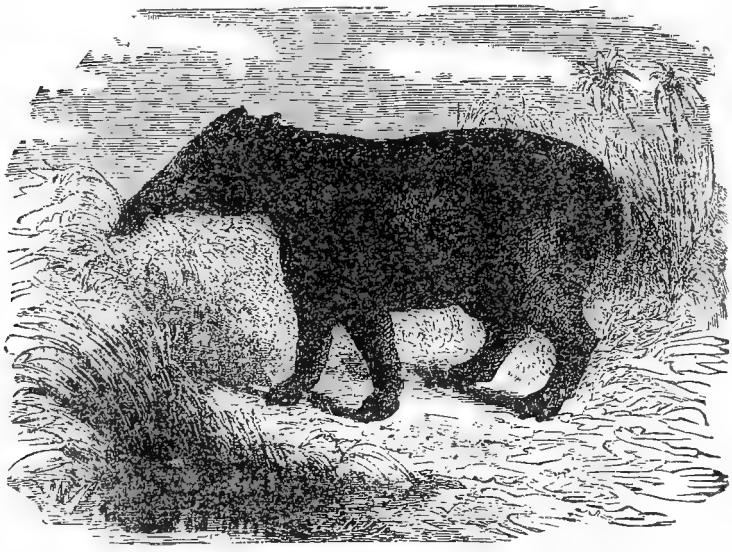
At the close of the Mesozoic time, great elevations of land took place in both America and Europe, especially in the northern portions.[1] This could not fail to have a great effect on life, both animal and vegetable.

During the Eocene, or first division of the Tertiary Age, we have simply to note the steady progress of life. There were forests of species of oaks, poplars, maples, hickories,

[1] Dana, "Manual of Geology," p. 488.

and other common trees, and others now found only in tropical regions. Palm trees were growing in the upper Missouri region of the United States. And England was decidedly a land of Palms, as no less than thirteen species are known to have been growing there. Cypresses, yews, and pines graced the scene.[1] Our special interest centers, however, in the mammals of this epoch.

In the preceding epoch marsupials only were represented. But in beds of the middle and closing portions of the Eo-



The Paleotherium.

cene period we meet with a sudden increase of Mammalian life. Whale-like animals were especially abundant in the seas; and on our Western plains were animals like the tapirs of India, and rhinoceros-like animals as large as elephants[2] but having no trunks, and diminutive little animals not larger than foxes, from which have come our horses. Europe also

[1] Dawkin's "Early Man in Britain," p. 28.

[2] Many of these animal forms were common during the early Eocene. (Winchell.)

had a varied Mammalian fauna. There were numerous hog-like animals. Animals, like the tapirs of tropical Asia and America, wandered in the forests and on the banks of the rivers. Herds of horse-like animals, about the size of Shetland ponies, fed on the meadows.[1] Animals that chew the cud were present, or at least had near representatives.[2]

Among the flesh-eating animals were creatures resembling foxes, wolverines, and hyenas.[3] This shows what a great advance had been made. But, besides all these, we are here presented with representatives of the order of Quadrumana, or four-handed animals. Several genera of lemurs are found in both America and Europe.

Now the Quadrumana are the order below man. Therefore it seems that, in the Eocene period, all the forms of life *below* man are represented. The time seems to be at hand when we can look, with some confidence, for traces of the presence of man himself. We must therefore be more cautious in our investigations.

The epoch following on after the Eocene is designated as the Miocene. We must remember that, though recent in a geological sense, yet it is immensely remote when measured by the standard of years. We must inquire into all the surroundings of this far away time. The geographical features must have been widely different from the present.

In the first place, the elevation of land to the north must have been sufficient to have connected the land areas of the Northern Hemisphere—North America, with Asia[4] and Greenland; and this latter country must have been united with Iceland, and, through the British Islands, with Europe. But, to compensate for this land mass to the north,

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[1] Dawkin's "Early Man in Britain," p. 29.
[2] Dana, "Geology," p. 517.
[3] Dawkin's "Early Man in Britain," p. 32.
[4] Marsh: "American Assoc. Rep.," 1877.

large portions of Central and Southern Europe were beneath the waves.[1] The proof of this extended mass of land is to be found in the wide distribution of similar animals and plants in the Miocene time. All the chief botanists are agreed that the north Polar region was the center from which plants peculiar to the Eocene and Miocene epochs spread into both Europe and America.[2] We may mention that the famous big trees of California are simply remnants of a wide-spread growth of these trees in Miocene times. They can be found in a fossil state at various places in British America, in Greenland, and in Europe. They are supposed to have originated somewhere in the north, and spread by these land connections we have mentioned into both Europe and America. But this is not the only tree that grew in the Miocene forests of both continents. The magnolia, tulip-tree, and swamp cypress are other instances.[3] Eleven species, growing in the Rocky Mountain regions in Eocene times, found their way to Europe in the Miocene times,[4] driving before them the plants of a tropical growth that had hitherto flourished in England. Now this implies land connection between the two continents. Furthermore, animals both large and small are found common to the two countries.[5] The climate over what is now the North Temperate Zone, and even further north, must have been delightful. There is ample testimony to this effect in the rich vegetative remains over wide areas.

In Spitzbergen, within twelve degrees of the pole, where now a dwarf willow and a few herbaceous plants form the only vegetation, and the ground is most of the time covered with snow and ice, there were growing, in Mi-

[1] Haywood's Heer's "Primeval World of Switzerland," p. 296.
[2] Dawkin's "Early Man in Britain," p. 20.
[3] Ibid., p. 43.
[4] Dana's "Manual of Geology," p. 498.
[5] Dawkin's "Early Man in Britain," p. 42.

ocene times, no less than ninety-five species of trees, including yews, hazels, elders, beech, elms, and others.[1] But it is in the Miocene forests of the continent of Europe where we meet with evidence of a singularly mild climate.

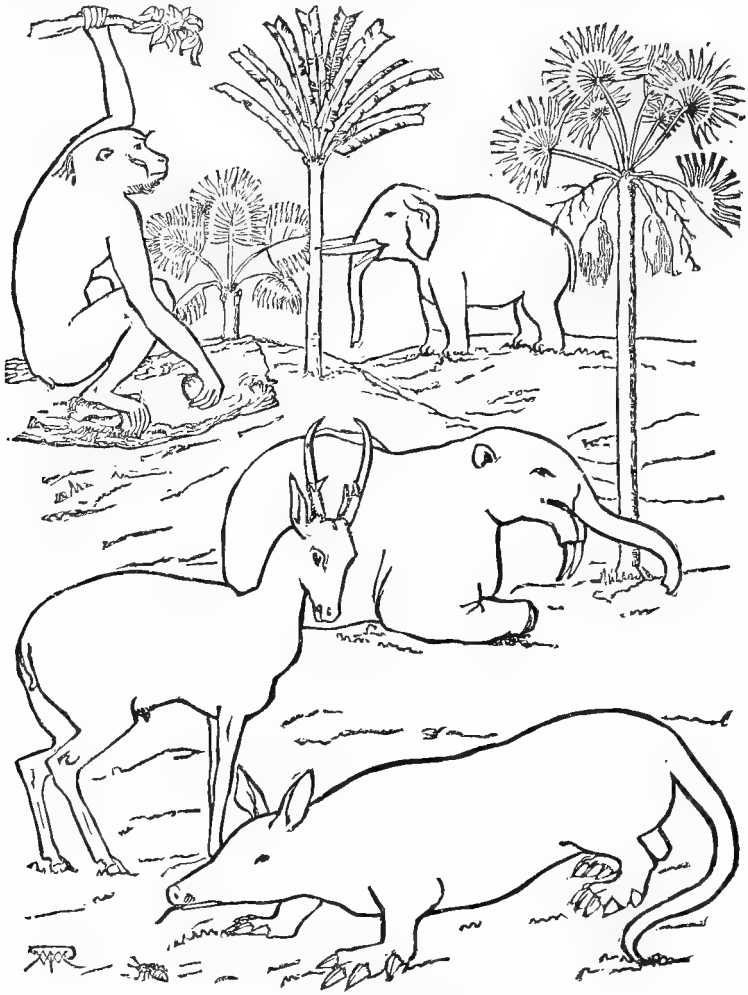
There were at least eleven species of palms growing in Switzerland; and one variety of them grew as far north as Northern Germany.[2]

We can not give a list of all the species. On the one hand, there were elms, willows, poplars, oaks, and beeches, thus far similar to the forest growth of temperate regions. Mingled with these were forests of trees like the tulip-tree, swamp cypress, and liquid amber or sweet gum of the southern part of the United States—plants whose home is in the warm and moist regions of the earth. But there were also representatives of the tropical regions—such as fig-trees, cinnamon-trees, and camphor-trees: these are found growing now in tropical countries. Fruit-trees of the cherry, plum, and almond species were also to be seen. Prof. Heer points out how all this should convince us that a large part of Europe, in the Miocene Age, possessed a climate not unlike that of the Madeira or Canary Islands to-day. He calls especial attention to the fact that these trees were nearly all of evergreen species, and that a severe winter would destroy them. He finds one hundred and thirty-one species of the Temperate Zone—species that can stand a moderate amount of cold, but not very hot and dry climates. He finds eighty-five species of tropical plants that could not possibly live where the Winters are severe. Mingled with these were nearly three hundred species whose natural home is in the warm, temperate portions of the earth. The only way you can explain this motley assemblage of trees is, to suppose

[1] Dana's "Manual of Geology," p. 514.

[2] Haywood's Heer's "Primeval World of Switzerland," p. 334.

that in what is now Europe was a climate free from extremes, allowing the trees to put forth flowers and fruits all



Miocene Mammals.

the year round. "Reminding us," says Prof. Heer, "of those fortunate zones where Nature never goes to rest."[1]

Let us now inquire as to the animals that roamed through

[1]Haywood's Heer's "Primeval World of Switzerland."

these great forests we have been describing. The Miocene period extended over a long lapse of time, and considerable change took place among the animals belonging to the different parts of this age. We will only give a general outline for the whole period. The marsupials lingered along into the early stages of this period, and then disappeared from Europe. The rhinoceros were present in the early stages, and continued through the entire age. We meet in this period animals of the elephant kind, two species, the mastodon and deinotherium. Antelopes and gazelles wandered in vast troops over the plains of Hungary, Spain, and Southern France. Carnivorous animals resembling tigers and hyenas found abundance of animal food. Herds of horse-like animals fed on the rich herbage of the meadows. The birds were largely represented. In the woods were to be seen flocks of gayly feathered paroquets and trogons. On the plains secretary-birds hunted the serpents and reptiles, which furnished them food—and eagles were on the watch for their prey. Cranes waded in the rivers for fish. Geese, herons, and pheasants must have been abundant.

Our main interest centers in the order Quadrumana. We must remember that this order appeared in the Eocene. Several species were present in the Miocene. They wandered in the forests of France, Switzerland, Germany, and Italy, and doubtless found abundant food in the figs and bread-fruit, walnuts, almonds, dates, and other nuts growing there.[1] One of the most important is regarded as belonging to the same genus as the Gibbons.[2] This is the genus which has been sometimes regarded as making a nearer approach to man than any other monkey.[3] Others, however, consider it as

[1] Dawkin's "Early Man in Britain," pp. 57 and 64.
[2] Ibid., p. 57: also, Haywood's Heer's "Primeval World of Switzerland."
[3] Nicholson's "Manual of Zoölogy," p. 605.

belonging to an extinct family.[1] In addition to this species there were at least three other species: thus there was no absence of simian life in the Miocene.[2]

From the sketch we have thus far drawn of the Miocene Age, it seems to have been a very favorable one in every respect. One writer[3] affirms, that "the world never experienced a more beautiful period." And indeed it seems as if the facts bear out this statement. A genial, temperate climate was the rule, even to high northern latitudes. We need not doubt but that there were grassy plains, wooded slopes, and rolling rivers. Was man present to take advantage of all these favorable surroundings? Did he wander through the evergreen forests, and hunt the deer, antelope, and hogs—the hipparions, and mastodons, and deinotheres—then so numerous?[4] We know of no inherent improbability of his existence at that time. An ape belonging to a highly organized genus was then living in Europe. Every condition considered necessary for the primeval Garden of Eden was then satisfied. Let us stop for a minute and examine the nature of the evidence considered sufficient to prove the presence of man during any of the past geological ages.

Should we be so fortunate as to find portions of the bones of the human skeleton in a geological formation in such positions that they could not possibly have been introduced there since the deposition of the containing bed, it would of course prove that man was at least as old as the formation itself. But it happens that human remains in beds of a previous geological age are very rare. Indeed, human remains in formations of the Pleistocene Age,[5] during which we have ample testimony, as we shall see, of the

[1] Dawkin's "Early Man in Britain," p. 58. [2] Ibid., 58.
[3] McLean: "Mastodon, Mammoth, and Man," p. 67.
[4] Dawkin's "Early Man in Europe," p. 66. [5] See "Outline," p. 41.

presence of man, are very rare. The cases in which there can be no doubt can be reckoned on the fingers. The explanation of this state of things is not at all difficult, for it is only under very rare circumstances that portions of the bones of animals even larger than man are preserved to us in geological strata. Vast numbers die and vanish away without leaving a trace behind them for every fragmentary bone we recover. In the case of man we must remember that, in previous eras, he was present in very small numbers; that, owing to his intelligence, he would not be as liable to be drowned and swept away, and so mingle his remains with beds of river detritus then forming, as were animals. Mr. Lyell has made some remarks on the draining of the Haarlem Lake by the government of Holland in 1853, which shows that even favorable circumstances do not always preserve remains for future inspection. Though called a lake, this body of water was an arm of the sea, covering about forty-five thousand acres. The population which had lived on the shores of the lake was between thirty and forty thousand souls. "There had been many a shipwreck, and many a naval fight on those waters, and hundreds of Dutch and Spanish soldiers and sailors had met there with a watery grave," yet not a solitary portion of the human skeleton was to be found in its bed.[1] Thus we see that, in the majority of cases, we must rely on other evidence than the presence of human bones to prove the existence of man in the geological periods of the past. In the case of the Haarlem Lake again, there was found the wreck of one or two vessels, and some ancient armor. So, had it been a disputed point whether man was a denizen of this planet at the time when the area in question was covered by water, it would have been settled beyond a doubt

[1] Lyell's "Antiquity of Man," p. 193.

by these relics of his industry, even though portions of the human frame itself were entirely wanting. And, in reality, proofs of this nature are just as satisfactory as it would be to discover human bones. If, on a desert island, we find arrow-heads, javelins, a place where there had been a fire, split bones, and other *débris* of a feast, we are as much justified in asserting that man had been there, as we would be had we seen him with our own eyes. In the same manner, if we detect in any strata of the past any undoubted products of human industry—such as weapons, or implements and ornaments—in such position that we know they could not have been deposited there since the formation of the bed itself, we have no hesitancy in asserting that man himself is of the same antiquity as the strata containing the implements. In the great majority of cases, this is the only kind of evidence possible to advance.

It is now well known that the first stage in the culture of any people, is what is called the Stone Age. That is to say, their weapons and implements were made from stone, or at least the majority of them were. We will discuss on another page this point, and also the grounds leading us to infer that many of the extremely rude forms are really the work of man.

Let us now return to the Miocene Age, in which we are to seek for the presence of man. In 1867 a French geologist, by the name of Bourgeois, who had been searching some beds of the Miocene Age, near Thenay, France, found a number of flints of such a peculiar shape, that he concluded they could only be explained by supposing that man formed them. In this case there is no question as to the age of the stratum containing the flints. All geologists are agreed that it is of the Miocene Age. The question then is, whether the flints were artificially cut or not. On this question

there has been a great division of opinion, and we can not do better than to examine and see where the principal scientific men stand on this point.

In 1872, at the scientific congress in Brussels, this question was referred to a committee composed of the most competent men from the different countries of Europe. We are sorry to say that, after a thorough consideration of them, the judges were unable to agree. Some accepted them, others rejected them, and still others were undecided. Some of the latter have since become convinced by recent discoveries.[1]

Since this discovery, similar specimens have been described as having been found in Portugal, and from another locality in France. Some men of the highest authority accept these flints as proving the presence of man in Miocene times. This is supported by such men as Quatrefages, Hamy, Mortillet, and Capellini.[2] These are all known to be competent and careful geologists. Another class does not think the evidence strong enough to declare these flints of human origin, and so do not think it proved that man lived in Europe in Miocene times; but do believe that we will eventually find proofs of his existence during that era in the warm and tropical regions of the globe. This is the view of such men as Lubbock, Evans, Huxley, and Winchell. Still others say that, during the vast lapse of years since Miocene times, all the species of land mammals then alive have perished[3]—their place being taken by other species—and therefore it is incredible that man, the most highly specialized of all animals, should have survived.

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[1] Quatrefages's "Human Species," p. 151.

[2] Prof. Winchell says: "Quatrefages does not now consider the proof decisive (*Hommes Fossiles et Hommes Sauvages*, Paris, 1884, p. 95)." He cites, as agreeing with him, MM. Cotteau, Evans, "and, I believe, most of the members who have not publicly pronounced themselves."

[3] Dawkin's "Early Man in Britain," p. 67.

And hence, if these Thenay flints are really artificial in their origin, it is more reasonable to suppose they were cut by one of the higher apes, then living in France, than by man. This is the view of Prof. Dawkins and Prof. Gaudry.[1] As to the last view, it is surely but reasonable to suppose, with Quatrefages,[2] that the superior intelligence of man would serve to protect him from the operation of causes that would effect the extinction of lower animals. Hence, unless some evidence be produced to show that species of apes are known to make rude stone implements, or some evidence that they did this in past ages, we must believe, with Geikie and others, that these flints prove that Miocene man lived in France, unless indeed we refuse to believe that they are artificial.

It also seems to us that those who hold to the view that man was living in other parts of the world, as Asia, during the Miocene Age, ought readily to admit that a few wandering bands might penetrate into Europe.[3] The climate was tropical, there was an abundance of animal life, and, if man was living anywhere, it is very reasonable to suppose that, at some epoch during the course of the Miocene Age, he would have found his way to Europe, unless shut off by the sea. It therefore seems to us that the presence of those cut flints is conclusive of the presence of man in Europe during the Miocene Age. At the same time we can not affirm that this is the conclusion of the scientific world. They seem to have heeded the remark of Quatrefages, that "in such a matter there is no great urgency," and are waiting for further discoveries.

Thus far in our review we have noticed the steady progress

[1] Dawkins's "Early Man in Britain," p. 68. [2] "Human Species," p. 152.

[3] Prof. Winchell remarks that, though some savage races might have been living in tropical lands during the Miocene, still the oldest skull and jaws obtainable in Europe are of a higher type than these.

in the forms of life. In the Miocene Age we have seen all the types of life below man present, and some indications of the presence of man himself. We must now learn what we can of the Pliocene Age, the last division of the Tertiary Age.

The Pliocene Age need not detain us long. Considerable changes in the geography of both Europe and America were going forward during the Miocene Age, and the result was quite a change in climate. There was a steady elevation of the Pacific coast region of America, and, as a consequence, a period of great volcanic outbursts in California and Oregon.[1] At the same time the bridge connecting Asia and America was severed.[2] In Europe the Mediterranean area was elevated; but the land connecting Greenland with Europe sank, allowing the cold waters of the Arctic to communicate with both the North Sea and the Atlantic—England at that time forming part of the great peninsula extending north and west from Europe.[3] The climate during the Pliocene Age was cooler than that of the Miocene. This is marked in the vegetation of that period. The palms and the cinnamon trees, which in Miocene times grew in Germany, flourished no farther north than Italy during the Pliocene.[4]

Count DeSaporta, who made special researches in the flora of this period, found the remains of a forest growth buried under lava on the side of a mountain in Cantal France, at an elevation of about four thousand feet above the level of the sea. This consisted principally of pines. This shows that probably all Northern Europe was covered with somber forests of pine. In the same section he found, buried under volcanic ash, a vegetation consisting mostly of

[1] Dana's "Manual of Geology," p. 523.
[2] Marsh: "American Assoc. Rep.," 1877.
[3] Dawkins's "Early Man in Britain," p. 73. [4] Ibid., p. 78.

deciduous trees—maples, alders, poplars, willows, elms, and ashes. As this was growing at the height of about twenty-three hundred feet in Cantal France, it probably represents the vegetation of Britain and Northern Germany. Finally, the vegetation of Central and Southern France, as well as Northern Italy, was intermediate in character between the luxuriant evergreen forests of the Miocene Age and that now growing there. The tropical character of the vegetation was evidently passing away. The climate over a large part of Europe was now temperate, though probably warmer than at present.[1]

In the Mammalia we have to notice the disappearance of some species, and the arrival and spread of some others. The apes living as far north as Germany in the Miocene Age were restricted to Southern France and Italy in the Pliocene, and, at its close, vanished altogether from Europe. The first living species of mammals is found in the remains of the hippopotamus that frequented the rivers of Pliocene times. The mastodon of Miocene times was still to be seen, but along with it was a species of true elephants. The hipparion survived into this epoch, but the horse also makes its appearance. Great quantities of deer roamed over the land; and, as might be expected where they were so abundant, the carnivorous animals, allied to the bears and wolves, panthers, linxes, and tigers, were also to be found. "At night," says Mr. Dawkins, "the Pliocene forests of Central France echoed with the weird laughter of the hyena."

The gradual lowering of the climate is also shown by the remains of the mollusks deposited in beds of marine or sea formation during different eras of this age. It is found that the earlier the bed, the more southern mollusks are found in it. This shows us that, all through the Pliocene Age, the

[1] Dawkins's "Early Man in Britain," p. 77.

waters of the seas surrounding England were gradually growing cooler, thus compelling the retreat of those mollusks fitted only for a warm climate, and allowing a gradual increase in those species fitted for cold or northern latitudes. We also find, in deposits made near the close of Pliocene times, numbers of stone which show all evidence of having been borne thither by means of ice. So we may conclude that rafts of ice came floating down the North Sea during the closing period of the Pliocene Age.[1] Still, during the entire length of the Pliocene Age, Europe certainly offered an inviting home for man. Not only were the higher orders of animals present, but at least one living species was known. We find more proofs of his presence, but whether they are sufficient to convince us that man really lived during that epoch is to be seen.

Prof. Whitney has brought to the attention of the scientific world what he considers ample evidence of the presence of Pliocene man in California. We reserve this for discussion in another place. We will only remark, at present, that the evidence in this case is regarded as sufficient by some of the best of American scholars.[2] We simply mention them here, so that they may be borne in mind when we see what evidence Europe has to offer on this point. In 1863, M. Desnoyers, of France, discovered, in a stratum which he considered Pliocene, some bones of elephants and other animals cut and scratched in such a manner that he considered the cuts to be the work of man. As showing how cautious geologists are of accepting such conclusions, we mention this case. There was found in the same bed the remains of an extinct beaver. The question was at once raised, whether rodents by gnawing these bones could not have pro-

[1] Dawkins's "Early Man in Britain," p. 76.

[2] Winchell's "Pre-Adamites," Whitney's "Auriferous Gravels of California," Marsh's "Address before American Assoc.," 1879.

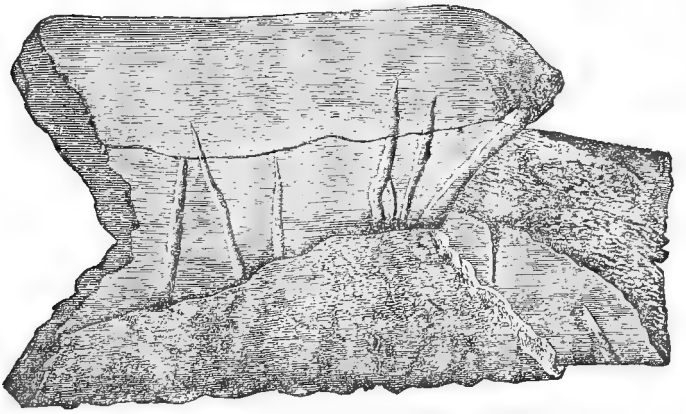
duced the cuts in question. Sir Charles Lyell, by actual experiments in the Zoölogical Gardens in London, soon showed that this was probably the fact.[1] Yet Sir John Lubbock thinks it quite likely some of them were of human origin.[2] Subsequently, however, M. Bourgeois discovered in the same bed worked flints, about the human origin of which there seems to be no doubt;[3] but a more careful study of the formation in which they occur has raised questions as to its age. Though usually held to be Pliocene, some careful observers consider it to be of a later age. Geologists can not be accused of rashly accepting statements as to the antiquity of man.

In 1867 there was discovered, in Northern Italy, a human skull in a railway cutting at a depth of nearly fifty feet. This stratum contains remains of several Pliocene animals. This is held to prove the existence of Pliocene man by several eminent observers, amongst others Prof. Cocchi, of Italy, and Forsyth Major.[4] But in this case Mr. Dawkins contends that it was not found under such conditions as render it certain that the stratum had been undisturbed, and so does not prove to a certainty that it was of the same age as the stratum.[5] And Mr. Geikie thinks that the stratum itself is of a later age than the Pliocene.[6] It is but right that geologists should thus carefully scan all the evidence produced.

In 1876 Prof. Capellini discovered, in a Pliocene deposit in Italy, the bones of a whale, which were so marked with cuts and incisions that he thought the only explanation was to say they had been cut by men. In this case[7] there is no

[1] "Antiquity of Man," p. 234.
[2] "Prehistoric Times," p. 433.
[3] Geikie's "Prehistoric Europe," p. 343.
[4] Dawkins's "Early Man in Britain."
[5] Ibid.
[6] "Prehistoric Europe," p. 318.
[7] Quatrefages's "Hum. Species," p. 150; Geikie's "Prehistoric Eur.," p. 345

dispute as to the age of the stratum. Neither is there much doubt but that the cuts are the work of man. It is quite true that Mr. Evans has suggested that they may be the work of fishes. In this he is followed by Prof. Winchell.[1] But there appears to be little ground for such belief, because the cuts are all on the outside faces of rib-bones, and the outer faces of the backbones. From the position occupied by the remaining portions of the skeleton, Prof. Capellini is sure that the animal had run aground, and, in that condition, was discovered and killed by men, who then, by means



Cut on Bones of a Whale from Pliocene Deposit.

of flint knives, cut away such portions of food as they wished. It must have been lying on its left side, since the cuts were all made on bones of the right.[2] It is not probable that fishes would have been apt to choose the outside faces of the ribs on the right side for their meals. These cut bones have been carefully examined by many competent men, who have agreed with Capellini that they are the work of men.[3] Mr. Dawkins thinks the cuts were artificial, but he says, "It is not, however, to my mind satisfactorily shown that these were obtained from undisturbed strata."[4]

[1] "Pre-Adamites."
[2] Geikie's "Prehistoric Europe," p. 344.
[3] Ibid.
[4] "Early Man in Britain," p. 92.

Now these bones have been found in several localities, always in Pliocene deposits, which formed the shores of the Pliocene sea.[1] Knowing how carefully geologists inquire into all the surroundings of a find, surely, if Capellini and others are the competent men they are admitted to be, they would have informed us long ago if they were not found in undisturbed strata.

Mr. Dawkins also objects because fragments of pottery were found in the strata. "Pottery," says he, "was unknown in the Pleistocene Age,[2] and therefore is unlikely to have been found in the Pliocene."[3] Mr. Geikie says this objection is founded on a mistake, as Prof. Capellini told him the pottery was found lying on the surface, and was never for a moment imagined by him as belonging to the same age as the cut bones.[4] There is also the objection, that, inasmuch as all the mammals then alive except one have perished, it is more than likely that, had man been in existence then, he too would have disappeared.

We considered this point fully when speculating as to the presence of man in the Miocene: so we have nothing further to offer. We might, however, suggest that, if the hippopotamus amongst mammals could survive all the changing time since the Pliocene, as it has done, it seems no more than fair to admit equal power of endurance to the human species. The position then of the scientific world as to the Pliocene Age of man is, on the whole, more decided in its favor than for the Miocene Age. Quite a number of eminent scholars, whose conclusions are worthy of all respect, unhesitatingly affirm the existence of Pliocene man in Europe. Others are not quite ready to admit his existence in Europe,

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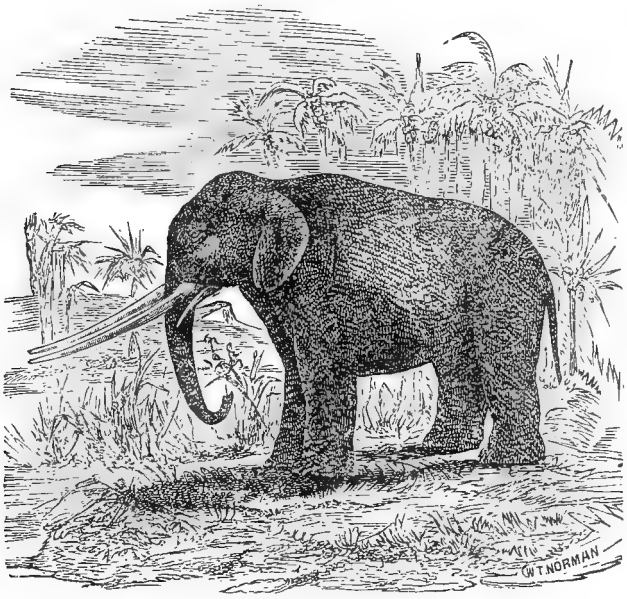
[1] Geikie's "Prehistoric Europe," p. 344.
[2] Same as Glacial. See "Outline," p. 41.
[3] "Early Man in Britain," p. 92. [4] "Prehistoric Europe," p. 345, note 2.

but do think he was in existence elsewhere. Still others, with all due respect for the discoveries of Capellini, think it more prudent to await further discoveries. The reader, who has followed us through this brief outline of the past, can join which of the classes he will, and be sure of finding himself in good company.

This completes our review of past geological ages. With the termination of the Pliocene Age we find ourselves on firmer ground. We only wish to call attention once more to the gradual unfolding of life. We see that the rule has been that everywhere the lower forms of life precede the higher. In the plant world flowerless plants precede the flowering ones. The coal we burn to-day is mainly the remains of the wonderful growth of the flowerless vegetation of the Paleozoic Age. When flowering plants appear, it is the lower forms of them at first.

It was long ages before trees with deciduous leaves appeared. The growth of animal life is equally instructive. First invertebrate life, then the lowest forms of vertebrate life. The fishes are followed by amphibians—then reptiles, then birds. The first mammal to appear was the lowest organized of all—the marsupials. And we have seen the sudden increase of mammalian life in Tertiary times. We notice, in all the divisions of life, a beginning, a culmination, and a decline. There has never been such a growth of flowerless plants as in the Paleozoic, and flowering plants probably culminated in the Miocene. The same rule holds good for the animal world also. As man is the most highly organized of all the animals, we can not hope to find any evidence of his presence until we find proofs of the presence of all the lower types of life. Of course future discoveries may change our knowledge when the series is complete; but, from our present stand-point, he could not have lived before

the Miocene Age, and we have seen how faint and indecisive are the proofs of his presence even then. But should it finally be proved, beyond all dispute, that man did live in the Miocene Age, we must observe that this is but a small portion, but a minute fraction, of the great lapse of time since life appeared on the globe. We are a creation of but yesterday, even granting all that the most enthusiastic believer in the antiquity of man can claim.




The Mastodon.

# CHAPTER III.

## MEN OF THE RIVER DRIFT.[1]

BEGINNING of the Glacial Age—Inter-glacial Age—Man living in Europe during this age—Map of Europe—Proof of former elevation of land—The animals living in Europe during this age—Conclusions drawn from these different animals—The vegetation of this period—Different climatic conditions of Europe during the Glacial Age—Proofs of a Glacial Age—Extent of the Glacial Ice—Evidence of warm Inter-glacial Age—The primitive state of man—Early English civilization—Views of Horace—Primitive man destitute of metals—Order in which different materials were used by man for weapons—Evidence from the River Somme—History of Boucher de Perthes's investigations—Discussion of the subject—Antiquity of these remains—Improvement during Paleolithic Age—Description of the flint implements—Other countries where these implements are found—What race of men were these tribes—The Canstadt race—Mr. Dawkins's views—When did they first appear in Europe—The authorities on this question—Conclusion.

THE TERTIARY Age, with its wonderful wealth of animal and plant life, gradually drew to its close. In our "Outline" we have named the period that next ensued the Glacial Age.[2] This was sufficiently exact for our purpose then, but we must remember this is the name[3] for a long series of years. During this period great changes in climate occurred. At its commencement, a genial temperate climate prevailed throughout Europe; and this, as we

[1] This chapter was submitted to Prof. G. F. Wright, of Oberlin, for criticism.

[2] Lyell's "Antiquity of Man;" Geikie's "Prehistoric Europe," p. 332.

[3] It is, however, applicable to only a portion of the Quaternary, or Post-tertiary period. (Wright.)

know, was preceded, during the Miocene Age, by a warm tropical one.[1] This succession, then, shows us that, for some reason or other, the climate had been gradually growing colder. This change went forward uninterruptedly. Doubtless very gradually, from century to century, the seasons grew more and more severe, until, finally, the Summer's sun no longer cleared the mountains of the Winter's snow. This was the beginning of the Glacial Age proper.

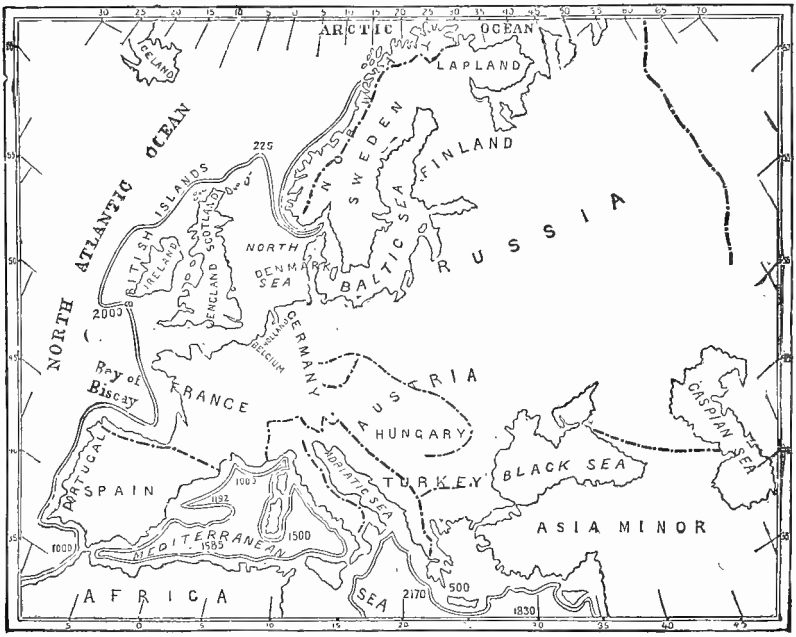
The best authorities also suppose that the reign of snow and ice was broken by at least one return (possibly more) of genial climate, when animals and plants from the south again visited the countries of Northern Europe—only, however, to be once more driven forth by a return of arctic cold. But finally, before the increasing warmth of a genial climate, the glaciers vanished, not to return again, and the Glacial Age became merged in that of the present.

It is no longer a question that man lived in Europe during the largest portion of this age, if not from the beginning. It is necessary, then, to come to a clear understanding of the successive stages of this entire age, and to trace the wonderful cycles of climate—the strange mutation of heat and cold, which must have exerted a powerful influence on the life, both animal and vegetable, of the period—and see when we first find decisive proofs of man's presence, and learn what we can of his condition.

The map of Europe, at the close of Pliocene times and the commencement of the Glacial Age, is of interest to us in several ways. From this it will be seen that it was considerably more elevated than at the present. As this is no fancy sketch, but is based on facts, it is well to outline them. Without the aid of man, land animals can not possibly pass from the main-land of a continent to an island lying some

[1] Page 48.

distance off the shore. But it is well known that animals like the rhinoceros, and several others, wandered as well over the surface of the British Islands as on the adjacent coast of Europe. We are therefore compelled to assume, that at that time the English Channel and the Irish Sea were not in existence. This necessitates an elevation of at least four hundred feet, which would also lay bare a large portion




Map of Europe.

of the North Sea.[1] In proof of this latter statement is the fact, that, at a distance from land in the North Sea, fishermen at the present day frequently dredge up bones and teeth of animals that then roamed in Europe.[2]

While there is no necessity for supposing an elevation greater than that required to lay bare a passage for animals

[1] Geikie's "Prehistoric Europe," p. 339.
[2] Dawkins's "Cave Hunting," p. 365.

back and forth, yet soundings undertaken by the British government have established the fact, that the ocean deepens very gradually away from the shores of the main-land until a depth of six hundred feet is reached, when the shore falls away very suddenly. This is supposed to be the sea-coast of that time. The English Channel would then have existed as the valley of the Seine, and the Rhine have prolonged its flow over the present bed of the North Sea. As the land stood at this height through a large portion of the Glacial Age, it is not at all unreasonable to suppose that primitive tribes hunted back and forth along these valleys, and so doubtless many convincing proofs of their presence at that early day lie buried underneath the waves of the sea. In like manner, at the south, we know that elephants, lions, and hyenas passed freely from Africa to Spain, Italy, and the Island of Crete,[1] and, consequently, the Mediterranean Sea must have been bridged in one or two places at least.[2]

The change from Pliocene times to early Glacial was so gradual that quite a number of animals lived on from one to the other, and, as we have already stated, one of these species has even survived to our own times.[3]

But we note the arrival in Europe of a great number of new animals, and the diversity of species seems at first an inexplicable riddle. The key, however, is to be found in the great climatic changes, which we have already mentioned as occurring during this age. On the one hand, we

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[1] Dawkins's "Early Man in Britain," p. 112.

[2] Geikie's "Prehistoric Europe," p. 337.

[3] The majority of the Pliocene animals disappeared from Europe at the close of the period in question. This includes such animals as the mastodon, hipparion, and many kinds of deer (Geikie's "Prehistoric Europe," p. 334). The following animals survived into the Glacial Age, and some even into Interglacial periods: African hippopotamus (still living), saber-toothed lion, bear of Auvergne, big-nosed rhinoceros, Etruskan rhinoceros, Sedgwick's deer, deer of Polignac, Southern elephant. ("Prehistoric Europe," p. 95.)

find such animals as the musk-sheep, reindeer, and arctic fox, animals whose natural home is in high northern latitudes, where snow and ice prevail most of the year.[1] Yet during this age they lived in Southern France and Italy, which must then have had a far different climate than that at present.

Were we to confine our attention to these alone we would be convinced that the climate of Europe at that time was arctic in its severity. But side by side with the remains of these animals are found others which imply an altogether different climate. The hippopotamus, now frequenting the rivers of Africa, during that period roamed as far north as Yorkshire, England.[2] This animal could not live in a country where the cold was severe enough to form ice on the rivers. The remains of a number of other animals are found whose natural home is in the warm regions of the earth.[3] These two groups of animals, one from the north and one from the south, show how varied was the climate of Europe during the Glacial Age.

In addition to these, there was also a large number of animals whose home is in the temperate regions of the earth—animals that thrive in neither extremes of heat and cold. This includes a great many animals of the deer kind, several varieties of bears and horses; in fact, the majority of those with which we are acquainted.[4]

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[1] The northern animals include the following: Alpine hare, musk-sheep, glutton, reindeer, arctic fox, lemming, tailless hare, marmot, spermophile, ibex, snowy vole, chamois. (Geikie's "Prehistoric Europe," p. 32.)

[2] Geikie's "Prehistoric Europe," p. 28.

[3] The following animals are given as southern species: Hippopotamus, African elephant, spotted hyena, striped hyena, serval, caffer cat, lion, leopard. In addition to the above there were also four or five species of elephants and three species of rhinoceros, which have since become extinct. (Geikie's "Prehistoric Europe," p. 32.)

[4] It is scarcely necessary to give a list of these animals. Prof. Dawkins enumerates thirty-three species. The following are some of the most import-

Now, what conclusion follows from this assemblage of animals? Many theories have been put forward in explanation. It has been suggested that Europe at that time had a climate not unlike that of some portions of the earth at present; that is, a long and severe Winter was followed by a short but warm Summer. During the Winter reindeer and other northern animals would press from the north in search of food, but would retire on the approach of Spring, when their feeding grounds would in turn be occupied by bisons and animals of a southern habitat. In confirmation of this view it is pointed out that a vast collection of bones, from the bottom of a sink-hole or pond in Derbyshire, England, conclusively show that in the summer-time it was visited by bisons with their calves, and in Winter by reindeer.[1] This theory is open to a great many objections. As is well known, some animals make quite extensive migrations annually, but we can scarcely believe that heavy, unwieldy animals, like the hippopotamus, were then such industrious travelers as to wander every year from Italy to Northern England and return.[2] But the very ground on which this theory rests, that of strongly contrasted summers and winters, could not be true of Europe or the western portions of it, owing to the presence of the Atlantic Ocean, and the influence which it inevitably exerts on the climate.[3] We see, then, that the presence of these different animals can be explained only by supposing great secular changes in climate. Let us see if we can strengthen this view by an appeal to the vegetation of this period.

We have seen how important a guide as to climate were

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ant: Urus, bison, horse, stag, roe, beaver, rabbit, otter, weasel, martin, wildcat, fox, wolf, wild boar, brown bear, grizzly bear. (Geikie's "Prehistoric Europe," p, 32.)

[1] Dawkins's "Early Man in Britain," p. 191.

[2] Lubbock's "Prehistoric Times," p. 316.

[3] Geikie's "Prehistoric Europe," p. 37.

the remains of the vegetation of the early times. We therefore turn with more confidence to such discoveries as will tell us of the flora of this age. But there are many reasons why remains of plant growth should be few. As we shall soon learn, this was a period of flooded rivers; and in the gravels and loams thus formed is found our principal source of information as to the life of the age. But such a rush of waters would form gravelly banks or great beds of loam, and would sweep any plants which might be washed into its floods far out to sea; or if by chance they should become buried in such gravel beds, the action of water would speedily cause the decay of the tender portions, such as leaves, bark, and soft wood, in which case no profitable investigation could be made. Occasionally, however, around the shores of old lakes, vegetable beds have been buried, and we know that some mineral springs deposit a sort of protecting sediment on every thing with which they come in contact. By such means, at rare intervals, leaves, seeds, and fruits have been sealed up for future inspection, and from a careful study of all such instances much valuable information has been obtained. At one place in the valley of the Seine was discovered, under a bed of tufa, the remains of a forest growth. It is not doubted that the deposit belongs to the Glacial Age.[1]

Yet the forest growth reminds us of that prevalent during the Miocene Age. The fig-tree, canary, laurel, and box-tree grew in profusion. These are all southern forms. One severe winter would kill them all, and even hard frosts would prevent the ripening of their fruits.

Neither were the Summers hot and dry. This is shown by the presence of numerous plants which can not thrive in hot and dry localities, but live in the shady woods of North-

[1] Geikie's "Prehistoric Europe," p. 50.

ern France and Germany. The evidence of this forest growth surely presents us an inviting picture of Europe during a portion of the Glacial Age.

We are not without evidence, also, of a much more severe climate. In a lignite bed (a species of coal) found in nearly the same latitude as the forest growth just mentioned, we detect the presence of trees that grow only in cold northern climates, such as birch, mountain pine, larch, and spruce.[1] And in some peat-bogs of Southern Europe belonging to this age[2] are found willows now growing only in Spitzbergen, and some species of mosses that only thrive far to the north. It is quite evident that this deposit testifies to an altogether different climate from that indicated by the deposit before mentioned. No theory of migration can explain this assemblage of plants, unless it be migration taking place very slowly, in consequence of an equally slow change of climate.

From what we have just learned of the animals and plants living in Europe during this age, we can frame some conception of the different climatic conditions of Europe. On the one hand, we have a country with a mild and genial climate. Trees of a warm latitude were then growing as far north as Paris, and we may well suppose Europe to have abounded in shady forests and grassy plains, through which flowed large rivers. It was just such a country as that in which elephants and southern animals would flourish, while vast herds of deer and bovine animals wandered over the entire length and breadth of the land. Where animal life was so abundant there were sure to be carnivorous animals also, and lions, hyenas, tigers, and other animals added to the variety of animal life.

This, however, is but one side of the picture. The other

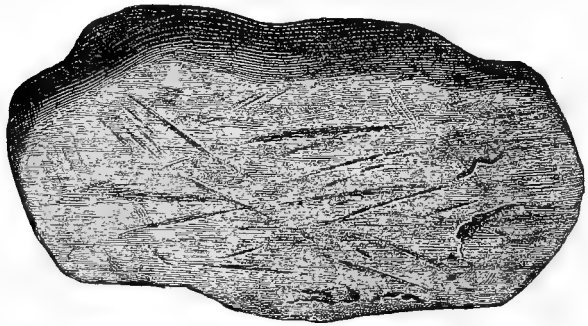
[1] Geikie's "Prehistoric Europe," p. 54. [2] Ibid., p. 55.

presents us with a very different scene; instead of an abundant forest growth, the land supported only dwarf birch, arctic willows, and stunted mosses. Arctic animals, such as musk-sheep and reindeer, lived all the year around in Southern France. The woolly mammoth lived in Spain and Italy. In short, the climate and conditions of life were vastly different in the two stages.

We must now turn our attention to the proofs of glaciers in Europe, the phenomena from which this age derives its name. Descriptions of Alpine glaciers are common enough, but as glaciers and the Glacial Age have a great deal to do with the antiquity of man, we can not do better than to learn what we can of their formation, and their wonderful extension during this period. The school-boy knows that by pressure he gives his snowball nearly the hardness of ice. He could make it really ice if he possessed sufficient strength. The fact is, then, that snow under the influence of pressure passes into the form of ice. In some cases nature does this on a large scale. Where mountains are sufficently elevated to raise their heads above the snow line we know they are white all the year around with snow. What is not blown away, evaporated, or, as an avalanche, precipitated to lower heights, must accumulate from year to year. But the weight pressing on the lower portions of this snow-field must soon be considerable, and at length become so great, that the snow changes to the form of ice. But as ice it is no longer fixed and immovable. We need not stop to explain just how this ice-field moves, but the fact is that, though moving very slowly, it acts like a liquid body. It will steal away over any incline however small, down which water would flow. Like a river it fills the valleys leading down from the mountains. But, of course, the lower down it flows the higher the temperature it meets, and it will sooner or later reach a point

where it will melt as fast as it advances. This stream of ice flowing down from snow-clad mountains is called a glacier. Those we are best acquainted with are but puny things compared with those of the polar regions, where in one case a great river of ice sixty miles wide, flowing from an unknown distance, some thousands of feet in depth (or height), pours out into the sea.[1]

We at once perceive that such a mass of ice could not pour down a valley without leaving unmistakable signs of its passage. The sides of the mountains would be deeply scarred and smoothed. Projecting knobs would be worn away. The surface of the valley, exposed to the enormous grinding power of the moving ice, would be crushed, pulverized, and dragged along with it. Pieces of stone, like that here represented, would form part of this moving *débris*, and as they were crowded along they would now and then grate over another piece of stone more firmly seated, and so their surface would be deeply scratched in the direction of their greatest length. There is always more or less water circulating under the Alpine glaciers, and the streams that flow from them are always very muddy, containing, as they do, quantities of crushed rock, sand, and clay.



Scratched Stone.

If, for any reason, this earthy matter was not washed out, it would form a bed of hard clay, in places packed with

[1] Kane's "Arctic Exploration," Vol. I, p. 225.

these striated stones. Such beds of clay are known as "till" or bowlder clay.[1]

This is descriptive, though in a very general way, of the glaciers as they exist to-day. Geologists have long been aware of the fact that they have convincing proofs of the former presence of glaciers in Northern Europe, where now the climate is mild. The mountains of Scotland and Wales show as distinct traces of glaciers as do those of the Alps. It is not necessary, in this hasty sketch, to enumerate the many grounds on which this conclusion rests. It is sufficient to state that by the united labors of many investigators in that field we are in possession of many conclusions relating to the great glaciers of this age which almost surpass belief; and yet they are the results of careful deductions. The former presence of this ice sheet itself is shown in a most conclusive manner by the bowlder clay formed underneath the great glacier, containing abundant examples of stone showing by their scratched surface that they have been ground along underneath the glacier. The rocks on the sides of the mountains are scratched exactly as are those in the Alps. By observing how high up on the mountains the striæ are, we know the thickness of the ice-sheet; and the direction in which it moved is shown in several ways.[2]

Briefly, then, the geologist assures us that when the cold of the Glacial Age was at its maximum glaciers streamed down from all the mountains of Scotland, Wales, and Northern England; that the ice was thick enough to overtop all the smaller hills, and on the plains it united in one great sea of ice some thousands of feet in thickness, that it stretched as far south as the latitude of London, England. But that to the west the ice streamed out across the Irish Sea, the islands to the west of Scotland, and ended far out

[1] Geikie's "Prehistoric Europe," p. 180. [2] Wallace's "Island Life," p. 104.

into what is now the Atlantic.[1] But these glaciers, vast as they were, were very small compared with the glaciers that streamed out from the mountains of Norway and Sweden. These great glaciers invaded England to the south-west, beat back the glacier ice of Scotland from the floor of the North Sea, overran Denmark, and spread their mantle of bowlder clay far south into Germany.[2]

While such was the condition of things to the north, the glaciers of the Alps were many times greater than at present. All the valleys were filled with glacier ice, and they spread far out on the plains of Southern Germany and westward into France. The mountains of Southern France and the Pyrenees also supported their separate system of glaciers. Ice also descended from the mountains of Asia Minor and North Africa.[3] In America we meet with traces of glaciers on a vast scale; but we can not pause to describe them here.[4]

It need not surprise us, therefore, to learn of reindeer and musk-sheep feeding on stunted herbage in what now constitutes Southern France. When a continuous mantle of snow and ice cloaked all Northern Europe, it is not at all surprising to find evidence of an extremely cold climate prevailing

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[1] Geikie's "Prehistoric Europe," p. 189. [2] Ibid., p. 192, *et seq.*

[3] Dawkins's "Early Man in Britain."

[4] For fuller information on this topic see James Geikie's "The Great Ice Age;" also, by the same author, "Prehistoric Europe." In Appendix "B" of this latter work the author gives a map of Europe at the climax of the Glacial Age, showing the great extension of the glaciers. This map embodies the results of the labors of a great many eminent scholars. See also Croll's "Climate and Time;" also Wallace's "Island Life," pp. 102–202. We are not aware that the statements as set forth above are seriously questioned by any geologist of note. Some consider it quite possible that the bowlder clays of Southern England and Central Germany were deposited during a period of submergence from melting icebergs. (Dawkins's "Early Man in Britain," p. 116.) But even this demands vast glaciers to the north of this supposed submergence to produce the icebergs. The weight of authority, however, is in favor of the glaciers. (Geikie's "Prehistoric Europe," p. 175.)

throughout its southern borders. We thus see how one piece of evidence fits into another, and therefore we may, with some confidence, endeavor to find proofs of more genial conditions when the snow and ice disappeared, and a more luxuriant vegetation possessed the land, and animals accustomed to warm and even tropical countries roamed over a large extent of European territory. In Switzerland it was long ago pointed out that after the ancient glaciers had for a long time occupied the low grounds of that country they, for some cause, retreated to the mountain valleys, and allowed streams and rivers to work over the *débris* left behind them. At Wetzikon most interesting conclusions have been drawn. We there learn that, after the retreat of the glaciers, a lake occupied the place, which in course of time became filled with peat, and that subsequently the peat was transformed into lignite. To judge from the remains of animals and plants, the climate must have been at least as warm as that at present; and this condition of things must have prevailed over a period of some thousands of years to explain the thick deposits of peat, from which originated the lignites.[1]

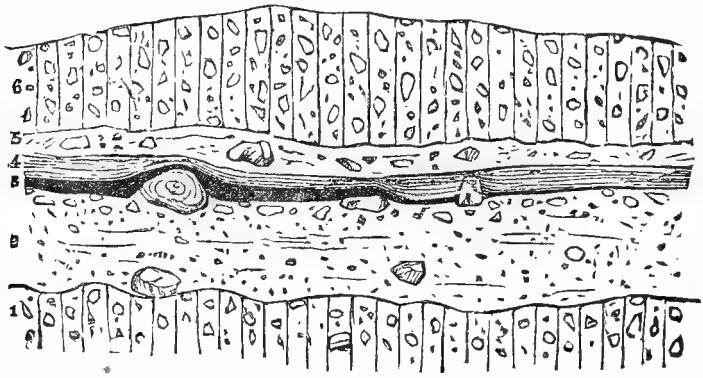
But we also know that this period came to an end, and that once more the ice descended. This is shown by the fact that directly overlying the lignite beds are alternating layers of sand and gravel, and, resting on these, glacier-born bowlders. The same conclusion follows from the discoveries made at many other places.

In Scotland it is well known that the bowlder clay contains every now and then scattered patches of peat and beds of soil either deposited in lakes or rivers. The only explanation that can be given for their presence is that they represent old land surfaces; that is, when the land was

[1] Haywood's Heer's "Primeval World of Switzerland," p. 200.

freed from ice, and vegetation had again clothed it in a mantle of green. In this cut is shown one of these beds. Both above and below are the beds of bowlder clay. The peat in the center varies from an inch to a foot and a half in thickness, and contains many fragments of wood, sticks, roots, etc.; and of animals, numerous beetles were found, one kind of which frequents only places where deer and ruminant animals abound.

From a large number of such discoveries it is conclusively shown that, after all, Scotland was smothered under



Interglacial Bed.

one enormous glacier, a change of climate occurred, and the ice melted away. Then Scotland enjoyed a climate capable of nourishing sufficient vegetation to induce mammoths, Irish deer, horses, and great oxen to occupy the land. But the upper bowlder clay no less conclusively shows that once more the climate became cold, and ice overflowed all the lowlands and buried under a new accumulation of bowlder clay such parts of the old land surface as it did not erode. Substantially the same set of changes are observed in English and German geology.[1]

[1] "Prehistoric Europe," p. 261. It is no longer a question that there was at least one mild period separating two periods of cold in Europe. See Lub-

Having thus given an outline of the climatic changes which took place in Europe during the Glacial Age, and the grounds on which these strange conclusions rest, we must now turn our attention to the appearance of man.

The uncertainties which hung over his presence in the earlier periods, spoken of in the former chapter, do not apply to the proofs of his presence during this age, though it is far from settled at what particular portion of the Glacial Age he came into Europe. We must remember we are to investigate the past, and to awaken an interest in the history of a people who trod this earth in ages long ago. The evidence on which we establish a history of the early tribes of Europe is necessarily fragmentary, but still a portion here and a piece there are found to form one whole, and enable us to form quite a vivid conception of manners and times now very far remote.

It is not claimed that we have surmounted every difficulty—on the contrary, there is yet much to be deciphered; but, in some respects, we are now better acquainted with these shadowy tribes of early times than with those whose history has been recorded by the historian's facile pen. He has given us a record of blood. He acquaints us with the march of vast armies, tells us of pillaged cities, and gives us the names of a long roll of titled kings; but, unfortunately, we know little of the home life, the occupation, or of those little things which make up the culture of a people. But the knowledge of primitive tribes, gathered from the scanty remains of their implements, from a thorough explo-

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bock's "Prehistoric Times," p. 316; Dawkins's "Early Man in Britain," pp. 115–120; Lyell's "Antiquity of Man," pp. 282–285; Dana's "Manual of Geology," first edition, p. 561; Haywood's Heer's "Primeval World of Switzerland," Vol. II, p. 203; Wallace's "Island Life," p. 114; Croll's "Climate and Time." Mr. Geikie, in his works, "The Great Ice Age" and "Prehistoric Europe," maintains there were several warm interglacial epochs.

ration of their cavern homes, has made us acquainted with much of their home life and surroundings: and we are not entirely ignorant as to such topics as their trade, government, and religion. We must not forget that this is a knowledge of tribes and peoples who lived here in times immeasurably ancient as compared with those in existence at the very dawn of history.

We must try and form a mental picture of what was probably the primitive state of man; and a little judicious reasoning from known facts will do much for us in this direction. Some writers have contended that the first condition of man was that of pleasing innocence, combined with a high degree of enlightenment, which, owing to the wickedness of mankind, he gradually lost. This ideal picture, however consonant with our wishes, must not only give way before the mass of information now at our command, but has really no foundation in reason; "or, at any rate, if this primitive condition of innocence and enlightenment ever existed, it must have disappeared at a period preceding the present archæological investigations."[1] Nothing is plainer than that our present civilization has been developed from barbarism, as that was from savagism.[2] We need go back but a few centuries in the history of any nation, before we find them emerging from a state of barbarism. The energy and intelligence of the Anglo-Saxon has spread his language to the four corners of the globe; he has converted the wilderness into fruitful fields, and reared cities in desert lands: yet his history strikingly illustrates our point. A century back, and we are already in a strange land. The prominent points of present civilization were yet unthought of. No bands of iron united distant cities; no nerves of wire flashed electric speech. The wealth of that day could not buy many arti-

[1] Wright. [2] Morgan's "Ancient Society," p. 29.

cles conducive of comfort, such as now grace the homes of the poor. The contrast is still more apparent when we recall another of the countless centuries of the past. England, with Europe, was but just awakening to modern life. Printing had but just been invented. Great discoveries had been made, and mankind was but just beginning those first feeble efforts which were to bring to us our modern comforts. But a millennium of years ago, and the foundation of English civilization had but just been laid by the union of the rude Germanic tribes of the Saxons and the Angles. Similar results attend the ultimate analysis of any civilization. It was but yesterday that wandering hordes, bound together by the loose cohesion of tribal organization, and possessing but the germ of modern enlightenment, held sway in what is now the fairest portion of the world: and we, the descendants of these rude people, must reflect that the end is not yet—that the onward march of progress is one of ever hastening steps—and that, in all human probability, the sun of a thousand years hence will shine on a people whose civilization will be as superior to ours as the light of day exceeds the mellow glow of a moon-lit night.

If such are the changes of but a few centuries, what must we not consider the changes to have been during the countless ages that have sped away since man first appeared on the scene! The early Greek and Roman writers were much nearer right when they considered primitive man to have been but a slight degree removed from the brute world. Horace thus expresses himself: "When animals first crept forth from the newly formed earth, a dumb and filthy herd, they fought for acorns and lurking places—with their nails, and with fists—then with clubs—and at last with arms, which, taught by experience, they had forged. They then invented names for things, and words to express their thoughts; after

which they began to desist from war, to fortify cities, and enact laws." The learning of modern times leads to much the same conclusion.

It is evident that primitive man must have been destitute of metals; for it requires a great deal of knowledge and experience to extract metals from their ores. In the eyes of savages, the various metallic ores are simply so many varieties of stone—much less valuable for his purposes than flint, or some other varieties. We know it to be historically true, that a great many nations have been discovered utterly destitute of any knowledge of metals.

When we reflect how much of our present enlightenment is due to the use of metals, we can readily see that their discovery marks a most important epoch in the history of man. There is, then, every reason to suppose that stone was a most important article for primitive man. It was the material with which he fought his battle for existence, and we need not be surprised that its use extended through an enormously long period of time. Not only was primitive man thus low down in the scale, but of necessity his progress must have been very slow.

The time during which men were utterly destitute of a knowledge of metals, far exceeds the interval that has elapsed since that important discovery.[1] Scholars divide the stone age into two parts. In the first, the stone implements, are very few, of simple shapes, and in the main formed of but one variety of stone—generally flint—and they were never polished. In the second division, we meet with a great many different implements, each adapted to a different purpose. Different varieties of stone were employed, and they also made use of bone, shell, and wood, which were often beautifully polished.

[1] Geikie's "Prehistoric Europe," p. 365. Morgan's "Ancient Society," p. 39.

From what we have learned of the development of primitive society, it will not surprise us to learn that the first division of the age of stone comprises a vastly greater portion of time, and is far more ancient, than the second. We will give an outline showing the order of use of different materials; but it is here necessary to remark that Bronze was the first metal that man learned to use, and Iron the second.

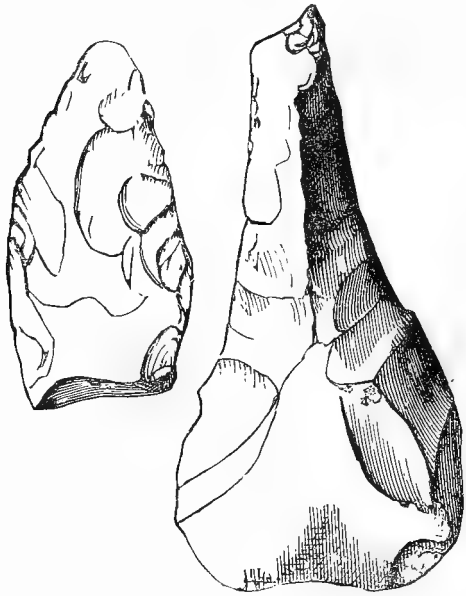
ORDER IN WHICH DIFFERENT MATERIALS WERE USED FOR WEAPONS AND IMPLEMENTS BY PRIMITIVE MAN.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Age of Stone. | Rough, or Old Stone Age. | Paleolithic. |
| | Polished, or New Stone Age. | Neolithic. |
| Age of Metals. | Bronze Age. | |
| | Iron Age. | |

In this outline the words Paleolithic and Neolithic are the scientific terms for the two divisions of the Stone Age, and will be so used in these pages.

The only races of men that we could expect to find in Europe during the Glacial Age would be Paleolithic tribes, and it is equally manifest that we must find traces of them in beds of this age, or in association with animals that are characteristic of this age, or else we can not assert the existence of man at this time. The valley of the river Somme, in Northern France, has become classical ground to the student of Archæology, since it was there that such investigations as we have just mentioned were first and most abundantly made. It is now well known that the surface features of a country—that is, its hills and dales, its uplands and lowlands—are mainly due to the erosive power of running water. Our rivers have dug for them-

selves broad valleys, undermined and carried away hills, and in general carved the surface of a country, until the present appearance is the result. It must be confessed that when we perceive the slow apparent change from year to year, and from that attempt to estimate the time required to produce the effects we see before us, we are apt to shrink from the lapse of time demanded for its accomplishment. Let us not forget that "Time is long," and that causes, however trifling, work stupendous results in the course of ages.



Paleolithic Flints.

But a river which is thus digging down its channel in one place, deposits the materials so dug away at other and lower levels, as beds of sand and gravel. In the course of time, as the river gradually lowers its channel, it will leave behind, at varying heights along its banks, scattered patches of such beds. Wherever we find them, no matter how far removed, or how high above the present river, we are sure that at some time the river flowed at that height; and standing there, we may try and imagine how different the country must have looked before the present deep valley was eroded.

In the case of the river Somme, we have a wide and deep valley, a large part of which has been excavated in chalk rock, through which the river now winds its way in

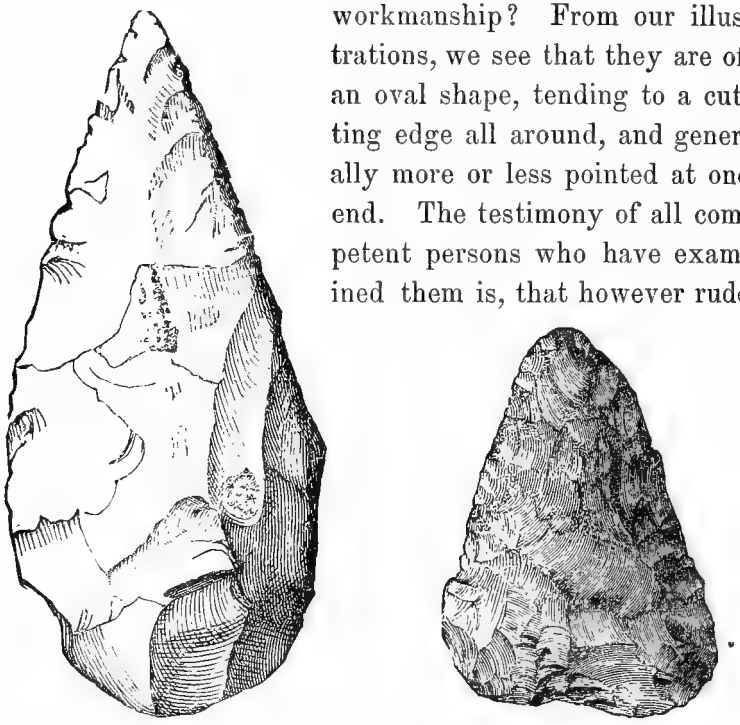
a sinuous course to the English Channel. Yet we feel sure that at some time in the past it was a mighty stream, and that its waters surged along over a bed at least two hundred feet higher than now. In proof of this fact we still find, at different places along the chalky bluff, stretches of old gravel banks, laid down there by the river, "reaching sometimes as high as two hundred feet above the present water level, although their usual elevation does not exceed forty feet."[1]

The history of the investigation of the ancient gravel beds of the Somme is briefly this: More than one instance had been noted of the finding of flint implements, apparently the work of men, in association with bones of various animals, such as hyenas, mammoths, musk-sheep, and others, which, as we have just seen, lived in Europe during the Glacial Age. In a number of cases such finds had been made in caves. But for a long time no one attributed any especial value to these discoveries, and various were the explanations given to account for such commingling. A French geologist, by the name of Boucher DePerthes, had noted the occurrence of similar flint implements, and bones of these extinct animals, in a gravel pit on the banks of the Somme, near Abbeville, France. He was convinced that they proved the existence of man at the time these ancient animals lived in Europe. But no one paid any attention to his opinions on this subject, and a collection of these implements, which he took to Paris in 1839, was scarcely noticed by the scientific world. They were certainly very rude, and presented but indistinct traces of chipping, and perhaps it is not strange that he failed to convince any one of their importance. He therefore determined to make a thorough and systematic exploration of these beds at Abbeville. In 1847 he published his great work on this subject, giving over sixteen hundred cuts of

[1] Rau's "Early Man in Europe," p. 14.

the various articles he had found, claiming that they were proof positive of the presence of man when the gravels were depositing.

Now there are several questions to be answered before the conclusions of the French geologist can be accepted. In the first place, are these so-called flint implements of human workmanship? From our illustrations, we see that they are of an oval shape, tending to a cutting edge all around, and generally more or less pointed at one end. The testimony of all competent persons who have examined them is, that however rude



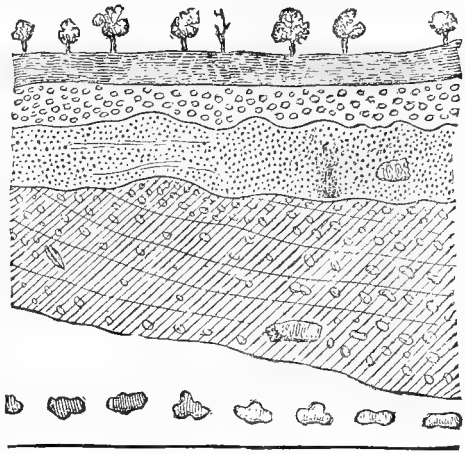
Flint Implements, so-called.

they may be, they were undoubtedly fashioned by man. Dr. C. C. Abbott has made some remarks on implements found in another locality, equally applicable to the ones in question. He says: "We find, on comparing a specimen of these chipped stones with an accidentally fractured pebble, that the chipped surfaces of the former all tend toward the production of a cutting edge, and there is no portion of the stone detached which does not add to the avail-

ability of the supposed implement as such; while in the case of a pebble that has been accidentally broken, there is necessarily all absence of design in the fracturing.[1]

Like the watch found on the moor, they show such manifest evidence of design, that we can not doubt that they were produced by the hand of man. But it is not enough to know that they are artificial, we must also know that they are of the same age as the beds in which they are found.

This cut represents a section of a gravel pit at St. Acheul, on the Somme. The implements are nearly always found in the lowest strata, which is a bed of gravel from ten to fourteen feet thick. Overlying this are beds of marl, loam, and surface soil, comprising in all a depth of fourteen feet. It has been suggested that the implements are comparatively recent, and have sunk down from above by their own weight, or perhaps have been buried in artificial excavations. The beds are however too compact to admit of any supposition that they may have been sunk there; and if buried in any excavation, evident traces of such excavation would have remained. We can account for their presence there in no other way than, that when the river rolled along at that high elevation, and deposited great beds of sand, these implements were someway lost in its waters, and became buried in the gravel deposits.



Section of Gravel Pit.

[1] "Primitive Industry," p. 485.

Finally, we have to consider the age of the deposits. This is a question that can be answered only by geologists, and we may be sure that more than ordinary attention has been bestowed upon them. The remains of many animals characteristic of the Glacial Age were found in the beds at Abbeville. These include those of the elephants, rhinoceros, hyenas, cave-bear, and cave-lion.[1]

In the formation of these gravel beds, ice has undoubtedly played quite an important part. Bowlders that could have got there only by the aid of ice, are found in several localities. Evidence gathered from a great many different sources all establish the fact that these gravels date as far back as the close of the Glacial Age at least, and there are some reasons for supposing them to be interglacial.

We can easily see that the melting away of the immense glaciers that we have been describing would produce vast floods in the rivers, and it is perhaps owing to the presence of such swollen rivers that are due the great beds of surface soil, called loam or loess, found in all the river valleys of France and Germany.[2] These deposits frequently overlie the gravel beds. They are then of a later date than the beds in which are found such convincing proofs of the presence of man, and if they themselves date from the close of the Glacial Age, it is no longer a question whether the gravel beds themselves belong to that age. Thus we see that we can no longer escape the conclusions of Boucher DePerthes. The discovery of rudely worked flints in the drift of the Somme River thus establishes the fact that some time during the Glacial Age, man in a Paleolithic state lived in France.

[1] Lubbock's "Prehistoric Times," 384.

[2] Geikie's "Prehistoric Europe," chap. ix. Most geologists suppose there was a general depression of the region below the sea level, or so as to form inland lakes, and that the loess was thus deposited, as perhaps it is depositing at the present time in the lakes of Switzerland. (Wright.)

Geological terms convey to us no definite ideas as to the lapse of time, and we have an instinctive desire to substitute for them some term of years. In most cases this is impossible, as we have no means to measure the flight of past time, nor are we yet prepared to discuss the question of time, since to do so we must learn a great deal more about the cause of the Glacial Age. We might, however, cite statements which can not fail to impress us with the fact that a great extent of time has passed.

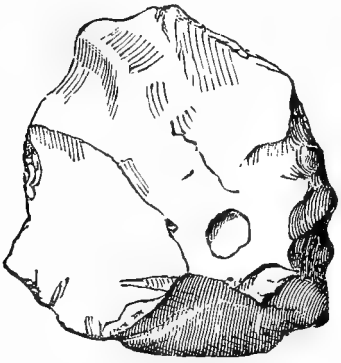
In the case of the river Somme we have a valley in some places a mile or more in width, and about two hundred feet in depth. This has mostly been excavated in chalk rock. Taking our present large rivers as a basis, it would require from one to two hundred thousand years for the Somme to perform this work.[1] It will not do, however, to take the present action of our rivers as a guide, since we have every reason to suppose this work went forward much more rapidly in past times. But we can not escape the conclusion that it demands a very long time indeed to explain it. The valley has remained in its present shape long enough to admit the formation of great beds of peat in some portions. Peat is formed by the decomposition of vegetable growth. Its growth is in all cases slow, depending entirely upon local circumstances. European scholars who have made peat formation a special study assure us that to form such immense beds as occur near Abbeville, several thousand years are required, even under the most favorable conditions.

Yet we would be scarcely willing to rest such important conclusions as the foregoing on the researches of one individual, or in one locality. As already stated, DePerthes made his discoveries public in 1847. Yet they were so opposed to all that had been believed previously, that but few took the

[1] Lubbock's "Prehistoric Times," p. 423.

pains to investigate for themselves. In 1853, Dr. Rigollot, of Amiens, who had been skeptical as to DePerthes, commenced to look for himself in the gravel beds at St. Acheul, about nine miles below Abbeville. As might be expected, he was soon convinced.

It may be said that the scientific world formally accepted the new theory when such English scientists as Evans, Falconer, Lyell, and Prestwich reported in its favor. Since that time, many discoveries of ancient implements have been made at various places in France and England under circumstances similar to those in the valley of the Somme. In England they have been found along almost all the rivers in the southern and southeastern part. One class of discoveries there gives us new ideas as to the extent of time that has passed since they were deposited. That is where they occur in gravel beds having no connection with the present system of rivers. In one case the gravel forms a hill fifteen feet high, situated in the midst of a swampy district, surrounded on all sides by low, flat surfaces. Several such instances could be given; but, in all such cases, we can not doubt that, somewhere near, there once rolled the waters of an ancient river, that man once hunted along its banks, and that, owing to some natural cause, the waters forsook their ancient bed—and that since then, in the slow course of ages, the action of running water has removed so much of the surface of the land near there, that we can not guess at its ancient configuration: we only know, from scattered patches of gravel, that we are standing on the banks of an ancient water-course.



Paleolithic Flint, England.

One instance, illustrative of the great change that has come over the surface features of the country, demanding for their accomplishment a great lapse of time, is furnished by the Isle of Wight. That island is now separated from the mainland by a narrow channel, called the South Hampton Water, or the Solent Sea.

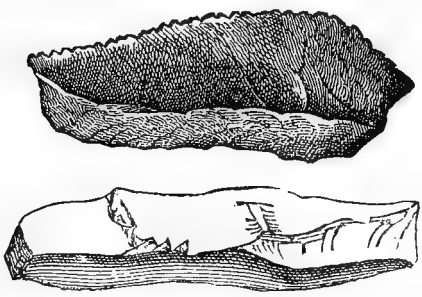
It is now known that this is nothing but an old river channel, in which the sea has usurped the place of the river. The coast is a river embankment, with the usual accompaniments of gravel beds, flint implements, and fresh water shells. On the shores of the island we find the opposite bank of the old river. A very great change must have taken place in the surface features before the sea could have rolled in and cut off the Isle of Wight from the mainland.

In speaking of the length of time demanded for this change, Dr. Evans says: "Who can fully understand how immeasurably remote was the epoch when what is now that vast bay was high and dry land, and a long range of chalk downs, six hundred feet above the sea, bounded the horizon on the South? And yet that must have been the sight that met the eye of primitive man who frequented the banks of that ancient river, which buried their handiwork in gravels that now cap the cliffs—and of the course of which so strange and indubitable a memorial subsists in what has now become the Solent Sea?"[1]

The illustrations scattered through this essay are representations of the stone implements found in the drift of European rivers. During all the long course of time supposed to be covered by the Paleolithic Age, there are but very few evidences of any improvement, as far as we can judge from the implements themselves. This is in itself a melancholy

[1] Evans's "Ancient Stone Implements," p. 621.

proof of the low condition of man. He had made so little advance in the scale of wisdom, he possessed so little knowledge, he was so much a creature of instinct, that, during the thousands of years demanded for this age, he made no appreciable progress. The advance of the last century was many times greater than that of the entire Paleolithic Age.



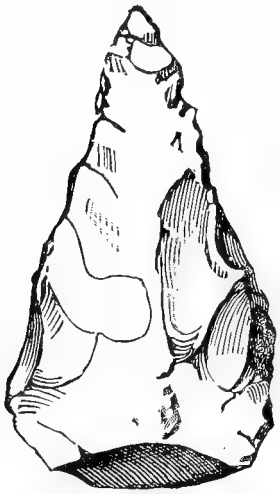
Flint Flakes.

A blow struck on one end of a piece of flint will, owing to the peculiar cleavage of flint, split off pieces called flakes. This is the simplest form of implement used by man. It is impossible to say with certainty how they were used; but, from the evidence observed on them, they were probably used as scrapers. The men of that day doubtless knew some simple method of preparing clothing from the skins of the animals they had killed, and probably many of these sharp-rimmed flakes were used to assist in this primitive process of tanning.

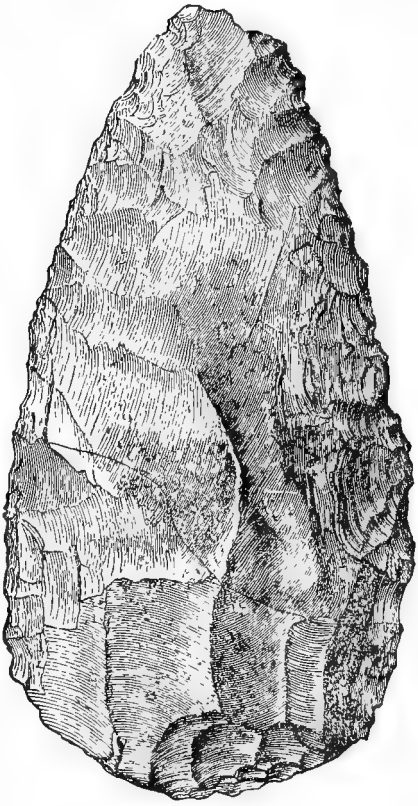
When the piece of flint itself was chipped into form, it was one whose shape would indicate a spear-head or hatchet. We present illustrations of each. Forms intermediate between these two are found. Some have such a thick heavy base that it is believed they were used in the hand, and had no handle or haft.

Others, with a cutting edge all round, may have been provided with a handle. M. Mortillet, of France, who has had excellent opportunities of studying this question very thoroughly, thinks that the hatchet was the only type of implement they possessed, and that it was used for every conceivable purpose—but that their weapon was a club, all

traces of which have, of course, long since vanished away.[1] These few implements imply that their possessors were savages like the native Australians. In this stage of culture, man lived by hunting, and had not yet learned to till the ground, or to seek the materials out of which his implements were made by mining. He merely fashioned the stones which happened to be within his reach in the shallows of the rivers as they were wanted, throwing them away after they had been used. In this manner the large numbers which have been met with in certain spots may be accounted for. Man at this time appears before us as a nomad hunter, poorly equipped for the struggle of life, without knowledge of metals, and ignorant of the art of grinding his stone tools to a sharp edge.[2] Of course we can not hope to learn



Spear Head Type.



Hatchet Type.

[1] *Pop. Science Monthly*, Oct., 1883. [2] Dawkins's "Ear. Man in Brit.," p. 163.

much of their social condition, other than that just set forth.

DePerthes found some flints which show evidence of their human origin, and yet it would be very difficult to say what was their use. He thinks they may have a religious significance, and has set forth a great variety of eloquent surmises respecting them. It only need be said that such theorizing is worse than useless. That while it is very probable these tribes had some system of belief, yet there is no good reason for supposing these flints had any connection with it. It has been supposed, from another series of wrought flints, that the men of this epoch were possessed of some sentiments of art, as pieces have been found thought to represent the forms of animals, men's faces, birds, and fishes; but as very few have been able to detect such resemblances, it is safe to say they do not exist.

As the love of adornment is almost as old as human nature itself, we may not be surprised to find traces of its sway then. Dr. Rigollot found little bunches of shells with holes through either end. The supposition is that these were used as beads; which is not at all strange, considering how instinctively savage men delight in such ornaments. These ancient hunters made use of beads partially prepared by nature.

Europe is not the only country where the remains of this savage race are found. They are found in the countries bordering the Mediterranean in Northern Africa, and in Egypt. In this latter country they are doubtless largely buried under the immense deposits of Nile mud; yet in 1878 Professor Haynes discovered in Upper Egypt scrapers and hatchets, pronounced by archæologists to be exactly similar to those of the river Somme. We are not informed as to their geological age, but there can be no question that they

are much older than any monument of Egyptian civilization hitherto known.[1]

Paleolithic implements have also been found in Palestine and in India. In the latter country the beds are so situated that they present the same *indicia* of age as do those of the Somme Valley. A great portion of the formation has been removed, and deep valleys cut in them by running water.[2] They have also been found in at least one locality in the United States; that is in the glacial gravel of the valley of the Delaware at Trenton, New Jersey. We must not confound these remains with those of the Indian tribes found scattered over a large extent of surface. Those at Trenton also are not only in all respects, except materials, similar to those of the Somme, but are found imbedded in a formation of gravel that was deposited at least as far back as the close of the Glacial Age, thus requiring the passage of the same long series of years since they were used, as do the implements of European rivers.[3] We must also bear in mind that no country has been so carefully explored for these implements as has Europe, and that the very country, Asia, where, for many reasons, we might hope to find not only unequivocal proofs of man's presence, but from our discoveries be able to clear up many dark points, as to the race, origin, and fate of these primitive tribes, is yet almost a sealed book.

But the scattered discoveries we have instanced show us that the people whose implements have been described in this chapter were very widely dispersed over the earth, and everything indicates that they were far removed from us in time. The similarity in type of implements shows that, wherever

[1] Wright's "Studies in Science and Religion," p. 278. See also British Association Report, 1882, p. 602.

[2] Lubbock's "Prehistoric Times," p. 356. [3] Abbott's "Primitive Industry."

found, they were the same people, in the same low savage state of culture—"Alike in the somber forests of oak and pine in Great Britain, and when surrounded by the luxuriant vegetation of the Indian jungle."[1]

We have yet two important points to consider. The first is, what race of men were these river tribes? and second, when did they arrive in Europe? Did they precede the glacial cold? did they make their appearance during a warm interglacial period? or was it not until the final retreat of the glaciers that they first wandered into Europe? These questions are far from settled; yet they have been the object of a great amount of painstaking research.

To determine the first point, it is necessary that anatomists have skeletons of the men of this age, to make a careful study of them. But for a great many reasons, portions of the human skeleton are very rarely found in such circumstances that we are sure they date back to the Paleolithic Age, and especially is this true of the men of the River Drift. In a few instances fragmentary portions have been found.

M. Quatrefages, of France, who is certainly a very high authority on these points, thinks that the hunter tribes of the River Drift belonged to the Canstadt race—"so named from the village of Canstadt, in Germany, near which a fossil skull was discovered in 1700, and which appears to be closely allied to the Neanderthal skull, discovered near Dusseldorf in 1857, and about which so much has been written."[2] Quatrefages supposes that this type of man is still to be found in certain Australian tribes. These are not mere guesses, but are conclusions drawn from careful study by eminent European scholars.[3]

[1] Dawkins's "Early Man in Britain," p. 172.
[2] Wright.
[3] Quatrefages's "Human Species," p. 307.

It is well known that a competent naturalist needs but a single fossil bone to describe the animal itself, and tell us of its habits. So also anthropologists need but fragments of the human skeleton, especially of the skull, to describe the characteristics of the race to which the individual belonged.

This cut, though an ideal restoration, is a restoration made in accordance with the results of careful study of fragmentary skulls found in various localities in Europe. The head and the face present a savage aspect; the body harmonized with the head; the height was not more than five feet and a half; yet the bones are very thick in proportion to their length, and were evidently supplied with a powerful set of muscles, since the little protuberances and depressions where the muscles are attached are remarkably well developed.[1] Huxley and Quatrefages have both pointed out that representatives of this race are to be found among some Australian tribes. "Among the races of this great island there is one, distributed particularly in the province of Victoria, in the neighborhood of Port Western, which reproduces, in a remarkable manner, the characters of the Canstadt race."[2] Not the least interesting result of this discovery is the similarity of weapons and implements. "With Mr. Lartet, we see in the obsidian lances of New Caledonia the

Neanderthal Man.

[1] "Human Species," p. 305.

[2] Ibid., p. 307.

flint heads of the lower alluvium of the Somme. The hatchet of certain Australians reminds us, as it did Sir Charles Lyell, of the Abbeville hatchet.[1]

Yet some hesitate about accepting these interesting inferences, thinking that the portions of the human skeleton thus far recovered, which are beyond a doubt referable to this period, are too fragmentary to base such important conclusions upon. This is the view of Boyd Dawkins, who thinks "we can not refer them to any branch of the human race now alive."[2] "We are without a clew," continues he, "to the ethnology of the River Drift man, who most probably is as completely extinct as the woolly rhinoceros or the cave bear."[3] Future discoveries will probably settle this point.

It is yet a much disputed point to what particular portion of the Glacial Age we can trace the appearance of man. We can profitably note the tendency of scientific thought in this direction. But a short time has elapsed since a few scholars here and there began to urge an antiquity for man extending back beyond the commonly accepted period of six thousand years. Though it is now well known and admitted that there are no good grounds for this estimate, yet such was its hold, such its sway over scientific as well as popular thought, that an appeal to this chronology was deemed sufficient answer to the discoveries of DePerthes, Schmerling, and others. It was but yesterday that this popular belief was overthrown and due weight given the discoveries of careful explorers in many branches, and the antiquity of man referred, on indisputable grounds, to a point of time at least as far back as the close of the preceding geological age.[4]

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[1] Quatrefage's "Human Species," p. 306.

[2] "Early Man in Britain," p. 173. [3] Ibid., p. 233.

[4] We do not give any estimate in years as to this antiquity in this chapter.

It seems as if here a halt had been called, and all possible objections are urged against a further extension of time. It is, of course, well to be careful in this matter, and to accept only such results as inevitably follow from well authenticated discoveries. But it also seems to us there is no longer any doubt that man dates back to the beginning of that long extended time we have named the Glacial Age.[1]

In the first place, we must recall the animals that suddenly made their appearance in Europe at the beginning of this age. Though there were a number of species, since become extinct, the majority of animal forms were those still living.[2]

These are the animals with which man has always been associated. There is therefore no longer any reason to suppose the evolution of animal life had not reached that stage where man was to appear. We need only recall how strongly this point was urged in reference to the preceding geological epoch, to see its important bearings here. Mr. Boyd Dawkins has shown that the great majority of animals which invaded Europe at the commencement of this age, can be traced to Northern and Central Asia, whence, owing to climatic changes, they migrated into Europe.[3]

Inasmuch as man seems to have been intimately associated with these animals, it seems to us very likely that he came with them from their home in Asia. We think the tendency of modern discoveries is to establish the fact that man arrived in Europe along with the great invasion of species now living.[4]

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[1] We must remember that this age is also variously called the Quaternary, Pleistocene, and Post Tertiary. We do not now refer to the evidence of man's existence in the Miocene and Pliocene, treated of in the preceding chapter.

[2] Mr. Dawkins finds that fifty-five out of seventy-seven species are yet living. "Early Man in Britain," p. 109.

[3] "Early Man in Britain," p. 110.

[4] Those who reject the proofs of the existence of man in Pliocene times because the evolution of life had not then reached a stage where we could hope

Turning now to the authorities, we find this to be the accepted theory of many of those competent to form an opinion.

In England Mr. Geikie has strongly urged the theory that the Glacial Age includes not only periods of great cold, but also epochs of exceptional mildness; and he strongly argues that all the evidence of the River Drift tribes can be referred to these warm interglacial epochs; in other words, that they were living in Europe during the Glacial Age.[1]

In answer to this it has been stated that the relics of River Drift tribes in Southern England overlie bowlder clay, and must therefore be later in origin than the Glacial Age.[2]

But, Mr. Geikie and others have shown that the ice of the last great cold did not overflow Southern England,[3] so that this evidence, rightly read, was really an argument in favor of their interglacial age.[4] The committee appointed by the British Association to explore the Victoria Cave, near Settle, urge this point very strongly in their final report of 1878.[5] To this report Mr. Dawkins, a member of the committee, records his dissent, but in his last great work he freely admits that man was living in England during the Glacial Age, if he did not, in fact, precede it.[6]

Mr. Skertchley, of the British coast survey, in 1879,[7] announced the discovery in East Anglia of Paleolithic imple-

to find man, are here confronted with a difficulty. If Mr. Dawkins be right (as stated above) then the various animals in question must have been living in Asia during the preceding Pliocene Age. There is no reason to suppose man was not associated with them, since he belongs to the same stage of evolution (Le Conte's "Elements of Geology," p. 568), and though, owing to climatic and geographical causes, the animals themselves might have been confined to Asia, there is surely no good reason why man may not, in small bands, and at various times, have wandered into Europe.

[1] "Prehistoric Europe," "The Great Ice Age."

[2] Dawkin's "Early Man in Britain," p. 170.

[3] "Prehistoric Europe," p. 268.

[4] Ibid., 360.

[5] British Assoc. Rep., 1878.

[6] "Early Man in Britain," pp. 137, 141, and 169, with note.

[7] British Assoc. Rep., 1879.

ments underlying the bowlder clay of that section. Mr. Geikie justly regards this as a most important discovery.[1]

Finally Mr. Dawkins, in his address as President of the Anthropological section of the British Association, in 1882, goes over the entire ground. After alluding to the discovery of paleolithic implements in Egypt, India, and America, he continues: "The identity of implements of the River Drift hunter proves that he was in the same rude state of civilization, if it can be called civilization, in the Old and the New World, when the hand of the geological clock struck the same hour. It is not a little strange that this mode of life should have been the same in the forests of the North, and south of the Mediterranean, in Palestine, in the tropical forests of India, and on the western shores of the Atlantic." This, however, is not taken as proving the identity of race, but as proving that in this morning-time of man's existence he had nowhere advanced beyond a low state of savagism. Mr. Dawkins then continues: "It must be inferred from his wide-spread range that he must have inhabited the earth for a long time, and that his dispersal took place before the Glacial epoch in Europe and America. I therefore feel inclined to view the River Drift hunter as having invaded Europe in preglacial times, along with other living species which then appeared." He also points out that the evidence is that he lived in Europe during all the changes of that prolonged period known as the Glacial Age.[2]

Sir John Lubbock also records his assent to these views. He says on this point: "It is, I think, more than probable that the advent of the Glacial Period found man already in possession of Europe."[3]

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[1] Prehistoric Europe, p. 263.

[2] British Assoc. Rep., 1882.

[3] Preface to Kains-Jackson's "Our Ancient Monuments."

In our own country Prof. Powell says: "It is now an established fact that man was widely scattered over the earth at least as early as the beginning of the Quaternary period, and perhaps in Pliocene times."[1]

This completes our investigation of the men of the River Drift. We see how, by researches of careful scholars, our knowledge of the past has been enlarged. Though there are many points which are as yet hidden in darkness, we are enabled to form quite a clear mental picture of this early race. Out of the darkness which still enshrouds the continent of Asia we see these bands of savages wandering forth; some to Europe, Africa, and the west; others to America and the east.

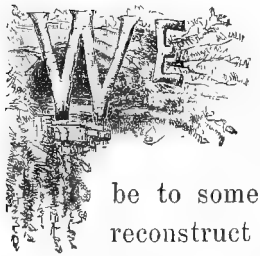
This was at a time when slowly falling temperature but dimly prophesied a reign of arctic cold, still far in the future. This race does not seem to have had much capacity for advancement, since ages came and went leaving him in the same low state. During the climax of glacial cold he doubtless sought the southern coasts of Europe along with the temperate species of animals. But whenever the climatic conditions were such that these animals could find subsistence as far north as England he accompanied them there, and so his remains are found constantly associated with theirs throughout Europe. Though doubtless very low in the scale, and at the very foot of the ladder of human progress, we are acquainted with no facts connecting them with the higher orders of animals. If such exists, we must search for them further back in geological time. The men of the River Drift were distinctively human beings, and as such possessed those qualities which, developing throughout the countless ages that have elapsed, have advanced man to his present high position.

[1] "First Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology," p. 73.

# CHAPTER IV.

## CAVE-MEN.[1]

OTHER sources of Information—History of Cave Exploration—The formation of Caves—Exploration in Kent's Cavern—Evidence of two different races—The higher culture of the later race—Evidence of prolonged time—Exploration of Robin Hood Cave—Explorations in Valley of the River Meuse—M. Dupont's conclusions—Explorations in the Valley of the Dordogne—The Station at Schussenreid—Cave-men not found south of the Alps—Habitations of the Cave-men—Cave-men were Hunters—Methods of Cooking—Destitute of the Potter's art—Their Weapons—Clothing—Their skill in Drawing—Evidence of a Government—Of Religious belief—Race of the Cave-men—Distinct from the men of the Drift—Probable Connection with the Eskimos.



HAVE been delving among the sands of ancient river bottoms for a proof of man's existence in far remote times. Slight and unsatisfactory as they may be to some, they are the materials with which we reconstruct a wondrous story of life and times removed from us by many a cycle of years.

Men have frequently resorted to the caverns of the earth for protection. In places we find caves that served this purpose during the Paleolithic Age. The men of the Drift, however, do not appear to have used them, save as temporary places of refuge, perhaps as a protection from bands of savage enemies, or from unusually inclement weather. But yet most surprising results have attended

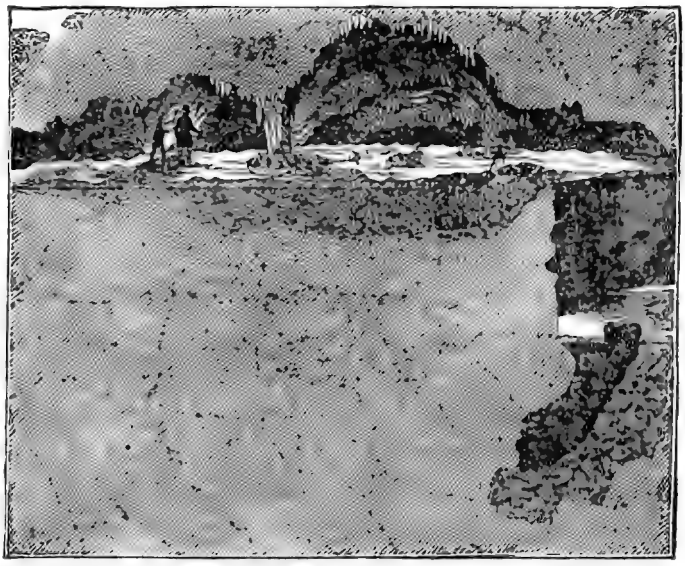
[1] The manuscript of this chapter was submitted to Prof. G. F. Wright, of Oberlin, for criticism.

the exploration of caves in England, France, and Belgium. We find in those gloomy places that the men of the Drift were not the only tribes of men inhabiting Europe during the Glacial Age. In fact, living at later date than the Drift tribes, but still belonging to the Paleolithic Age, were tribes of people who appear to have utilized caverns and grottoes as places of permanent resort, and, judging from their remains, they had made considerable advance in the arts of living as compared with the tribes of the Drift.

But before pointing out the grounds upon which these conclusions rest, it may be well to give a slight review of the history of cave research. The dread and awe which kept people away from caves during the Middle Ages preserved their contents for later discoverers. In the seventeenth century some adventurous spirits began to search in them for what they called Unicorn horns, which were deemed a most efficacious remedy for various diseases. This search served the good purpose of bringing to light various fossil bones of animals, and calling the attention of scientific men to the same.

The cave of Gailenreuth, in Bavaria, was explored by Dr. Goldfuss in 1810. He came to the conclusion that the bones of bears and other extinct animals were proofs of the former presence of the animals themselves. Dr. Buckland, a celebrated English writer, visited the cave in 1816, and became much interested in the work; so much so that when Kirkdale Cavern, in England, was discovered in 1821, he at once repaired to the spot and made a careful exploration. The results satisfied him that hyenas and other extinct animals had once lived in England. He followed up his explorations in a number of cases, and published a work on this subject in 1822, which marks the commencement of a new era in cave research.

In 1825 Kent's Cavern, near Torquay, was discovered, and Rev. J. McEnry made partial explorations in it. He discovered flint implements, and perceived they might be a proof of the presence of man with these extinct animals. Dr. Buckland had not found these relics, or else had passed them by as of no importance, for he refused to entertain the theory that man and the extinct animals had been contemporaneous. Explorations made in France in 1827–8 had



Gailenreuth.

furnished such strong evidence on this point that it was deemed established by some scholars, but being opposed to the prevailing belief, nothing came of it.

In 1829 Schmerling commenced his investigations in the caves of the valley of the Meuse. For years he continued his work under many difficulties. Sir Charles Lyell tells us he was let down day after day to the opening of the Engis Cave by a rope tied to a tree. Arriving there he crawled on all fours through a narrow passage way to the enlarged

chamber, where, standing in mud and water, he superintended the investigations. He examined over forty of those caves, and published his results in 1833. He clearly showed that man must have been living along with various animals now extinct in Belgium. But, as before remarked, it was deemed sufficient answer to this careful explorer to point out that his results were opposed to the accepted chronology, and so they were passed by. When the time at last came, and their true worth was recognized, Schmerling himself had passed away.

We have already seen what great results followed the exploration of DePerthes in the river gravels. When it had been clearly established that man and extinct animals had coexisted in Europe, the results of cave explorations were eagerly recalled, and governments vied with royal societies and private individuals in continuing the researches. The results are that a rich store of facts has been gathered from those gloomy resorts, illustrative of the later stages of Paleolithic art.

A word as to the formation of caves, grottoes, caverns, and rock shelters. These vary greatly in size, some being so small as to furnish protection to but few individuals; others, especially caves, so large that whole tribes might have found a place of resort within their chambers. They are found in all limestone countries. The formation of caves is now recognized as due to natural causes acting slowly through many years. Limestone rock is very hard and durable, but chemistry teaches us that water charged with carbonic acid gas will readily dissolve it. Rain-water falling from the clouds is sure to come in contact with masses of decaying vegetable matter, which we know is constantly giving off quantities of this gas. Laden with this the water sinks into the ground, and, if it comes in contact with lime-

stone, readily washes some of it away in solution. But beds of limestone rock are noted for containing great fissures through which subterranean waters penetrate far into the ground. We can readily see how this percolating water would dissolve and wear away the surface of the rocks along such a fissure, and in process of time we would have the phenomenon of a stream of water flowing under ground.

Owing to a great many causes—such, for instance, as the meeting of another fissure—we would expect that portions of this underground way would become enlarged to spacious halls. In some such a way as this it is now understood that all caves have originated.

Owing to many natural causes the river may, after a while, cease to flow, leaving enlarged portions of its channel behind as a succession of chambers in a cave. But water would still come trickling in from the tops and sides, and be continuously dripping to the floor, where it speedily evaporates. When such is the case it leaves behind it the limestone it held in solution. So, in process of time, if the deposition is undisturbed, there will be formed over the floor of the cave a more or less continuous layer of limestone matter known as stalagmite. The same formations on the top and sides of the cave are called stalactites. In places where the drip is continuous the stalactite gradually assumes the shape of an immense icicle; while the stalagmite on the floor of the cave, underneath the drip, rises in a columnar mass to meet the descending stalactite. A union of these is not uncommon, and we have pillars and columns presenting the strange, fantastic appearance on which tourists delight to dwell in their notes of travel.

While these accumulations are in all cases very slow, still we can not measure the time since it commenced by the rate of present growth, because this rate varies greatly at

different times and places even in the same cave. And we must also remark that this complete series of changes only occur in a few localities, the majority of caves being insignificant in size.[1]

From what has been said as to the formation of caves, we would expect them to occur in river valleys, and this is the case, though in some instances there have been such immense changes in the surface level of the country that we can now find no trace of rivers near them. This is exactly similar to some gravel deposits, which, as we have seen, are occasionally found where is now no running water. The most noted caverns, however, are found high up on the banks of existing rivers. We can not doubt that the rivers were the cause of the caves. But having excavated their beds below the level of the then existing caves, they ceased to flow in them, and left them to be occupied by savage animals and the scarcely less savage men. But at times, swollen by floods, the river would again assert its supremacy and roll its waters through its old channels.

These floods would not only tear up and rearrange whatever *débris* had already accumulated, but would introduce quantities of sediment and animal remains. In some such a manner as is here pointed out (though exactly how geologists are not agreed) caves were invaded, after being long occupied by men or animals, by floods of water. In many cases the evidence would seem to indicate that after such a visitation by water the cave and its water-rolled and water-arranged contents were left to silence, visited by neither man nor beast. In such instances stalagmitic coverings would gradually form over the confused *débris*, and in some places acquire a thickness of several feet. In some instances

[1] On the formation of caves consult Geikie's "Prehistoric Europe," p. 71; also Evans's "Ancient Stone Implements," p. 429.

several such floors are found one above the other, pointing to a prolonged period of usage, and then a quiet stage, in which the drip of falling water alone broke the silence, and nature sealed up another chapter of cave biography beneath the layer of stalagmite.

One of the most important caves of England is Kent's Cavern, before mentioned. This cave was carefully explored under the direction of a committee appointed by the British Association, and to show the care and thoroughness of the work we need only state that this work occupied the greater portion of sixteen years, and hence the results obtained may be regarded as, in a general way, illustrative of the life of the cave dwellers. "This cave is about a mile east of Torquay harbor, and is of a sinuous character, running deeply into a hill of Devonian limestone, about half a mile distant from the sea. In places it expands into large chambers, to which various distinctive names have been given."[1]

Let us see what general results have been reached by this committee. The investigation disclosed several different beds of stalagmite, cave earth, and breccia. The lowest layer is a breccia.[2] The matrix is sand of a reddish color, containing many pieces of rock known as red-grit and some pieces of quartz. This implies the presence of running water, which at times washed in pieces of red-grit. The surface features must have been quite different from the present, since now this rock does not form any part of the hill into which this cave opens.[3] And this change in drainage took place before this lowest layer was completed, since not only bears, but men, commenced to visit the cave. The

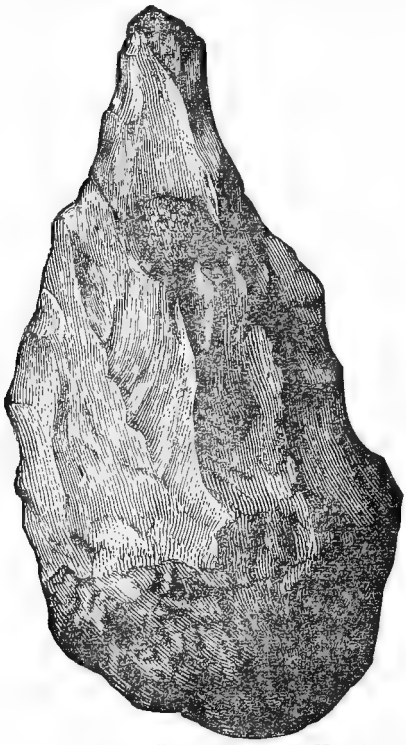
[1] Evans's "Ancient Stone Implements," p. 445.

[2] Pronounced Bret'-chá, a rock composed of fragments of older rock, united by a cement.

[3] Geikie's "Prehistoric Europe," p. 92.

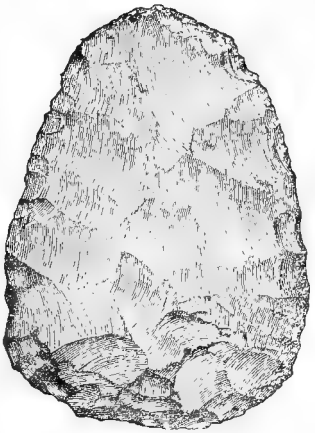
presence of bears is shown by numerous bones, and that of man by his implements.

We must notice that all the implements found in the breccia are similar to those of the Drift, being rudely formed and massive. No doubt these are the remains of Drift men, who, for some cause or other, temporarily visited the cave, perhaps contending with the cave bear for its possession. But a time at length arrived when for some reason neither animals nor man visited the cave. The slow accumulation of stalagmite went forward until in some places it had obtained a thickness of twelve feet. Freely admitting that we can not determine the length of time demanded for this deposition, yet none can doubt that it requires a very long time indeed. Says Mr. Geikie: "How many centuries rolled past while that old pavement was slowly accreting, no one can say; but that it represents a lapse of ages compared to which the time embraced by all tradition and written history is but as a few months, who that is competent to form an opinion can doubt?" But after this long period of quiet, from some source great torrents of water came rolling through the cave. We know this to be so, because in places it broke up this layer of stalagmite and washed it away, as well as large



Spear-head—Lower Breccia, Kent's Cavern.

portions of the breccia below, and after the floods had ceased, occasionally inundations still threw down layers of mud and silt. This accumulation is known as cave earth, and is the layer containing the numerous remains of the Cave-men. Here the explorers were not only struck with the large number of implements, but at once noticed that they were of a higher form and better made. Instead of the rude and massive implements of the Drift tribes, we have more delicate forms chipped all around. And we also meet with those that from their form may have been used as the heads of spears or arrows. Flakes were also utilized for various purposes. We also find implements, weapons, and ornaments of bone—a step in advance of Drift culture. They had "harpoons for spearing fish, eyed needles or bodkins for stitching skins together, awls perhaps to facilitate the passage of the slender needle through the tough, thick hides; pins for fastening the skins they wore, and perforated badgers' teeth for necklaces or bracelets."[1] Nothing of this kind has yet been shown as belonging to the men of the Drift.



Spear-head—Cave-earth, Kent's Cavern.

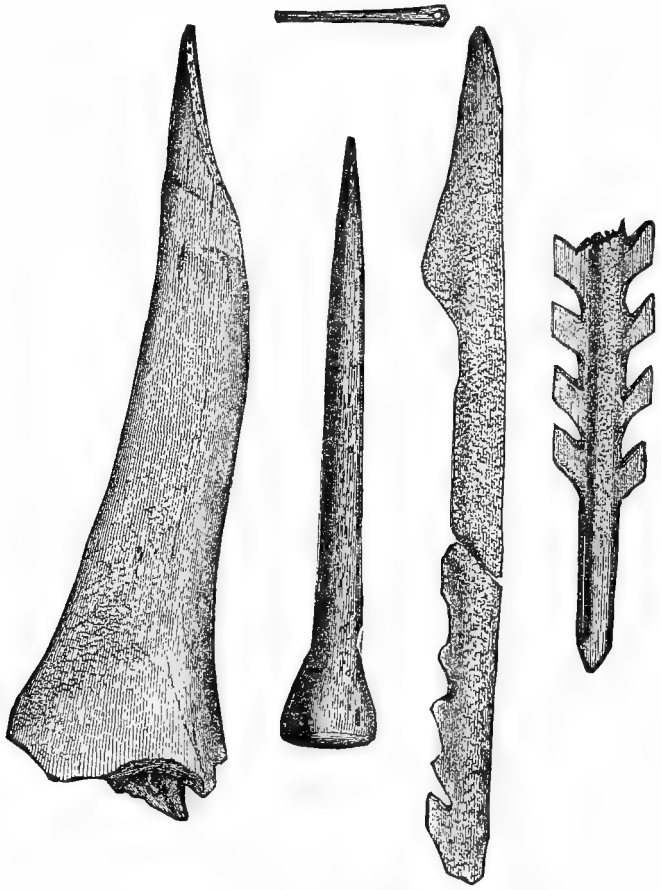
Flake—Cave-earth, Kent's Cavern.

The bones of a large number of animals are also found in the cave earth. The most abundant is the hyena, and no doubt they dragged in a great many others; but the agency of man is equally apparent, as the bones have often been split for the extraction

[1] Pengelly, quoted by Geikie, "Prehistoric Europe," p. 93.

of marrow. Besides bones of the hyena, we have also those of the lion, tiger, bear, and reindeer.[1]

With these animals man, from time to time, disputed possession of the cave. At one place on the surface of the



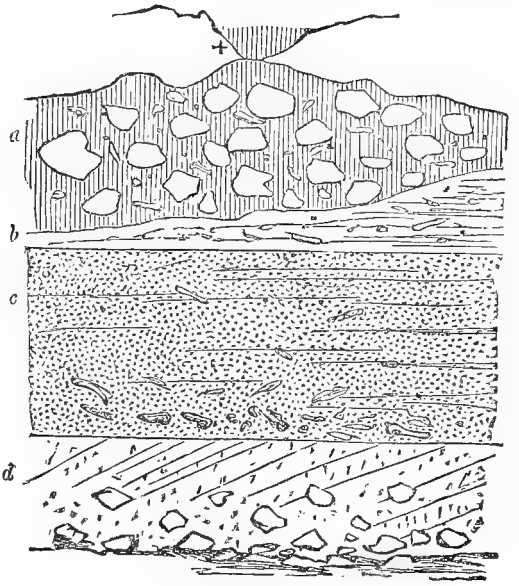
Harpoons, Pin, Awl, and Needle—Kent's Cavern.

cave earth is found what is known as the "black band." This is nothing more or less than the fire-place of these old tribes. Here we find fragments of partially consumed wood,

[1] Evans's "Ancient Stone Implements," p. 462.

bones showing the action of fire—in short, every thing indicating a prolonged occupancy by man.

No one can doubt but that this deposit of cave earth itself requires a prolonged time for its accumulation.[1] But this period, however prolonged, at length comes to an end. From some cause, both animals and man again abandoned the cave. Another vast cycle of years rolls away—a time expressed in thousands of years—during which nature again spread over the entombed remains a layer of stalagmite, in some places equal in thickness to the first formation. Above this layer we come to a bed of mold containing remains of the later Stone Age, of the Bronze, and even of the Iron Age. Below the first layer of stalagmite—the completed biography of Paleolithic times; above, the unfinished book of the present. Such are the eloquent results obtained by the thorough exploration of one cave. The results of all the other explorations, in a general way, confirm these. Mr. Dawkins explored a group of caverns in Derbyshire, England. These caverns and fissures are situated in what is




Robin Hood Cave.

† Stalagmite uniting roof to breccia; *a* Stalagmite breccia with bones and implements, 0 to 36 inches; *b* Cave earth with bones and implements, 21 to 52 inches; *c* Red clayey sand, 24 to 48 inches; *d* Light-colored sand with limestone blocks, 24 inches.

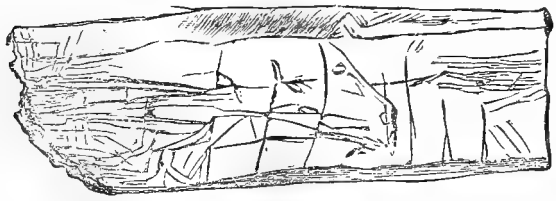
[1] Evans's "Ancient Stone Implement," p. 463.

known as Cresswell Crags, the precipitous sides of a ravine through which flows a stream of water dividing the counties of Derby and Nottingham.

This cut represents the different strata in Robin Hood cave. It will be seen that, at one place, the stalactite has united with the stalagmite below. It is not necessary to go into the details of this exploration. All the relics of man found in *d*, *c*, and the lower portions of *b*, are the rude and massive forms peculiar to the River Drift tribes. But the relics found in the breccia *a*, and the upper portion of the cave earth *b*, denote a sudden advance in culture. The rude tools of the lower strata are replaced by more highly finished ones of flint.

The most important discovery was that of a small fragment of rib, with its polished surface ornamented with the incised figure of a horse. The peculiar value of this discovery is, that it serves to connect the Cave-men of England with those of the continent, who, as we shall afterward see, excelled in artistic work of this kind.

In another cave of this series, in association with similar flints, were found the following bone implements. We can only conjecture the use of the notched bone.

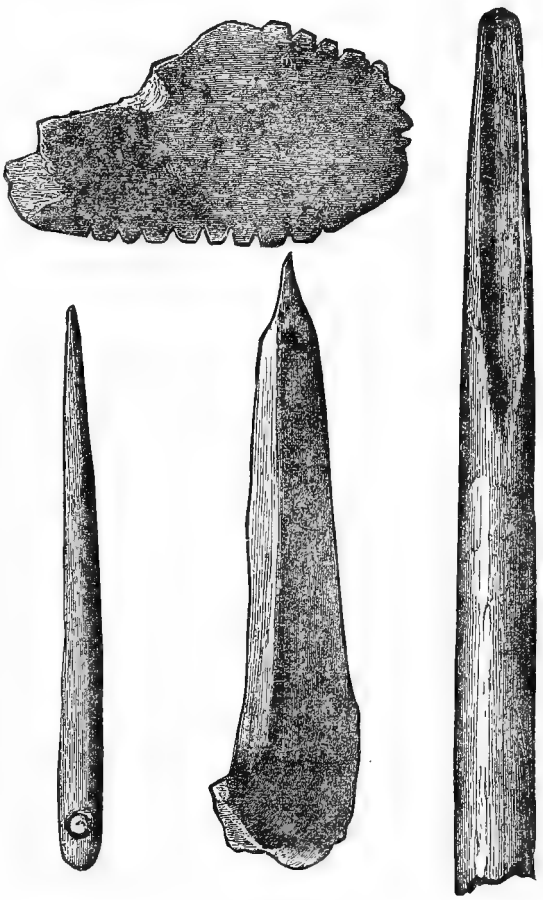


Horse Incised on Piece of Rib.

The pieces of reindeer horn, terminating in a scoop, may have served as a spoon to extract marrow.

We must not fail to notice that the more highly finished relics of the Cave-men are found in strata overlying those of the River Drift; and, in the case of Kent's Cavern, these two sets of implements are separated by a layer of stalagmite requiring a very prolonged time for its formation. This

would imply that the Cave-men came into England long after the tribes of the River Drift; and, judging from the relics themselves, they must have been a distinct people. We must recall how completely the climate and animals in England varied during the Glacial Age. We have also seen how closely connected the River Drift tribes were with the animals of the warm temperate regions. Coming at a later date, totally distinct from them in culture are those Cave-men — perhaps they may prove to be associated with the Arctic animals. But, before speculating on this point, we must learn the results attending the exploration of the caves of Belgium, France, and other countries on the continent of Europe.



Bone Implements—Cresswell Crags.

In the valley of the river Meuse (Belgium), and its

tributaries, have been found a number of caves and rock-shelters. It was in the caves of the Meuse that Schmerling made his explorations. When the real value of his work was recognized, the Belgian government had a thorough exploration made by M. Dupont, director of the Royal Museum in Brussels. This gentleman scientifically examined forty-three of these resorts. His opinions, therefore, are deserving of great weight; but, unfortunately, they are not accepted by all. These caves vary greatly in size—many being mere rock-shelters. From their position, we are at once struck with the prolonged period of time necessary to explain their formation. They are found at very different heights along the river's bank. In one case two caves are so situated that the river must have sunk its bed nearly two hundred feet between the time of their formation.[1]

M. Dupont thinks the evidence very clearly points to the presence of two distinct stages in cave life—one of which he calls the Mammoth period, and the other, which is more recent, the Reindeer. It is, however, known that the mammoth lived all through the Reindeer epoch, if not to later times; so the names bestowed on these periods do not seem very appropriate. We can readily see, however, that, while the names might be wrong, the two periods might be reality. In many cases, the same cave contained remains of both stages, separated by layers of cave earth, and it is noticed that, in such cases, those of the Reindeer stage are invariably of a later date. In general terms, M. Dupont finds that the implements of the Mammoth period are of a rude make, consisting of a poor kind of flint, and poorly finished. But, in beds of the Reindeer epoch, the flint implements consist, principally, of well-shaped blades and flakes—with numerous bodkins, or awls—javelins, or arrow-heads—besides articles of bone and horn,

[1] Geikie's "Prehistoric Europe," p. 102.

such as harpoons, and teeth of various animals drilled as if suspended for ornaments. Their workmanship indicates decidedly more skill than that of the implements obtained from the lower levels. But the most remarkable finds of the Reindeer epoch consist of portions of reindeer horn, showing etchings or engravings which have been traced by some sharp point, no doubt by a flint implement. One small bit of horn has been cut or scraped so as to present the rude outline of a human figure.

So far the evidence seems to bear out the same conclusions as do those of the British caves, though it also shows that the men of the Drift inhabited caves quite extensively. We must remember, however, that the greatest wealth of cave relics belongs to the so-called Cave-men, but that savage tribes have always resorted to caves as a place for occasional habitation.[1]

It is in France that we find the greatest wealth of relics of Cave-men. Sir John Lubbock has left us a description of the valley of the Vezère, where these caverns occur. The Vezère is a small tributary of the Dordogne. "The rivers of the Dordogne run in deep valleys cut through calcareous strata: and while the sides of the valley in chalk districts are generally sloping, in this case, owing probably to the hardness of the rock, they are frequently vertical. Small caves and grottoes frequently occur: besides which, as the

[1] Mr. Dawkins ("Early Man in Britain," p. 203) does not consider M. Dupont justified in dividing the remains found in the caverns of Belgium into two epochs. He considers them to be the remains of the same people, some tribes being, perhaps, farther advanced than others. Mr. Dawkins is, of course, high authority, but we think his argument could also be applied to prove there was no real difference between the men of the River Drift and the so-called Cave-men. This, in fact, is the opinion of many, including Mr. Evans, who is exceptionally well qualified to judge of these remains. We think, however, in view of the evidence adduced by Mr. Pengelly, Mr. Geikie, Mr. Dawkins, and others, few will venture to doubt that there is a wide difference between the men of the River Drift and those of the Caves.

different strata possess unequal power of resistance against atmospheric influence, the face of the rock is, as it were, scooped out in many places, and thus 'rock-shelters' are produced. In very ancient times these caves and rock-shelters were inhabited by men, who have left behind them abundant evidence of their presence.

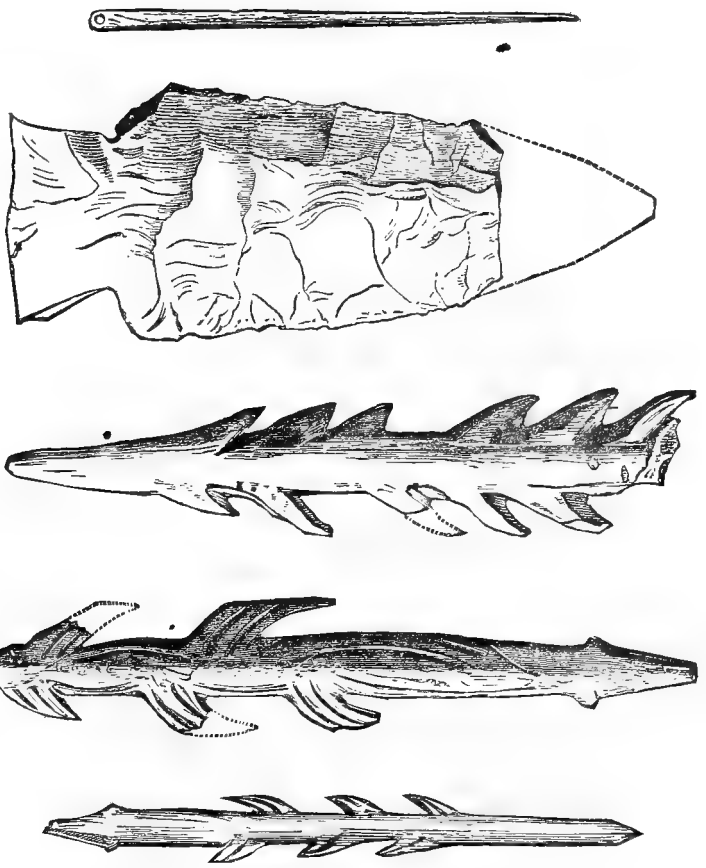
"But as civilization advanced, man, no longer content with the natural but inconvenient abode thus offered to him, excavated chambers for himself, and in places the whole face of the rock is honey-combed with doors and windows, leading into suits of rooms, often in tiers one over the other, so as to suggest the idea of a French Petra. Down to a comparatively recent period, as, for instance, in the troublous times of the Middle Ages, many of these, no doubt, served as very efficient fortifications, and even now some of them are in use as store-houses. and for other purposes, as, for instance, at Brantome, where there is an old chapel cut in solid rock.

"Apart from the scientific interest, it was impossible not to enjoy the beauty of the scene which passed before our eyes, as we dropped down the Vezère. As the river visited sometimes one side of the valley, sometimes the other, so we had at one moment rich meadow lands on each side, or found ourselves close to the perpendicular and almost overhanging cliff. Here and there we came upon some picturesque old castle, and though the trees were not in full leaf, the rocks were, in many places, green with box and ivy and evergreen oak, which harmonized well with the rich yellow brown of the stone itself."[1]

Thus it will be seen this valley has been a favorite resort for people at widely different times, and amongst others, the cave dwellers of the Paleolithic Age. As in the caves

[1] "Prehistoric Times," p. 330.

of Belgium, some of them are at a considerable height above the stream, while others are but little above the present flood line. Mr. Dawkins refers us to the results of the ex-



Bone Implements, Dordogne Caves.

ploration of a French scientist in one of the grottoes of this section, which seem to be exactly similar to the results obtained from the caves of Cresswell Crags and Kent's Cavern. The implements obtained from the two lower strata are rough choppers and rude flakes of jasper and other

simple forms. Above these beds was a stratum of black earth, underneath a sheet of stalagmite. Here were found implements of a far higher type: those of flints, consisting of flakes, saws, and scrapers, with finely chipped lance-heads and arrow-heads, and awls and arrow-heads of bone and antler.[1] Now these results can only be interpreted as were those in the English caverns. The lower and ruder implements belong to the men of the Drift; the later and more polished ones to the Cave-men.

Most of the relics obtained from these caverns belong to the Cave-men proper. However, the implements from one of them, known as Le Moustier, are of a rude type, and may belong to those of the Drift. But most of them are of superior make and finish. These specimens are all from caves in this vicinity.[2]

We have seen that the men of the Drift were very widely scattered over the earth. We find, however, that the Cave-men had a much more limited range. Dr. Fraas has shown their presence in Germany. At Schussenreid, in Bavaria, was found an open air station of these people. It was evidently a camping-ground, one of the few places where proofs of their presence have been discovered outside of caves. Here we found the usual *débris*, consisting of broken bones, charcoal, blackened hearth-stone, and implements of flint and horn. We must stop a minute to notice a bit of unexpected proof as to the severity of climate then prevailing in Europe. This deposit was covered up with sand, and on this sand were the remains of

[1] "Early Man in Britain," p. 198.

[2] French writers make four divisions of these caves, according to the degree of finish, which the specimens show. Mr. Dawkins does not think the difference in the implements sufficient to justify this view. With the possible exception of Le Moustier, as stated above, we think his view correct, which is also the opinion of Mr. Evans. ("Ancient Stone Implements," p. 439.)

moss, sufficiently perfect to determine the kind. We are assured that it is composed of species now found only in Alpine regions, near or above the snow-line, and in such northern countries as Greenland and Spitzbergen.[1] Dr. Fraas also proved their presence in several caves in Suabia. One known as the Hohlefels Cave was very rich in these relics. They have been found in Switzerland, as at Thayengen; but are not found south of the Alps or the Pyrenees. Men, indeed, inhabited caves in Italy, but they did not use the implements characteristic of the Cave men.[2] Mr. Dawkins points out that this range corresponds very nearly to that of the northern group of animals, thus differing widely from the men of the River Drift. In this connection we must notice that the reindeer is the animal whose remains are most commonly met with in the *débris* they have left in the caves. This animal surely testifies to a cold climate. We are thus justified in concluding that the Cave-men are associated with the Arctic group of animals.[3]

We must now turn our attention to the culture of the Cave-men. We must reflect that long ages, with great changes of climate and life, both animal and vegetable, have rolled away since the remains of these early races were sealed by the stalagmite formation in caves. The relics at their best are but scanty memorials of a people long since passed, and we can not expect, can not hope, to recover more than a general outline. But this will be found full of interest, for it is a picture of Paleolithic life and times existing in Europe long ages before the pyramids of Egypt were uplifted.

With respect to habitations, we have already seen that he took up his abode in caves, at least where they were suitable. According to their depth and the light penetrating

[1] Rau's "Early Man in Europe," p. 88.

[2] Dawkins's "Early Man in Britain," p. 205.

[3] Ibid., p.

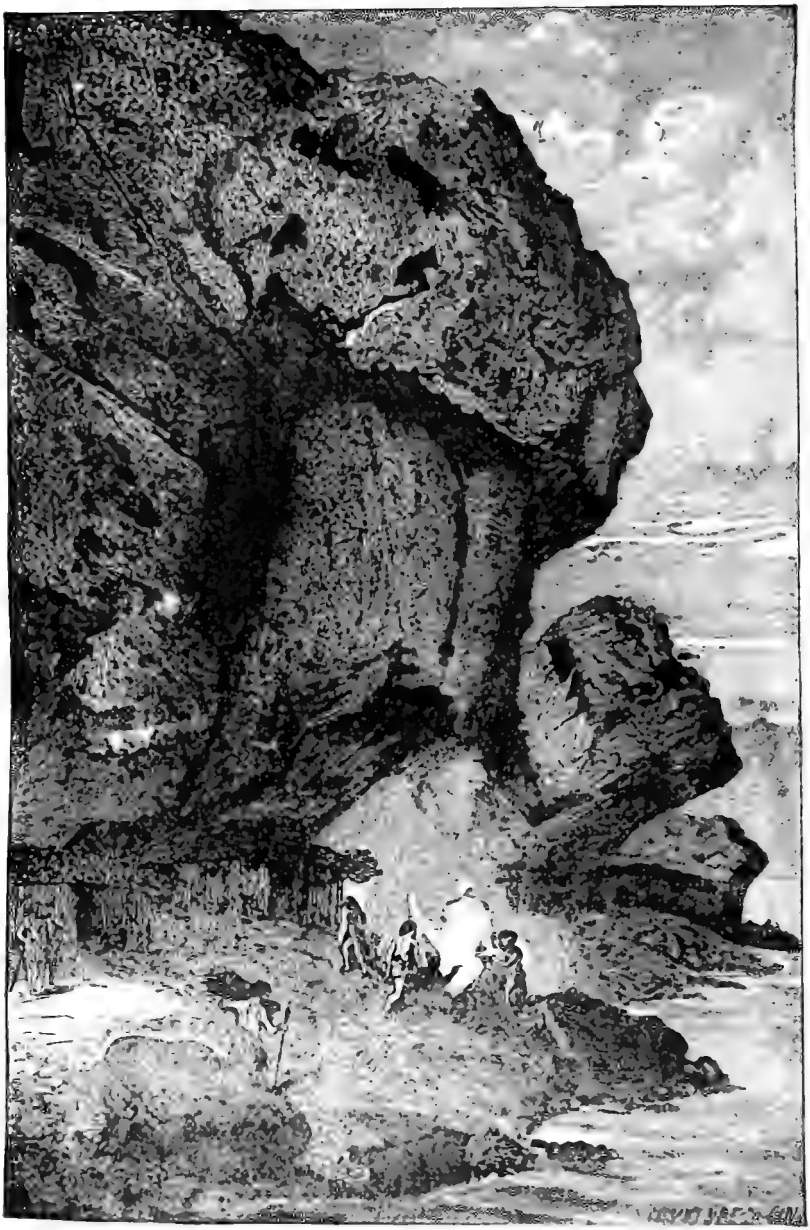
them, he either occupied the whole extent of them, or established himself in the outlet only. About the center of the cave some slabs of stone, selected from the hardest rock, such as sandstone or slate, were bedded down in the ground, and formed the hearth for cooking his food. But in no country are such resorts sufficiently numerous to shelter a large population; besides, they are generally at some distance from the fertile plains, where game would be most abundant. In such cases they doubtless constructed rude huts of boughs, skins, or other materials. Such an out-door settlement was the station at Solutré, France, where has been found an immense number of bones of horses, reindeers, also, though in less abundance, those of elephants, aurochs, and great lions.[1]

Where no cave presented itself, these people made for themselves convenient sheltering places under the cover of some great overhanging rock. In various places in France such resorts have been discovered. The name of "rock shelters" has been given to such resorts. In such places, where we may suppose they built rude huts, are found rich deposits of the bones of mammals, birds, and fishes, as well as implements of bone and horn.

We have frequently referred to the presence of hearths, showing that they used fire. Like other rude races, it is probable that they obtained fire by the friction of one piece of wood upon another. M. Dupont found in one of the Belgium caves a piece of iron pyrites, from which, with a flint, sparks could be struck.

Speculations have been indulged as to the probable condition of man before he obtained a knowledge of fire. If the acquisition of fire be regarded as one of the results of

[1] It is, however, thought that the station was used as a camping-ground by very different people, at widely different times.



ROCK SHELTER AT PRUNIQUEL

human endeavor, it must surely be classed as one of the most valuable discoveries which mankind has made. We do not believe, however, that we shall ever discover relics of races or tribes of men so low in the scale as to be ignorant of the use of fire. Even some of the flints which M. Bourgeois would refer to the Miocene Age show evidence of its action.[1]

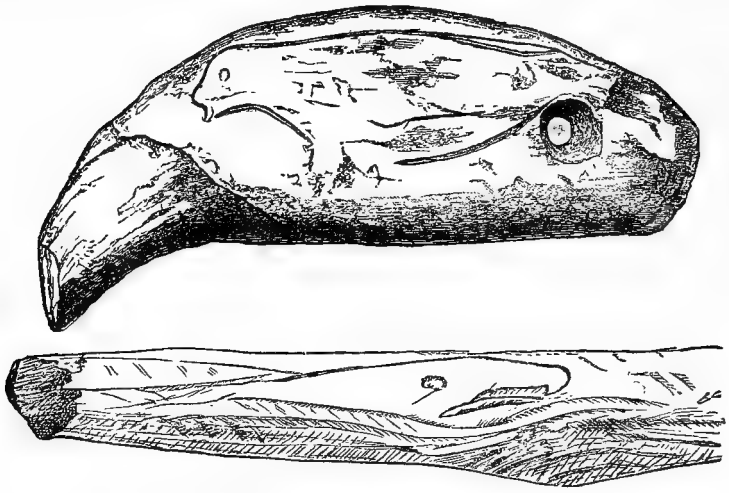
The men of the Caves supported life by hunting. But a very small part of their food supplies could have been drawn from the vegetable kingdom. When the climate was so severe that Alpine mosses grew at Schussenreid, acorns and like nuts would be about all they could procure from that source. The animals hunted by the Cave-men were principally reindeer, horses, bisons, and, occasionally mammoths and woolly rhinoceros. But they were not very choice in this matter, as they readily accepted as food any animal they could obtain by force or cunning. Wolves and foxes were not rejected, and in one cave large numbers of the bones of the common water rat were obtained. We know what animals were used as food, because we find their bones split for the purpose of procuring the marrow they contained. This was evidently to them a nutritious article of diet, since they were careful to open all the bones containing it, and bones so split are frequently the only means of detecting the former presence of man in some bone caves.

We must not forget that at that time the shore of the Atlantic Ocean, during a large part of the Paleolithic Age, was situated much farther west than it is now, and so in all probability many refuse heaps are now underneath the waves. From certain drawings that are found in some French caves, we know they were used for hunting both seals and whales.

[1] Lubbock's "Prehistoric Times," p. 434.

We can not doubt that the capture of a whale afforded as much enjoyment to them as it does to a tribe of Eskimos now. Bones of birds and fishes are found in many instances. The salmon appears to have been a favorite among fishes. Among the birds are found some species now only living in cold countries, such as the snowy owl, willow grouse, and flamingo. This is but another proof that the climate of Europe was then very cold.

The Cave-men were not afraid to attack animals greatly superior to them in strength. In the Hohlefels Cave in Ger-

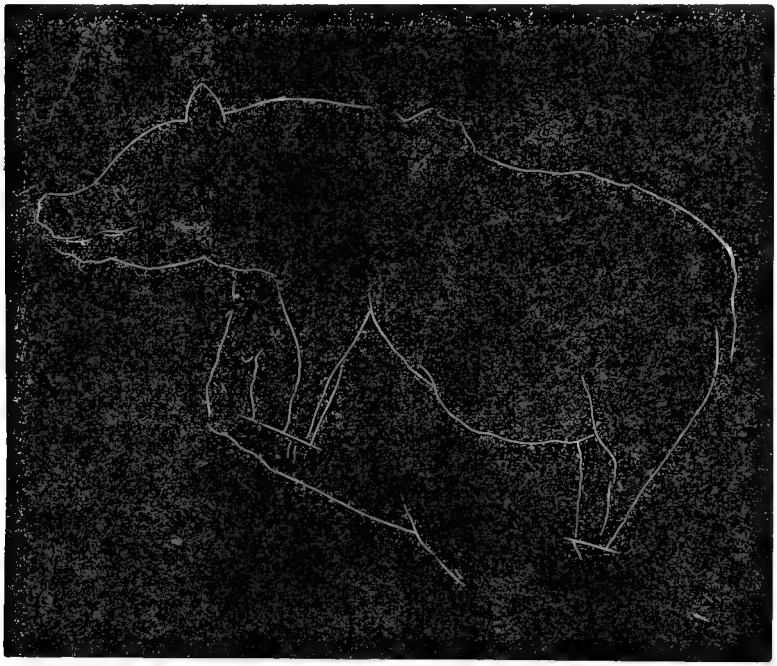


Whale and Seal, Incised on Bone.

many were found great quantities of the broken and split bones of cave bears, an animal very similar to the grizzly, and probably its equal in strength. The reindeer was the main reliance of these tribes. Its bones are found in great abundance, and it doubtless was to them all it is to the Lapps of Europe to-day, except, of course, that it was not domesticated.

Though fire would naturally suggest some rude method of cooking, we can scarcely find a trace of such operations,

and it has been a matter of conjecture how they proceeded. Sir John Lubbock thinks they boiled their food, and in the absence of pottery used wooden or skin vessels, bringing the water to a boiling point by means of stones heated red hot and thrown into the water. He points out the presence of peculiarly shaped stones found in some caves, which he



Cave Bear, Incised on Slate.

thinks were used for this purpose.[1] It is not supposed they had any articles of pottery during this epoch. This is quite an important point, because a knowledge of pottery marks an important epoch in the culture of a people.

A people possessed of this knowledge have passed from Savagism into the lower status of Barbarism.[2] A piece of pottery is as little liable to destruction as a piece of bone,

[1] "Prehistoric Times," p. 335. [2] Morgan's "Ancient Society," p. 12.

and so, had those people possessed pottery, there is no reason why pieces of it should not be found in every refuse heap, and amongst the *débris* of all caves. But such is not the case; no fragments of pottery have yet been found which can be referred with confidence to the epoch of the Cave-men.[1]

Some speculations have been indulged in as to whether the men of this age were cannibals or not. It need occasion no surprise if they were, since ancient writers assert that even during historical times this practice prevailed in Europe.[2] Though not definitely proven, there are many facts difficult of explanation, except on this supposition. However, it may well be that this, after all, only amounted to the custom of eating parts of an enemy killed in battle, as certain modern savages do that we would not call cannibals.[3]

It is not necessary to speak at much length of the methods of hunting. They had bows and arrows, daggers of reindeer horn, spears tipped with flint or bone, and harpoons. Besides, they made a formidable club of the lower jaw-bone of the cave-bear with its canine tooth still left in its place. Fishing with nets is not supposed to have been known, Harpooning was probably their favorite way. M. G. DeMortillet thinks they fished as follows: They fastened a cord to the middle of a small splinter of bone. This was then

[1] Lubbock's "Prehistoric Times," p. 338. J. C. Southall, in his valuable work, "Recent Origin of Man," p. 195, *et seq.*, argues that pottery was known at this time, and cites instances where it is stated to have been found. This is the opinion of Figuier also. ("Primitive Man," p. 54.) But Mr. Dawkins points out that these pieces of pottery are clearly of a Neolithic style, and does not think it proven that they are of Paleolithic age. Mr. Geikie also denies that there is any proof that they were acquainted with the potter's art. ("Prehistoric Europe," p. 18.) So the highest place in the scale of civilization we can assign these people to is that of Upper Savageism.

[2] Rau's "Early Man in Europe," p. 79.

[3] Geikie's "Prehistoric Europe," p. 22.

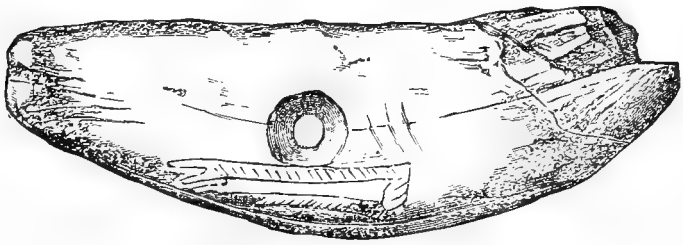
baited, and when swallowed by the fish, was very certain to get caught in the body.[1]

We know that rude tribes of to-day have many means of snaring animals. Doubtless similar scenes were enacted on their primeval hunting-grounds. French books contain illustrations of the men of this period driving game over precipitous sides. They had no dogs to assist them in the hunt, and though reindeer were around them in great abundance, it is not supposed that they thought of domesticating them.

Man is the only animal which seeks to protect his body from the Summer's heat or the cold of Winter by the use of clothing. We are, unfortunately, not able to present many details of the dress of man during the early Stone Age. We are, however, quite certain that when the climate was severe enough to permit such animals as the musk-sheep and the reindeer to inhabit South-western Europe, man must have been provided with an abundance of warm clothing, though doubtless rudely made and fashioned. Many reindeer horns found in France are cut and hacked at the base in such a way as to indicate that it was done when removing the skins. We also know that the rudest of savage tribes are never at a loss for some process of tanning hides and rendering them fit for use. From the immense number and variety of scrapers found among the cave *débris*, we are sure the preparation of clothing occupied no inconsiderable portion of their time. We also find numerous awls and splinters of flint and bone, which they doubtless used in exactly the same manner as similar tools are used by the Lapps to-day in Europe, that is, to pierce holes in the hides, through which to pass their rude needle and thread. The needles are made of reindeer horn, and they were not only smoothly polished, but the eyes are of such a minute size, and withal so regu-

[1] Figuier's "Primitive Man," p. 90.

larly made, that many at first could not believe they were drilled by the use of flint alone. This, however, has been shown to be the case by actual experiments. The thread employed was reindeer tendons, for bones of these animals are found cut just where they would be cut in removing



Glove, Incised on Bear's Tooth.

these tendons. This cut shows that they protected their hands by means of long gloves of three or four fingers.[1]

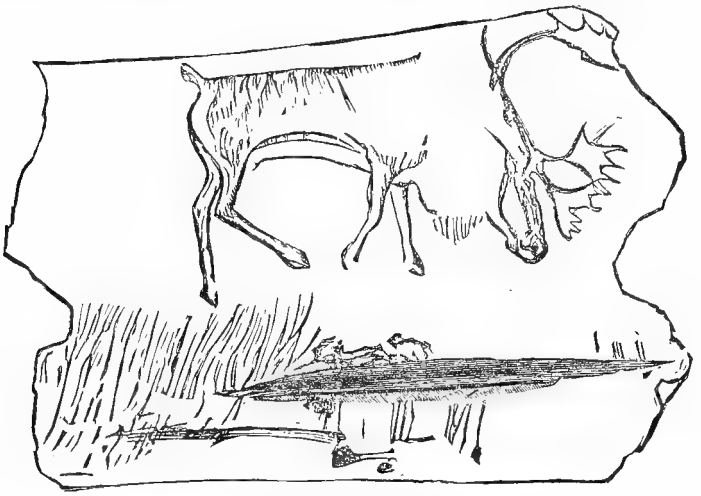
We have thus far been considering those arts which pertain more directly to living. We have presented some sketches found engraved on pieces of bone. We first noticed this among the relics found in one of the Creswell caves in England. It was also noticed in Belgium. It was among the Cave-men of Southern France that this artistic trait became highly developed. Among the reindeer hunters of the Dordogne were artists of no mean ability. We must pause a minute and mark the bearing of this taste for art. We have seen many reasons for supposing the men of the caves much farther advanced in the scale of culture than those of the Drift, but we have also seen that we can not rank them higher than the highest grade of savages.

Sir John Lubbock thus speaks of them: "In considering the probable condition of these ancient Cave-men, we must give them full credit for their love of art, such as it was; while, on the other hand, the want of metal, of polished

[1] Dawkins's "Early Man in Britain," p. 210.

flint implements, and even of pottery, the ignorance of agriculture, and the apparent absence of all domestic animals, including even the dog, certainly imply a very low state of civilization."[1]

They were certainly not as far advanced in civilization as the next race we will describe, yet the Neolithic people had no such skill as was possessed by the cave-men. This



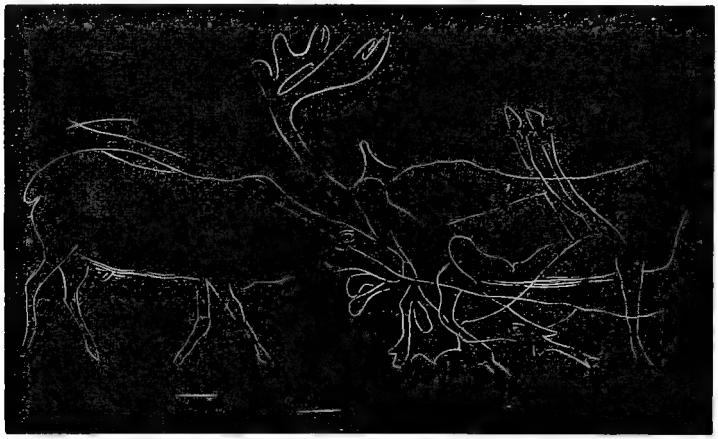
Reindeer Grazing.

need not surprise us, because "an artistic feeling is not always the offspring of civilization, it is rather a gift of nature. It may manifest its existence in the most barbarous ages, and may make its influence more deeply felt in nations which are behind in respect to general progress than in others which are more deeply advanced in civilization."[2]

In regard to the objects themselves, a glance at the illustrations show us that they are quite faithful sketches of the animals at that time common. As might be expected, sketches of the reindeer are numerous. This cut is regarded as the highest example of Paleolithic art, sketched on a

[1] "Prehistoric Times," p. 341. [2] Figuier's "Primitive Man," p. 105.

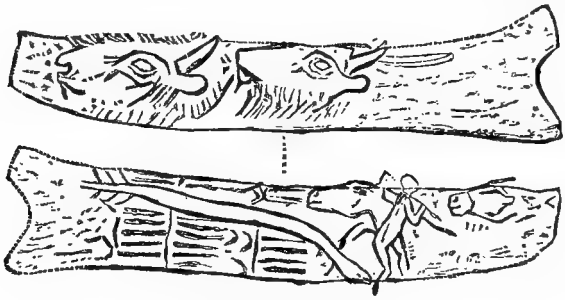
piece of horn and found in Switzerland. The animal is grazing, and the grass on which it feeds is seen below. We have on a piece of slate the outlines of a group of reindeer,



Group of Reindeers.

generally considered as representing a fight, though it may mean a hunt, and that the hunter has succeeded in killing a portion of the herd. Some, as we see, are on the ground.

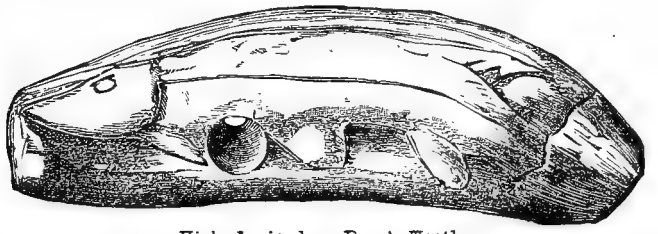
It would be exceedingly interesting could we but find well executed sketches of the men of this period, but, un-



Man and Other Animals.

fortunately, with one or two exceptions, no representations, however rude, have yet been discovered of the human form. Perhaps an explanation of this fact may be found in the well-

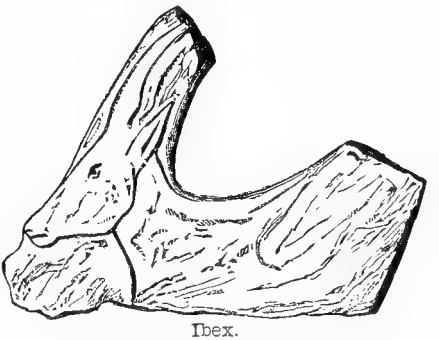
known reluctance of savage tribes to have any engravings taken of themselves, and we can well imagine that if any one was known to make drawings of human beings he would



Fish, Incised on Bear's Tooth.

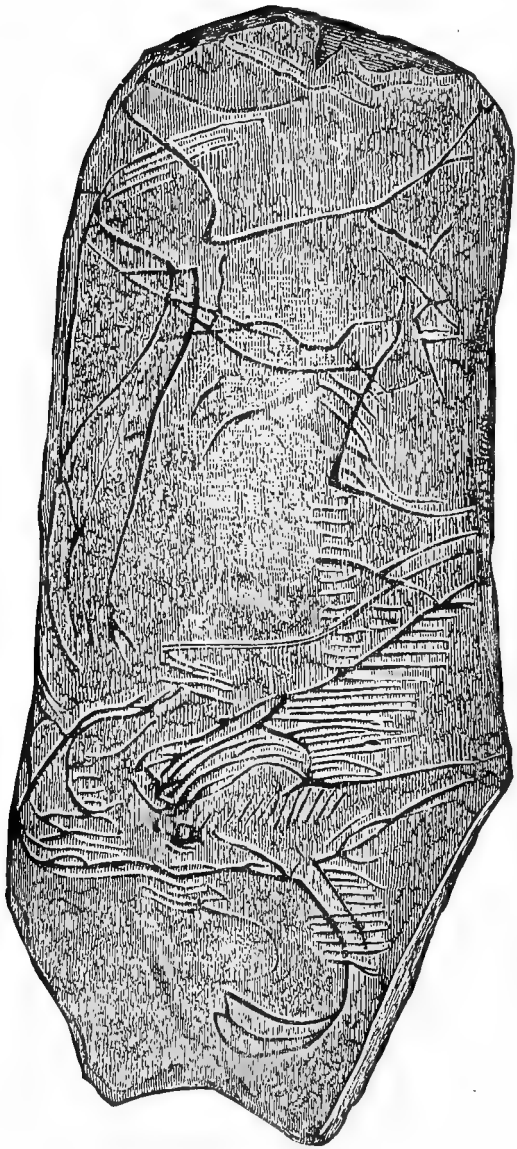
be regarded with suspicious distrust, and it would hardly be a safe accomplishment to possess. One very curious group represents a man, long and lean, standing between two horses' heads, and by the side of a long serpent or fish, having the appearance of an eel. On the reverse side of this piece of horn were represented the heads of two aurochs or bisons. Mr. Dawkins thinks this also represents a hunting sketch, and that the man is in the act of striking one of the horses with a spear.

On a fragment of spear-head found in France several human hands were engraved, but having only four fingers each. On this point Mr. Lartet assures us that some savage tribes still depict the hand without the thumb.[1] Representations of birds and reptiles are very rare; fishes are more common. On a piece of reindeer's horn was found this representation of the head and chest of an ibex. Of special interest to us is a representation of a



Ibex.

[1] Figuier's "Primitive Man," p. 111.



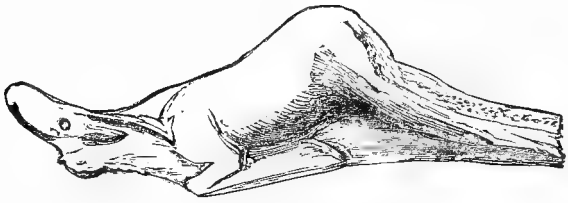
Mammoth—La Madeline Cave, France.

mammoth found engraved on a piece of mammoth tusk in one of the Dordogne caves. We have no doubt that the artist who engraved it was perfectly familiar with the animal itself.

Their artistic skill was not confined to the execution of drawings. They frequently carved pieces of reindeer horn into various animal forms. Our next cut shows us a dagger, the handle of which is carved to imitate a reindeer. It will be seen how the artist has adapted the position of the animal to the necessities of the case. Flowers are very seldom represented; but one implement from France has a very nice representation of some flowering plant engraved on it.

Take it all in all, the possession of this artistic instinct is certainly remarkable—the more so when we remember the

rudeness of his surroundings, and the few and simple means at his command for work. "A splinter of flint was his sole graving tool; a piece of reindeer horn, or a flake of slate or



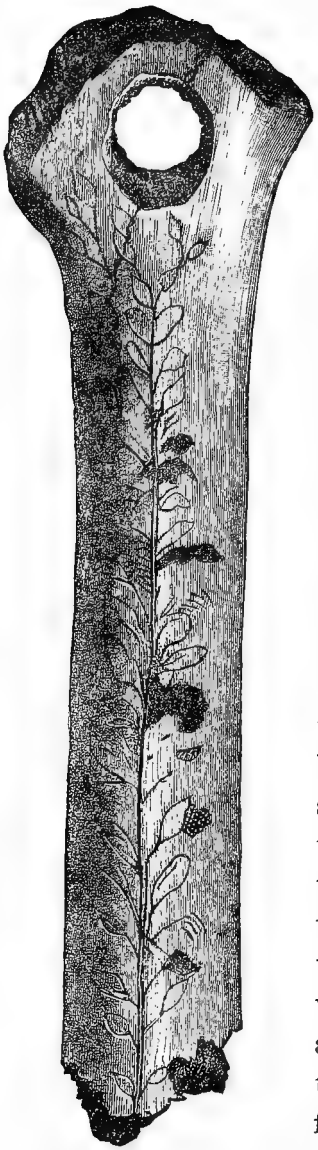
Reindeer Carved on Dagger Handle.

ivory, was the only plate on which primitive man could stamp his reproduction of animated nature."[1]

Some speculations have been indulged in as to whether we have any traces of a government amongst the Paleolithic people. That they had some chief or leader is more than probable. In the caves of France we find a number of fragments of reindeer horn. Generally speaking, they show evidence of a good deal of care in making them. They are carved and ornamented with sketches of various animals, and invariably have one or more holes bored in the base. The idea has been quite freely advanced, that these are emblems of authority.[2] And some have pointed out, that, though they are too light for use as weapons, yet their "frequent occurrence, and uniformity of type, show that they possess a conventional significance."[3] Mr. Geikie says that these conjectures "are mere guess-work."[4] And Mr. Dawkins points out that they are very similar in design and ornament with an implement of the Eskimos known as an "arrow-straightener."[5]

Whatever may be our conclusions in regard to these ornamented pieces of reindeer horn, we can not doubt but that

[1] Figuier's "Primitive Man," p. 105. [2] Figuier's "Primitive Man," p. 102.
[3] Rau's "Early Man in Europe," p. 73. [4] "Prehistoric Europe," p. 18.
[5] Dawkins's "Early Man in Britain," p. 237.



Flowers on Reindeer's Horn.

their social instincts found expression in some sort of alliance for the common good. This is shown by several facts: such, for instance, as the evidence of trade or barter between localities considerable distances apart. The inhabitants of Belgium must have gone to what is now Southern France to procure the flint they used. They also procured, from the same source, fossil seashells, which they valued highly.[1] We also notice the fact, that certain localities appear to have been used as the place of manufacture for certain articles, to the exclusion of others. In other words, the primitive people appear to have learned the great utility of a division of labor. One of the caves in Belgium appears to have been used as a place to make flint implements. Over twenty thousand articles of flint were found in this cave.[2] In France, while in one cave the implements were all of the spear-head type, in a neighboring cave horn was almost the only article used in the manufacture of implements. We must not, however, form an exalted idea of their trade—it was simply barter in a rude state of society.[3]

Various opinions have been held as to whether we have

[1] Figuier's "Primitive Man," p. 117. [2] Ibid., p. 118. [3] Ibid., pp. 94 and 95.

any trace of a religious belief. Theoretically speaking, they had some sort of a religion, though doubtless very vague and indistinct; for we know of no nation as far advanced as they were destitute of it.[1] It has been pointed out, that the bones of some animals, as the horse, were very rare, and their absence explained as the result of superstitious reasons. It

Ornamented Reindeer Horn—Use Unknown.

has also been conjectured that some of the perforated bones and teeth of animals found in various deposits were amulets worn for religious purposes; and some have gone so far as to infer, that the ornamentations on some of these so-called amulets represent the sun, and that, consequently, sun-worship prevailed among the Cave-men. While these various conjectures are, of course, possible, it is equally certain they are all "mere guess-work."

Early explorers describe with considerable degree of confidence the manner of burial among the Cave-men, and inferred from the remains found buried with the bodies that they had some notion of a life beyond the grave—and, accordingly, placed near the body food and drink to support him on his journey, weapons wherewith to defend himself, and his favorite implements, so that, arrived at the land of spirits, he would be well provided for. These result are not borne out by later investigations. The instance mentioned most prominently, that of the burial cave at Aurignac, France, has been shown to have no bearing on the question, as every thing indicates that the burials were of a much later date.

[1] This, as Sir John Lubbock points out, depends on our meaning of the word "religion." ("Prehistoric Times," p. 589.)

We have yet a most important question before us—one that is still engaging the attention of scientific men in Europe. That is the question of race. Who were these early tribes? Are they in any way connected with the men of the Drift? Have we any representations of them now living upon the earth? On these questions there is quite a diversity of opinion. In various caves in France and Belgium, skulls and other bones of the human skeleton have been found. These have been studied with care by the best scholars in Europe; and M. Quatrefages has set forth the results in his various works, in which he connects them, not only with the men of the River Drift, but with the race of men that inhabited Europe during the succeeding Neolithic Age, and, indeed, with men now living in France and Belgium.

There is no question as to the correctness of these inferences—the only one is, whether the skulls and fragmentary skeletons are really remains of the Cave-men. This must be made perfectly clear and unquestioned before we are to accept them. Mr. Dawkins reviews the various cases where skeletons have been found in caves.[1] He points out that, in every instance, very serious doubts can be raised as to whether they are really remains of the Cave-men or not.

Until these objections are met, we do not see how the opinion of M. Quatrefages (above) can be accepted. But if these instances are not accepted, then, in all other instances where there is no doubt, the remains are in such a fragmentary condition that no conclusion can be made from them. So as far as remains of the human skeleton are concerned, we can form no conclusions as to the race to which the Cave-men belonged.

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[1] "The principal instance are Cro-Magnon, Frontal, and Furforz, in Belgium; Aurignac, Bruniquel, and Mentone, in France. "Cave-Hunting," chap. vii.

We have already noted, that the Cave-men came into Europe much later than the men of the Drift, and that their range was very limited, corresponding, in fact, with that of the northern group of animals. When the cold of the Glacial Age passed away, the musk-sheep, reindeer, and other animals, were driven out of Europe. They are found now only in high northern latitudes, such as Greenland. Mr. Dawkins thinks that there, also, are to be found the Cave-men of the Paleolithic Age, now known as the Eskimos. Though not accepted by all authorities, yet some of our best scholars find much to commend in this theory.

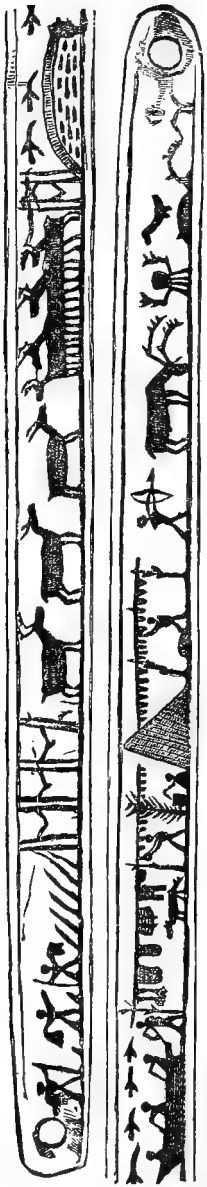
We have undoubted proofs that, in America, the Eskimos formerly lived much farther south.[1] And Dr. Abbott thinks the Paleolithic implements discovered in New Jersey, bearing such striking resemblance to those of Europe, are undoubtedly their work.[2] Therefore, there is no absurdity in asserting that they once lived in Western Europe; the more so, when we reflect that the climate, the animals—in fact, all their surroundings—must have been similar to those of their present habitats.

When we come to examine the customs and habits of these Eskimos, we are at once struck with their resemblance to what we have seen was the probable state of life among the Cave-men. At Solutré, for instance, we have vast refuse heaps of bones of animals. We find similar heaps around the rude huts of the Eskimos to-day. Captain Parry describes one as follows: "In every direction round the huts were lying innumerable bones of walruses and seals, together with skulls of dogs, bears, and foxes."[3]

[1] "Contributions to N. A. Ethnology," vol. i, p. 102; "U. S. Geographical Survey West of the 100th Meridian," vol. vii, p. 12; Abbott's "Primitive Industry," p. 517.

[2] "Primitive Industry," 518.

[3] Quoted by Lubbock, "Prehistoric Times," p. 507.



Eskimo Art.

Other points of comparison strike us when reading Sir John Lubbock's account of their habits and customs. For instance: "Their food, if cooked at all, is broiled or boiled; their vessels, being of stone or wood, can not, indeed, be put on the fires, but heated stones are thrown in until the water becomes hot enough and the food is cooked." "Their food consists principally of reindeer, musk-ox, walrus, seals, birds, and salmon. They will, however, eat any kind of animal food. They are very fond of fat and marrow, to get at which they pound the bones with a stone." "The clothes of the Eskimos are made from the skins of the reindeer, seals, and birds, sewn together with sinews. For needles they use the bones of either birds or fishes." "The Eskimos have also a great natural ability for drawing. In many cases they have made rude maps for our officers, which have turned out to be substantially correct. Many of their bone implements are covered with sketches."

In this cut we have a bone drill on which are sketched reindeer, geese, a baider or flat-bottomed boat, a tent around which various articles of clothing are hung up to dry, a woman apparently engaged in the preparation of food, and a hunting scene.

Now, we know that savage tribes, widely separated by time and space, will, after all, under the pressure of common necessities, invent much the same implements

and live much the same life. But still, where every thing seems to coincide, the climate, the animals, the mode of life proved the same, and especially when both are seen possessed of a common artistic skill, together with the known fact that in the Western Continent the Eskimos did formerly live much farther south; there is surely a strong case made out, and therefore the probabilities are that the Eskimos are the representatives of the Cave-men of Europe.[1] And yet we must be cautious on this point; or rather we remember that the phrase, "predecessors of the Eskimos," does not imply that they were in all respects like them. An examination of the rude sketches of the Cave-men left by themselves seems to indicate that the whole body was covered with hair. "The hunter in the Antler from Duruthy Cave has a long, pointed beard, and a high crest of hair on the poll utterly unlike the Eskimo type. The figures are also those of a slim and long-jointed man."[2]

This completes our review of the Paleolithic people, and it only remains to present some general conclusions. The Glacial or Pleistocene Age is seen to have been of immense duration, and characterized by great changes in climate. We have found that two races of men occupied Europe during this time. The men of the River Drift are the most ancient.

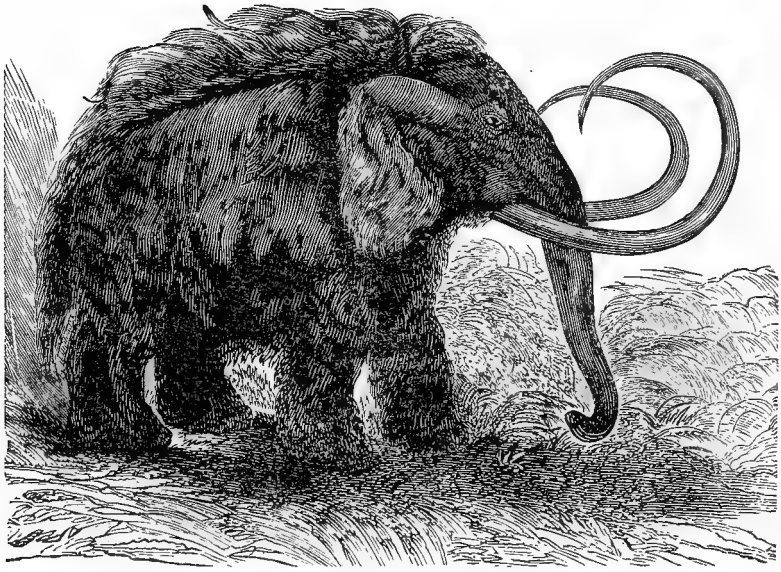
We have seen that they can be traced over wide-extended areas. They seem to have invaded Europe, along with the great invasion of animals from Asia, constituting the temperate group of animals; and with those animals they probably shifted back and forth, as the cold of the Glacial Age increased or waned. These people seem to have completely vanished. At a later date, when the cold of the Glacial Age was once more severe, associated with animals

[1] Dawkins's "Early Man in Britain," p. 242.

[2] Prof. Grant Allen, *Popular Science Monthly*, November, 1882, p. 99.

now living only in high northern latitudes, came the Cave-men, whose discussion has formed the subject of this chapter.

It will be seen how much we owe to patient investigators. The results are, indeed, bewildering. They make us acquainted with a people the very existence of whom was not known a few years back. Though the whole life of those ancient races seemed hopelessly lost in the night of time, the gloom is irradiated by the light of modern science, which lays before our astonished vision the remains of arts and industries of the primitive tribes that occupied Europe during the morning-time of human life.

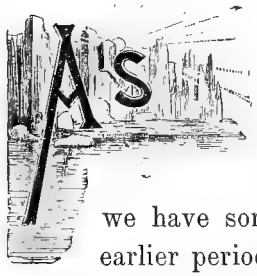


The Mammoth

# CHAPTER V.

## ANTIQUITY OF THE PALEOLITHIC AGE.[1]

INTEREST in the Antiquity of man—Connected with the Glacial Age—The Subject Difficult—Proofs of a Glacial Age—State of Greenland to-day—The Terminal Moraine—Appearance of the North Atlantic—Interglacial Age—Causes of the Glacial Age—Croll's Theory—Geographical causes—The two theories not Antagonistic—The date of the Glacial Age—Probable length of the Paleolithic Age—Time since the close of the Glacial Age—Summary of results.



AS WE have already remarked, geological periods give us no insight as to the actual passage of years. To say that man lived in the Glacial Age, and that we have some faint traces of his presence in still earlier periods, after all conveys to our minds only vague ideas of a far-away time. The more a geologist studies the structure of the earth, the more impressed is he with the magnitude of the time that must have passed since "The Beginning." At present, however, there are no means known of accurately measuring the time that has passed. It is just as well that it is so, since, were it known, the human mind would be utterly incapable of comprehending it. But as to the antiquity of man, it is but natural that we should seek more particularly to solve the problem and express our answer in some term of years.

Now, we have seen that the question of the antiquity of man is intimately connected with that of the Glacial

[1] The manuscript of this chapter was submitted to Prof. G. F. Wright, of Oberlin, for criticism.

Age. That is to say, the relics of man as far as we know them in Europe, are found under such circumstances that we feel confident they are not far removed from the period of cold. For it will be found that those conservative scholars who do not think that man preceded the Glacial Age, or inhabited Europe during the long course of years included in that period, do think he came into Europe as soon as it passed away. So, in any case, if we can determine the date of the Glacial Age, we shall have made a most important step in advance in solving the problem of the antiquity of man himself. So it seems to us best to go over the subject of the Glacial Age again, and see what conclusions some of our best thinkers have come to as to its cause, when it occurred, and other matters in relation to it.

It is best to state frankly at the outset that this topic is one of the great battle-grounds of science to-day, and that there are as yet but few points well settled in regard to it. One needs but attempt to read the literature on this subject to become quickly impressed with the necessity of making haste slowly in forming any conclusions. He must invoke the aid of the astronomer, geologist, physical-geographer, and physicist. Yet we must not suppose that questions relating to the Glacial Age are so abstruse that they are of interest only to the scholar. On the contrary, all ought to be interested in them. They open up one of the most wonderful chapters in the history of the world. They recall from the past a picture of ice-bound coasts and countries groaning under icy loads, where now are harbors enlivened by the commerce of the world, or ripening fields attesting the vivifying influence of a genial sun. Let us, therefore, follow after the leaders in thought. When we come to where they can not agree we can at least see what both sides have to say.

Somewhat at the risk of repetition, we will try and impress on our readers a sense of the reality and severity of the Glacial Age. There is danger in regarding this as simply a convenient theory that geologists have originated to explain some puzzling facts, that it is not very well founded, and is liable to give way any day to some more ingenious explanation. On the contrary, this whole matter has been worked out by very careful scholars. "There is, perhaps, no great conclusion in any science which rests upon a surer foundation than this, and if we are to be guided by our reason at all in deducing the unknown from the known, the past from the present, we can not refuse our assent to the reality of the Glacial Age of the Northern Hemisphere in all its more important features.[1] At the present day glaciers do exist in several places on the earth. They are found in the Alps and the mountains of Norway, and the Caucasus, in Europe. The Himalaya mountains support immense glaciers in Asia; and in America a few still linger in the more inaccessible heights of the Sierra Nevada. It is from a study of these glaciers, mainly however, those of the Alps, that geologists have been enabled to explain the true meaning of certain formations they find in both Europe and America, that go by the name of drift.

When in an Alpine valley we come upon a glacier, filling it from side to side, there will be noticed upon both sides a long train of rock, drift, and other *debris* that have fallen down upon its surface from the mountain sides. If two of these ice-rivers unite to form one glacier, two of these trains will then be borne along in the middle of the resulting glacier. As this glacier continues down the valley, it at length reaches a point where a further advance is rendered impossible by the increased temperature melting the

[1] Wallace's "Island Life," p. 113.

ice as fast as it advances. At this point the train of rocks and dirt are dumped, and of course form great mounds, called moraines. The glacier at times shrinks back on its rocky bed and allows explorers to examine it.

In such cases they find the rocks smoothed and polished, but here and there marked with long grooves and striæ. These points are learned from an examination of existing glaciers. Further down the valley, where now the glaciers never extend, are seen very distinctly the same signs. There are the same moraines, striated rocks, and bowlders that have evidently traveled from their home up the valley. The only explanation possible in this case is that once the glaciers extended to that point in the valley.

It required a person who was perfectly familiar with the behavior of Alpine glaciers, and knew exactly what marks they left behind in their passage, to point out the proofs of their former presence in Northern Europe and America, where it seems almost impossible to believe they existed. Such a man was Louis Agassiz, the eminent naturalist. Born and educated in Switzerland, he spent nine years in researches among the glaciers of the mountains of his native country. He proved the former wide extension of the glaciers of Switzerland. With these results before them, geologists were not long in showing that there had once been glacial ice over a large part of Europe and North America.

The proofs in this case are almost exactly the same as those used to show that the ancient glaciers of Switzerland were once larger than now. But as the great glaciers of the glacial age were many times larger than any thing we know of at the present day, there were of course different results produced. For instance, the water circulating under Alpine glaciers is enabled to wash out and carry away the mass of pulverized rock and dirt ground along underneath the ice.

But when the glaciers covered such an enormous extent of country as they did in the Glacial Age, the water could not sweep away this detritus, and so great beds of gravel, sand, and clay would be formed over a large extent of country. But to go over the entire ground would require volumes; it is sufficient to give the results.

The interior of Greenland to-day is covered by one vast sea of ice. Explorers have traversed its surface for many miles; not a plant, or stone, or patch of earth is to be seen. In the Winter it is a snow-swept waste. In the Summer streams of ice-cold water flow over its surface, penetrating here and there by crevasses to unknown depths. This great glacier is some twelve hundred miles long, by four hundred in width.[1] Vast as it is, it is utterly insignificant as compared with the great continental glacier that geologists assures us once held in its grasp the larger portion of North America.

The conclusions of some of our best scholars on this subject are so opposed to all that we would think possible, according to the present climate and surroundings, that they seem at first incredible, and yet they have been worked out with such care that there is no doubt of the substantial truth of the results.

The terminal moraine of the great glacier has been carefully traced through several States. We now know that one vast sea of ice covered the eastern part of North America, down to about the thirty-ninth parallel of latitude. We have every reason to think that the great glacier, extending many miles out in the Atlantic, terminated in a great sea of ice, rising several hundred feet perpendicularly above the surface of the water. Long Island marks the southern extension of this glacier. From there its temporal moraine has been traced

[1] Nordenskiold's "American Journal of Science," vol. 110, p. 58.

west, across New Jersey and Pennsylvania, diagonally across Ohio, crossing the river near Cincinnati, and thence west across Indiana and Illinois. West of the Mississippi it bears off to the north-west, and finally passes into British America.[1]

All of North America, to the north and north-east of this line, must have been covered by one vast sea of ice.[2] Doubtless, as in Greenland to-day, there was no hill or patch of earth to be seen, simply one great field of ice. The ice was thick enough to cover from sight Mt. Washington, in New Nampshire, and must have been at least a mile thick over a large portion of this area,[3] and even at its southern border it must in places have been from two hundred to two thousand feet thick.[4] This, as we have seen, is a picture very similar to what must have been presented by Europe at this time.[5]

The Northern Atlantic Ocean must have presented a dreary aspect. Its shores were walls of ice, from which ever and anon great masses sailed away as icebergs. These are startling conclusions. Yet, in the Southern Hemisphere to-day is to be seen nearly the same state of things. It is well-known that all the lands around the South Pole are covered by a layer of ice of enormous thickness. Sir J. A. Ross, in attempting to reach high southern latitudes, while yet one thousand four hundred miles from the pole, found his further progress impeded by a perpendicular wall of ice one hundred and eighty feet thick. He sailed along that barrier four hundred and fifty miles, and then gave up the attempt. Only at one point in all that distance did the ice

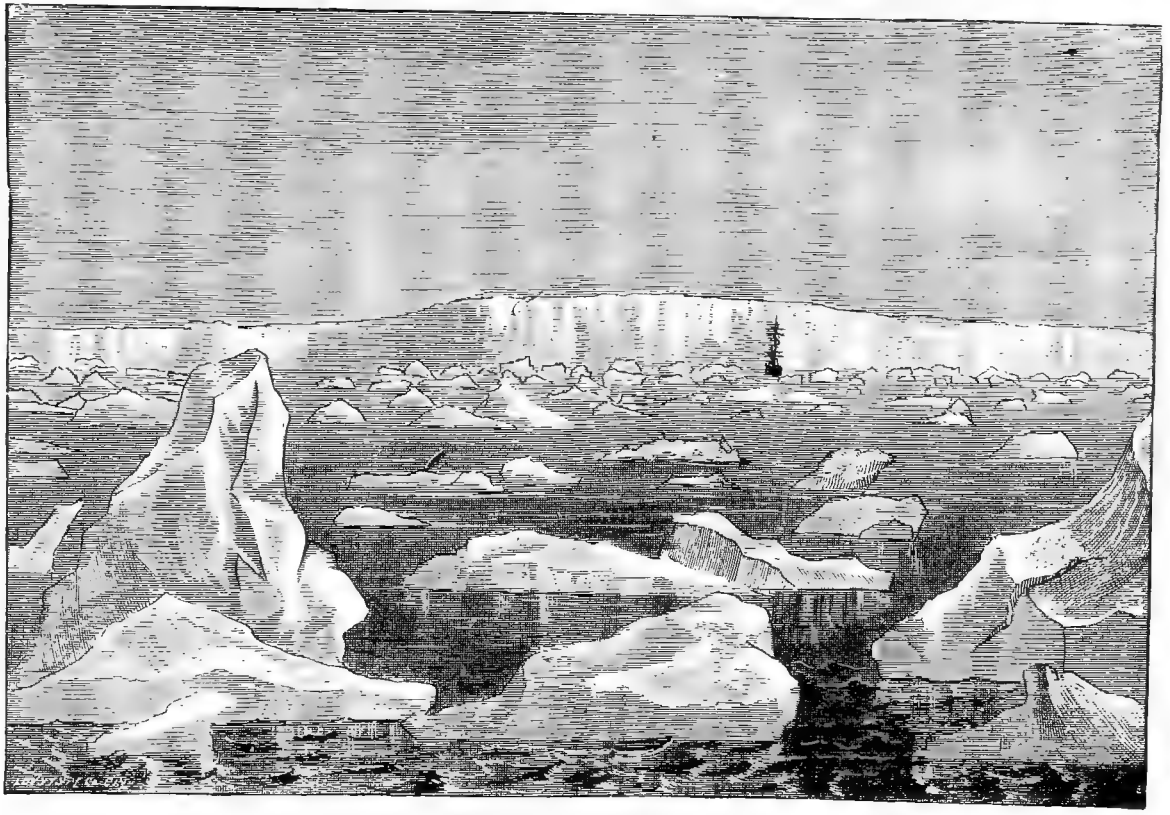
[1] Wright's "Studies in Science and Religion," p. 307, where a map of this moraine is given.

[2] There is, however, a small area in the south-west part of Wisconsin where, for some reason, the ice passed by.

[3] Dane's "Manual of Geology," p. 538.

[4] Wright's "Studies in Science and Religion," p. 308.

[5] "Men of the Drift," p. 71.



ANTARTIC ICE SHEET.

wall sink low enough to allow of its upper surface being seen from the mast-head. He describes the upper surface as an immense plain shining like frosted silver, and stretching away as far as eye could reach into the illimitable distance.[1]

The foregoing makes plain to us one phase of the Glacial Age. Though it may not be quite clear what this has to do with the antiquity of man, yet we will see, in the sequel, that it has considerable. As to the periods of mild climate that are thought by some to have broken up the reign of cold, we do not feel that we can say any thing in addition to what has been said in a former chapter.[2]

We might, however, say, that the sequences of mild and cold climate are not as well made out in America as they seem to be in Europe; or at least our geologists are more cautious as to accepting the evidence as sufficient. And yet such evidences are not wanting: as in Europe, at various places, are found layers of land surfaces with remains of animals and plants, but both above and below such surface soil are found beds of bowlder clay. These offer undeniable evidence that animals and plants occupied the land during temperate inter-glacial epochs, preceded and followed by an Arctic climate, and ice-sheets like those now covering the interior of Greenland, and the Antarctic Continent.[3]

We have thus, though somewhat at length, gone over the evidence as to the reality and severity of the Glacial Age. It was during the continuance of such climate that Paleolithic man arrived in Europe, though it was not perhaps until its close. We must not lose sight of the fact that our principal object at present is to determine, if we can, a date for either the beginning or ending of this extraordinary season of cold,

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[1] Geikie's "Great Ice Age," p. 93. [2] "Men of the River Drift."

[3] Abbott's "Primitive Industry," p. 545; Quoted from "Geology of Minnesota." Report, 1877, p. 37.

and thereby achieve an important step in determining the antiquity of man.

A moment's consideration will show us that a period of cold sufficient to produce over a large portion of the Northern Hemisphere the results we have just set forth must have a cause that is strange and far-reaching. It can not be some local cause, affecting but one continent, since the effect produced is observed as well in Europe as in America.

Every year we pass through considerable changes in climate. The four seasons of the year seem to be but an annual repetition, on a very small scale of course, of the great changes in the climate of the earth that culminated in the Glacial Age; though we do not mean to say, that periods of glacial cold come and go with the regularity of our Winter. The changes in the seasons of the year are caused by the earth's position in its orbit, and its annual revolution around the sun. It may be that the cause of the Glacial Age itself is of a similar nature; in which case it is an astronomical problem, and we ought, by calculation, to determine, with considerable accuracy, dates for the beginning and ending of this epoch.

Nothing is clearer than that great fluctuations of climate have occurred in the past. Many theories have been put forth in explanation. It has been suggested that it was caused by loss of heat from the earth itself. That the earth was once a ball of incandescent matter, like the sun, and has since cooled down, is of course admitted. More than that, this process still continues; and the time must come when the earth, having yielded up its internal heat, will cease to be an inhabitable globe. But the climate of the surface of the earth is not dependent upon the heat of the interior. This now depends "according to the proportion of heat received either directly or indirectly from the sun; and so it

must have been during all the ages of which any records have come down to us."[1]

Some have supposed that the sun, traveling as it does through space, carrying the earth and the other planets with him, might, in the course of ages, pass through portions of space either warmer or colder than that in which it now moves. When we come to a warm region of space, a genial climate would prevail over the earth; but, when we struck a cold belt, eternal Winter would mantle a large part of the globe with snow and ice. This, of course, is simply guess-work. No less than seven distinct causes have been urged; most of them either purely conjectural, like the last, or manifestly incompetent to produce the great results which we have seen must be accounted for. But, amongst these, two causes have been advanced—the one astronomical, the other geographical; and, to the one or the other, the majority of scholars have given their consent.

It will be no harm to see what can be said in favor of both theories. So, we will ask the reader's attention, as it is our earnest desire to make as plain as possible a question that has so much to do with our present inquiry. In the course of our investigations, we can not fail to catch glimpses of wonderful changes in far away times; and can not help seeing what labor is involved in the solution of all questions relating to the same.[2]

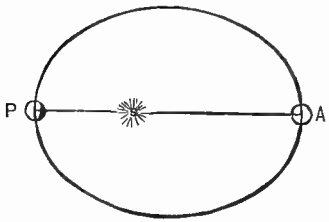
The earth revolves around the sun in an orbit called an ellipse. This is not a fixed form, but slowly varies from year to year. It is now gradually becoming circular. It

[1] Geikie's "Great Ice Age," p. 97.

[2] The astronomical theory, which we will first examine, was first enunciated by Mr. Croll, following a suggestion of the astronomer Adhemer. Mr. Croll's views were set forth in many able papers, and finally gathered into a volume entitled "Climate and Time in their Geological Relation." The ablest defense of these views is that by Mr. James Geikie, in his works "The Great Ice Age," and "Prehistoric Europe."

will, however, not become an exact circle. Astronomers assure us that, after a long lapse of time, it will commence to elongate as an ellipse again. Thus, it will continually change from an ellipse to an approximate circle, and back again. In scientific language, the eccentricity of the earth's orbit is said to increase and decrease.

In common language we would state that the shape of the path of the earth around the sun was sometimes much more elongated and elliptical than at others. The line drawn through the longest part of an ellipse is called the major axis. Now the sun does not occupy the center of this line, but is placed to one side of it; or, in other words, occupies one focus of the ellipse. It will thus be seen that the earth, at one time during its yearly journey, is considerably nearer to the sun than at others. The point where it approaches nearest the sun is called *Perihelion*, and the point where it reaches the greatest distance from the sun is called its *Aphelion*. It will be readily seen that the more elliptical its orbit becomes the greater will be the difference between the perihelion and aphelion distance of the sun. At present the earth is about three millions of miles nearer the sun in perihelion than in aphelion. But we must remember the orbit of the earth is now nearly circular. There have been times in the past when the difference was about thirteen millions of miles. We must not forget to add, that the change in the shape of the earth's orbit is not a regular increase and decrease between well-known extremes. It is caused by the attraction of the other planets. It has been calculated at intervals of ten thousand years for the last million years. In this way it has been found that "the intervals between connec-



Earth's Orbit.

tive turning points are very unequal in length, and the actual maximum and minimum values of the eccentricity are themselves variable. In this way it comes about that some periods of high eccentricity have lasted much longer than others, and that the orbit has been more elliptical at some epochs of high eccentricity than at others."[1] We have just seen that the earth is nearer the sun at one time of the year than at another. At present the earth passes its perihelion point in the Winter of the Northern Hemisphere, and its aphelion point in the Summer. We will for the present suppose that it always reaches the points at the same season of the year. Let us see if the diminished distance from the sun in Winter has any thing to do with the climate.

If so, this effect will be greatly magnified during a period of high eccentricity, such as the earth has certainly passed through in the past. We will state first, that the more elliptical the orbit becomes, the longer Summer we have, and the shorter Winter. Astronomically, Spring begins the 20th of March, and Fall the 22d of September. By counting the days between the epochs it will be found that the Spring and Summer part of the year is seven days longer than the Fall and Winter part. But if the earth's orbit becomes as highly eccentrical as in the past, this difference would be thirty-six days.[2]

This would give us a long Spring and Summer, but a short Fall and Winter. This in itself would make a great difference. We must bear in mind, however, that at such a time as we are here considering, the earth would be ten millions of miles nearer the sun in Winter than at present. It would certainly then receive more heat in a given time during Winter than at present.[3] Mr. Croll estimates that

[1] Geikie's "Great Ice Age," p. 114.
[2] Lubbock's "Prehistoric Times," p. 420, Table 4. [3] Ibid., Table 5.

whereas the difference in heat received during a given time is now one-fifteenth,[1] at the time we are considering it would be one-fifth. Hence we see that at such a time the Winter would not only be much shorter than now, but at the same time would be much milder.

These are not all the results that would follow an increase of eccentricity. The climate of Europe and North America is largely modified by those great ocean currents—the Gulf Stream and the Japan current. Owing to causes we will not here consider, these currents would be greatly increased at such a time. As a result of these combined causes, Mr. Croll estimates that during a period of high eccentricity the difference between Winter and Summer in the Northern Hemisphere would be practically obliterate. The Winter would not only be short, but very mild, and but little snow would form, while the sun of the long Summers, though not shining as intense as at present, would not have to melt off a great layer of snow and ice, but the ground became quickly heated, and so warmed the air. Hence, if Mr. Croll be correct, a period of high eccentricity would certainly produce a climate in the Northern Hemisphere such as characterized many of the mild interglacial epochs as long as the earth passed its perihelion point in Winter.

We have so far only considered the Northern Hemisphere. As every one knows, while we have Winter, the Southern Hemisphere has Summer. So at the very time we would enjoy the mild short Winters, the Southern Hemisphere would be doomed to experience Winters of greatly increased length and severity. As a consequence, immense fields of snow would be formed, which, by pressure, would be changed to ice, and creep away as a desolating glacier. It is quite true that the short Summer sun would shine with

[1] Geikie's "Great Ice Age," p. 123.

increased warmth, but owing to many causes it would not avail to free the land from snow and ice.

As Mr. Geikie points out, "An increased amount of evaporation would certainly take place, but the moisture-laden air would be chilled by coming into contact with the vast sheets of snow, and hence the vapor would condense into thick fogs and cloud the sky. In this way the sun's rays would be, to a large extent, cut off, and unable to reach the earth, and consequently the Winter's snow would not be all melted away." Hence it follows that at the very time the Northern Hemisphere would enjoy a mild interglacial climate, universal Spring, so to speak, the Southern Hemisphere would be encased in the ice and snow of an eternal Winter.

But the earth has not always reached its perihelion point during the Winter season of the Northern Hemisphere. Owing to causes that we need not here consider, the earth reaches its perihelion point about twenty minutes earlier each year, so if it now passes its perihelion in Winter of the Northern Hemisphere, in about ten thousand years from now it will reach it in Summer, and in twenty-one thousand years it will again be at perihelion in Winter. But see what important consequences follow from this. If during a period of high eccentricity we are in the enjoyment of short mild Winters and long pleasant Summers, in ten thousand years this would certainly be changed. Our Summar season would become short and heated; our Winters long and intensely cold. Year by year it would be later in the season before the sun could free the land from snow, and at length in deep ravines and on hill-tops the snow would linger through the brief Summer, and the mild interglacial age will have passed away, and again the Northern Hemisphere will be visited by snow and ice of a truly Glacial Age. If, therefore, a period

of high eccentricity lasts through the many thousand years, we must expect more than one return of glacial cold interspersed by mild interglacial climates.

We have tried in these last few pages to give a clear statement of what is known as Croll's theory of the Glacial Age. There is no question but what the earth does thus vary in its position with regard to the sun, and beyond a doubt this must produce some effect on the climate, and we can truthfully state that the more the complicated question of the climate of the earth is studied, the more grounds do scholars find for affirming that indirectly this effect must have been very great. And yet we can not say that this theory is accepted as a satisfactory one even by the majority of scholars. Many of those who do not reject it think it not proven. Therefore, before interrogating the astronomer as to the data of the Glacial Age, according to the terms of this theory, let us see what other causes are adduced; then we can more readily accept or reject the conclusions as to the antiquity of man which this theory would necessitate us to adopt.

The only other cause to which we can assign the glacial cold, that is considered with any favor by geologists, is geographical; that is to say, depending on the distribution of land and water. Glaciers depend on the amount of snow-fall. In any country where the amount of snow-fall is so great that it is not all evaporated or melted by the Summer's sun, and consequently increases from year to year, glaciers must soon appear, and these icy rivers would erelong flow away to lower levels. If we suppose, with Sir Charles Lyell, that the lands of the globe were all to be gathered around the equator, and the waters were gathered around the poles, it is manifest that there would be no such a thing as extremes of temperature, and it is, perhaps, doubt-

ful whether ice would form even in polar areas.[1] At any rate, no glaciers could be formed, as there would be no land on which snow could gather in great quantities.

If, however, we reverse this picture, and conceive of the land gathered in a compact mass around the poles, shutting out the water, but consider the equatorial region of the earth to be occupied by the waters of the ocean, we would manifestly have a very different scene. From the ocean moisture-laden winds would flow over the polar lands. The snowfall would necessarily be great. In short, we can not doubt but what all the land of the earth would be covered with glaciers.[2]

Although these last conceptions are purely hypothetical, they will serve the good purpose of showing the great influence that the geographical distribution of land and water have on the climate of a country. Of one thing, however, geologists have become more and more impressed of late years. That is, that continents and oceans have always had the same relative position as now; that is to say, the continents have followed a definite plan in their development. The very first part of North America to appear above the waters of the primal sea clearly outlined the shape of the future continent. Mr. Dana assures us that our continent developed with almost the regularity of a flower. Prof. Hitchcock also points out that the surface area of the very first period outlined the shape of the continent. "The work of later geological periods seems to have been the filling up of the bays and sounds between the great islands, elevating the consolidated mass into a contiental area."[3] So it is not at all probable that the lands of the globe were ever grouped, as we have here supposed them.

[1] Wallace's "Island Life," p. 143. [2] Ibid., p. 124.
[3] "Geology of New Hampshire," Vol. II, p. 5.

This last statement is liable, however, to leave us under a wrong impression; for although, as a whole, continental areas have been permanent, yet in detail they have been subject to wonderful and repeated changes. "Every square mile of their surface has been again and again under water, sometimes a few hundred feet deep—sometimes, perhaps, several thousand. Lakes and inland seas have been formed and been filled up with sediment, and been subsequently raised into hills, or even mountains. Arms of the sea have existed, crossing the continent in various directions, and thus completely isolating the divided portions for varying intervals. Seas have become changed into deserts and deserts into seas."[1]

It has been shown beyond all question that North-western Europe owes its present mild climate to the influence of the Gulf Stream.[2] Ocean currents, then, are a most important element in determining the climate of a country. If we would take the case of our hypothetical polar continent again, and, instead of presenting a continuous coast line, imagine it penetrated by long straits and fiords, possessing numerous bays, large inland seas, and in general allowing a free communication with the ocean, we are very sure the effect would be widely different.

Under these circumstances, says Mr. Geikie, the "much wider extent of sea being exposed to the blaze of the tropical sun, the temperature of the ocean in equatorial regions would rise above what it is at present. This warm water, sweeping in broad currents, would enter the polar fiords and seas, and everywhere, heating the air, would cause warm, moist winds to blow athwart the land to a much greater extent than they do at present; and these winds thus distributing warmth and moisture, might render even the high

[1] Wallace's "Island Life," p. 99. [2] Geikie's "Great Ice Age," p. 103.

latitude of North Greenland habitable by civilized man." So we see that it is necessary to look for such geographical changes as will interfere with the movements of marine currents.

Now, it is easy to see that comparatively small geographical changes would not only greatly interfere with these currents, but might even cause them to entirely change their course. An elevation of the northern part of North America, no greater in amount than is supposed to have taken place at the commencement of the Glacial Age, would bring the wide area of the banks of Newfoundland far above the water, causing the American coast to stretch out in an immense curve to a point more than six hundred miles east of Halifax, and this would divert much of the Gulf Stream straight across to the coast of Spain.[1]

Such an elevation certainly took place, and if continued westward, Behring's Strait would also have been closed. It is to such northern elevations, shutting out the warm ocean currents, that a great many geologists look for a sufficient explanation of the glacial cold.

Prof. Dana says: "Increase in the extent and height of high latitude lands may well stand as one cause of the Glacial Age." Then he points out how the rising of the land of Northern Canada and adjacent territory, which almost certainly took place, "all a sequel to the majestic uplift of the Tertiary, would have made a glacial period for North America, whatever the position of the ecliptic, or whatever the eccentricity of the earth's orbit, though more readily, of course, if other circumstances favored it."[2]

It may occur to some that if high northern lands be all

[1] Wallace's "Island Life," p. 149. Hitchcock's "Geology of New Hampshire," Vol. II, p. 7, gives a map showing what immense areas in that section would be raised to the surface by a raise of three hundred feet.

[2] *American Journal of Science*, 1871, p. 329.

that is necessary for a period of cold, we ought to have had it in the Miocene Age, when there was a continuous land connection between the lands of high polar areas and both Europe and America, since we know that an abundant vegetation spread from there, as a center, to both these countries. But at that epoch circumstances were different. The great North Temperate lands were in a "comparatively fragmentary and insular condition."[1] There were great inland seas in both Europe and Asia, through which powerful currents would have flowed from the Indian Ocean to Arctic regions.

Somewhat similar conditions prevailed in North America. The western part was in an insular condition. A great sea extended over this part of the country, joining the Arctic probably on the north, through which heated water would pour into the polar sea. And so, instead of a Glacial Age, we find evidence of a mild and genial climate, with an abundant vegetation.

We thus see that there are two theories as to the cause of the Glacial Age presented for our consideration. Both of them have received the sanction of scholars eminent for their scientific attainments. On inspection we see they are not antagonistic theories. They may both be true for that matter, and all would admit that whatever effect they would produce singly would be greatly enhanced if acting together. Indeed, there are very good reasons for supposing both must have acted in unison.

There seem to be very good reasons for not believing that the eccentricity of the earth's orbit, acting alone, produced the glacial cold. If that were the case, then whenever the eccentricity was great we should have a Glacial Age. Now, at some period of time during the long-extended

[1] Wallace's "Island Life," p. 184.

Tertiary Age we are certain the eccentricity of the earth's orbit became very great, much more so, in fact, than that which is supposed to have produced the cold of the Quaternary Age. But we are equally certain there was no glacial epoch during this age."[1] What other explanation can we give for its non-appearance except that geographical conditions were not favorable?

But, on the other hand, there are certain features connected with the phenomena of the Glacial Age that seem very difficult of explanation, if we suppose that geographical changes alone produced them. We must remember that evidences of the former presence of glaciers are found widely scattered over the earth. We shall, therefore, have to assume an elevation not only for America and Europe, but extend it over into Asia, and take in the Lebanon Mountains, for they also show distinct traces of glaciers. And this movement of elevation must also have affected the Southern Hemisphere, the evidence being equally plain that at the same comparatively late date glaciers crushed over Southern Africa and South America.[2] This is seen to prove too much. Again, how can we explain the fact that some time during the Glacial Age we had a submergence, the land standing several hundred feet lower than now, but still remained covered with ice, and over the submerged part there sailed icebergs and ice-rafts, freighted with their usual *débris?* That such was the state of things in Europe we are assured by some very good authorities.[3]

Neither do geographical causes afford an adequate explanation of those changes of temperature that surely took

[1] Wallace's "Island Life," p. 182.

[2] Ibid., p. 157 and note. Prof. Wright thinks this statement doubtful. He refers to the date of the Glacial Age in the Southern Hemisphere.

[3] Wallace's "Island Life," p. 200; Dawkins's "Early Man in Britain," p. 119; Geikie's "Great Ice Age," p. 256; Quatrefages's "Human Species," p. 288.

place during the Glacial Age. These last considerations show us how difficult it is to believe that geographical causes could have produced the Glacial Age.

We are assured that all through the geological ages the continents had been increasing in size and compactness, and that just at the close of the Tertiary Age they received a considerable addition of land to the north. The astronomer also informs us that at a comparatively recent epoch the eccentricity of the earth's orbit became very great. The conditions being favorable, it is not strange that a Glacial Age supervened.

We have been to considerable length in thus explaining the position of the scientific world in regard to the cause of the Glacial Age. Our reason for so doing is that this age is, we think, so connected with the Paleolithic Age of man, that it seems advisable to have a clear understanding in regard to it. What we have to say is neither new nor original. It is simply an earnest endeavor to represent clearly the conclusions of some of our best scholars on this subject, and we have tried to give to each theory its due weight. Our conclusions may be wrong, but, if so, we have the consolation of erring in very good company.

We have now gone over the ground and are ready to see what dates can be given. Though the numbers we use seem to be very large indeed, they are so only in comparison with our brief span of life. They are insignificant as compared with the extent of time that has surely rolled by since life appeared on the globe. Let us, therefore, not be dismayed at the figures the astronomer sets before us.[1]

About two hundred and fifty thousand years ago the earth's path around the sun was much the same as that of the present. No great changes in climate were liable to take

[1] For these results, see McFarland's Calculations in "American Journal of Science," 1880, p. 105.

place at that time. During the next fifty thousand years the eccentricity steadily increased. Towards the end of that time all that was necessary to produce a glacial epoch in the Northern Hemisphere was favorable geographical causes, and that our earth should reach its point nearest the sun in Summer. This it must have done when about half that time had elapsed.

We can in imagination see what a slow deterioration of climate took place. Thousands of years would come and go before the change would be decisive. But a time must have at length arrived when the vegetation covering the ground was such as was suited only for high northern latitudes. The animals suited for warm and temperate regions must have wandered farther south; others from the north had arrived to take their place. We can see how well this agrees with the changes of climate at the close of the Pliocene Age. The snows of the commencing Glacial Age would soon begin to fall, finally the sun would not melt them off of the high lands, and mountain peaks, and so a Glacial Age would be ushered in.

We have referred to the fact that the earth reaches its perihelion point a little earlier each year, and, as a consequence, we would have periods of mild climate alternating the cold. This extended period of time, equal to twenty-one thousand of our ordinary years, has been named the Great Year of our globe. Mr. Wallace has pointed out some very good reasons for thinking Mr. Croll's theory must be modified on this point. He thinks that when once a Glacial Age was fairly fastened on a hemisphere, it would retain its grasp as long as the eccentricity remained high, but whenever the Summer of the Great Year came to that hemisphere, it would melt back the glacial ice for some distance, but this area would be recovered by the ice when the Winter of the Great Year supervened. These effects would be different

when the eccentricity itself became low. Then we would expect the glacial conditions to vanish entirely when the Summer of a Great Year comes on.[1]

As we have made the theoretical part of this chapter already too long, we must hurry on. We can only say that this view is founded on the fact that when a country was covered with snow and ice, it had, so to speak, a great amount of cold stored up in it, so much, in fact, that it would not be removed by the sun of a new geological Summer. This ought to be acceptable to such geologists as are willing to admit the advance and retreat of the great glacier, but yet doubt the fact of the interglacial mild climate.

But now to return to the question of time about two hundred and twenty thousand years ago. Then the Northern Hemisphere, according to this theory, was in the grasp of a Glacial Age. According to Mr. Wallace, as long as the eccentricity remained high, there could be no great amelioration of climate, except along the southern border of the ice sheet, which might, for causes named, vary some distance during the Great Year. Two hundred thousand years ago the eccentricity, then very high, reached a turning point. It then steadily, though gradually, diminished for fifty thousand years; at that time the eccentricity was so small, though considerably larger than at present, that it is doubtful if it was of any service in producing a change of climate.[2] At that time, also, the Northern Hemisphere was passing through the Summer season of the Great Year. We ought, therefore, to have had a mild interglacial season. Except in high northern latitudes the ice should have disappeared. This change we would expect to find more marked in Europe than in America.

We need only recall how strong are the evidences on

[1] "Island Life," p. 153. [2] See chart, p. 124, Wallace's "Island Life."

this point. Nearly all European writers admit at least one such mild interval, and though not wanting evidence of such a period in America, our geologists are much less confident of its occurrence.

But from that point the eccentricity again increased. So when the long flight of years again brought secular Winter to the Northern Hemisphere, the glaciers would speedily appear, and as eccentricity was again high, they would again hold the country in their grasp. Fifty thousand years later, or one hundred thousand years ago, it passed its turning point again; eighty thousand years ago, it became so small that it probably ceased to effect the climate. Since then it has not been very large. Twenty-five thousand years ago it was less than it is now, but it is again growing smaller. According to this theory, then, the Glacial Age commenced about two hundred and twenty thousand years ago. It continued, with one interruption of mild climate, for one hundred and forty thousand years, and finally passed away eighty thousand years ago.

What shall we say to these results? If true, what a wonderful antiquity is here unfolded for the human race, and what a wonderful lapse of time is included in what is known as the Paleolithic Age! How strikingly does it impress upon our minds the slow development of man! Is such an antiquity for man in itself absurd? We know no reason for such a conclusion. Our most eminent scholars nowhere set a limit to the time of man's first appearance. It is true, many of them do not think the evidence strong enough to affirm such an antiquity, but there are no bounds given beyond which we may not pass.

Without investigation some might reject the idea that man could have lived on the earth one hundred thousand years in a state of Savagism. If endowed with the attributes of humanity, it may seem to them that he would

long before that time have achieved civilization. Such persons do not consider the lowliness of his first condition, and the extreme slowness with which progress must have gone forward. On this point the geologists and the sociologists agree. Says Mr. Geikie: "The time which has elapsed from the close of the Paleolithic Age, even up to the present day, can not for a moment compare with the æons during which the men of the old stone period occupied Europe." And on this subject Mr. Morgan says: "It is a conclusion of deep importance in ethnology that the experience of mankind in Savagery was longer in duration than all their subsequent experience, and that the period of Civilization covers but a fragment of the life of the race."[1] The time itself, which seems to us so long, is but a brief space as compared with the ages nature has manifestly required to work out some of the results we see before us every day. We are sure, but few of our scholars think this too liberal an estimate. All endeavor to impress on our minds that the Glacial Age is an expression covering a very long period of time.

As to the time that has elapsed since the close of the Glacial Age there is some dispute, and it may be that we will be forced to the conclusion that the close of the Glacial Age was but a few thousand years ago. Mr. Wallace assures us, however, that the time mentioned agrees well "with physical evidence of the time that has elapsed since the cold has passed away."[2]

Difficulties are, however, urged by other writers. We can see at once that as quick as the glaciers are removed the denuding forces of nature, which are constantly at work, would begin to rearrange the *débris* left behind on the surface, and in the course of a few thousand years must effect great changes. Now, in some cases the amount of such

[1] "Ancient Society," p. 39. [2] "Island Life," p. 201.

change is so small that geologists are reluctant to believe a vast lapse of time has occurred since the glaciers withdrew. Mr. Geikie tells us of some moraines in Scotland that they are so fresh and beautiful "that it is difficult to believe they can date back to a period so vastly removed as the Ice Age is believed to be."[1] In our own country this same sort of evidence is brought forward, and we are given some special calculations going to show that the disappearance of the glaciers was a comparatively recent thing.[2]

It will be seen that these conclusions are somewhat opposed to the results previously arrived at. In explanation Mr. Geikie thinks the cases spoken of in Scotland were not the moraines of the great glaciers, but of a local glacier of a far later date. He thinks that the climate, while not severe enough to produce the enormous glaciers of early times, was severe enough to produce local glaciers still in Scotland.[3] It is possible that a similar explanation may be given for the evidence adduced in the United States. We can only state that, according to the difference in climate between the eastern and western sides of the Atlantic Ocean, when the climate was severe enough to produce local glaciers in Scotland, it would produce the same effect over a large part of eastern United States down to the latitude of New York City.[4] And while it is true there would not be as much difference in climate on the two sides of the Atlantic in Glacial times as at present, since the Gulf Stream, on which such difference depends would then have less force, still it was not entirely lacking, and the difference must have been considerable.[5]

[1] "Prehistoric Europe," p. 312.

[2] On this point consult Wright's "Studies in Science and Religion," pp. 232–347; also Prof. Lewis in "Primitive Industry," pp. 547–551.

[3] "Prehistoric Europe," p. 560.

[4] See any isothermal map.

[5] Wallace's "Island Life," p. 154, note.

Prof. Hitchcock has made a suggestion that whereas we know a period of several months elapses after the sun crosses the equator before Summer fairly comes on, so it is but reasonable to suppose that a proportionate length of time would go by after the eccentricity of the earth's orbit became small, before the Glacial Age would really pass away. He accordingly suggests it may have been only about forty thousand years since the glaciers disappeared.[1]

At the close of the Glacial Age Paleolithic man vanished from Europe. This, therefore, brings us to the conclusion of our researches into what is probably the most mysterious chapter of man's existence on the earth.

It may not come amiss to briefly notice the main points thus far made in our investigation of the past. As to the epoch of man's first appearance, we found he could not be expected to appear until all the animals lower than he had made their appearance. This is so because the Creator of all has apparently chosen that method of procedure in the development of life on the globe. According to our present knowledge, man might have been living in the Miocene Age, and with a higher degree of probability in the Pliocene. But we can not say that the evidence adduced in favor of his existence at these early times is satisfactory to the majority of our best thinkers. All agree that he was living in Europe at the close of the Glacial Age, and we think the evidence sufficient to show that he preceded the glaciers, and that as a rude savage he lived in Europe throughout the long extended portion of time known as the Glacial Age.

We also found evidence of either two distinct races of men inhabiting Europe in the Paleolithic Age, or else tribes of the same race, widely different in time and in culture.

[1] "Geology of New Hampshire," Vol. III, p. 327, referred to in Wright's "Studies in Science and Religion," p. 327.

The one people known as the men of the River Drift apparently invaded Europe from Asia, along with the species of temperate animals now living there. This people seem to have been widely scattered over the earth. The race has probably vanished away, though certain Australian tribes may be descendants of them. They were doubtless very low in the scale of humanity, having apparently never reached a higher state than that of Lower Savagism. The second race of men inhabiting Europe during the Paleolithic Age were the Cave-dwellers. They seem to have been allied to the Eskimos of the North. They were evidently further advanced than the Drift men, but were still savages.

The Paleolithic Age in Europe seems to have terminated with the Glacial Age. But we are not to suppose it came to an end all over the earth at that time. On the contrary, some tribes of men never passed beyond that stage. When the light of civilization fell upon them they were still in the culture of the old Stone Age. We are to notice that in such cases the tribes thus discovered were very low in the scale. The probable data for the Paleolithic Age have formed the subject of this chapter. While claiming in support of them the opinions of some eminent scholars, we freely admit that it is not a settled question, but open to very grave objections, especially the date of the close of the Glacial Age, which seems to have been comparatively recent, at least in America. We think, however, that these objections will yet be harmonized with the general results. Neither is this claimed to be an exhaustive presentation of the matter. It is an outline only—the better to enable us to understand the mystery connected with the data of Paleolithic man.

In these few chapters we have been dealing with people, manners, and times, of which the world fifty years ago was ignorant. Many little discoveries, at first apparently discon-

nected, are suddenly brought into new relation, and behold, ages ago, when the great continents were but just completed, races of men, low in the scale, it is true, but yet with the stamp of humanity upon them, are seen filling the earth. With them were many great animals long since passed away. The age of animals was at an end. That of man had just begun.

The child requires the schooling of adversity and trial to make a complete man of himself, and it is even so with races of men. Who can doubt that struggling up from dense ignorance, contending against adverse circumstances, compelled to wage war against fierce animals, sustaining life in the midst of the low temperature which had loaded the Northern Hemisphere with snow and ice, had much to do in developing those qualities which rendered civilization possible.

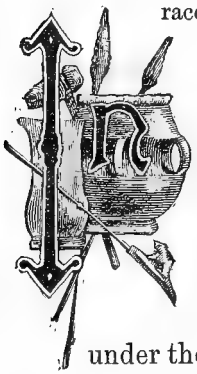
As to the antiquity of man disclosed in these chapters, the only question that need concern us is whether it is true or not. Evidence tending to prove its substantial accuracy should be as acceptable as that disproving it. No great principle is here at stake. The truth of Divine Revelation is in no wise concerned. There is nothing in its truth or falsity which should in any way affect man's belief in an overruling Providence, or in an immortality beyond the grave, or which should render any less desirable a life of purity and honor. On the contrary, we think one of the greatest causes of thanksgiving mortals have is the possession of intellectual powers, which enable us to here and there catch a glimpse of the greatness of God's universe, which the astronomer at times unfolds to us; or, to dimly comprehend the flight of time since "The Beginning," which the geologist finds necessary to account for the stupendous results wrought by slow-acting causes.

It seems to us eminently fitting that God should place man here, granting to him a capacity for improvement, but bestowing on him no gift or accomplishment, which by exertion and experience he could acquire; for labor is, and ever has been, the price of material good. So we see how necessary it is that a very extended time be given us to account for man's present advancement. Supposing an angel of light was to come to the aid of our feeble understanding, and unroll before us the pages of the past, a past of which, with all our endeavors, we as yet know but little. Can we doubt that, from such a review, we would arise with higher ideas of man's worth? Our sense of the depths from which he has ascended is equaled only by our appreciation of the future opening before him. Individually we shall soon have passed away. Our nation may disappear. But we believe our race has yet but fairly started in its line of progress; time only is wanted. We can but think that that view which limits man to an existence extending over but a few thousand years of the past, is a belittling one. Rather let us think of him as existing from a past separated from us by these many thousand years; winning his present position by the exercise of God-given powers.

# CHAPTER VI.

## THE NEOLITHIC AGE IN EUROPE.[1]

CLOSE of the first cycle—Neolithic culture connected with the present—No links between the two ages—Long lapse of time between the two ages—Swiss lake villages—This form of villages widely scattered—Irish cranogs—Fortified villages—Implements and weapons of Neolithic times—Possessed of pottery—Neolithic agriculture—Possessed of domestic animals—Danish shell-heaps—Importance of flint—The art of navigation—Neolithic clothing—Their modes of burial—The question of race—Possible remnants—Connection with the Turanian race—Arrival of the Celts.



THE preceding chapters we have sought to learn what we could of the Paleolithic Age. We have seen what strange people and animals occupied the land, and have caught some glimpses of a past that has been recovered to us out of the very night of time. From under the ashes of Vesuvius archæologists have brought to light an ancient city. We gaze on it with great interest, for we there see illustrated the state of society two thousand years ago. But other cities of that time are still in existence, and not only by the aid of tradition and song, but from the pages of history, we can learn of the civilization of the Roman people at the time of the destruction of Pompei; so that, in this case, our knowledge of the past is not confined to one source of information. But no voice of history or tradition,

[1] The manuscript of this chapter was submitted to Prof. Chas. Rau, of the Smithsonian Institution, for criticism.

or of existing institutions, speaks to us of the Paleolithic Age. Of that remote time, the morning time of human life, we learn only from the labors of geologists and archæologists. We are virtually dealing with a past geological age. The long term of years thus defined drew to its close amidst scenes of almost Arctic sterility. In all probability, glaciers reflected the sun's rays from all the considerable hills and mountains of Central and Northern Europe, though forming, perhaps, but a remnant of the great glaciers of the Ice Age. The neighboring seas must have been whitened by the glistening sails of numerous icebergs. Such was the closing scene of Paleolithic life.

The first great cycle of human life, as far as we know it now, was concluded in Europe. We do not mean to say that it terminated all over the world. In other regions it survived to far later times. But, in Europe, Paleolithic animals and men had worked out their mission, and we have now to record the arrival and spread of a new race, bringing with them domestic animals, a knowledge of rude husbandry, and many simple arts and industries of which their Paleolithic predecessors were ignorant.

We recall, that the men of the Paleolithic Age seemed incapable of advancement;[1] or their progress was so slow that we scarcely notice it. But we can trace the lines of advancement from the Neolithic culture to that of the present. We have, however, to deal with people and times far removed from the light of history.

We have before us, then, a new culture and a new people. On the one hand is Paleolithic man, with his rude stone implements, merely chipped into shape—surrounded

[1] The Cave-men were, undoubtedly, considerably in advance of the Men of the Drift. If we regard the two as but one race of men, then the statement is not true. We have, however, given our reasons for considering the Cave-men as a different race. Hence the statement made above.

by many animals which have since vanished from the theater of life—inhabiting a country which, at its close at least, was more like Greenland of to-day than England or France. The scene completely changes, when the misty curtain of the past again rises and allows us to continue our investigations into primitive times.

We would naturally expect to find everywhere, connecting links between these two ages—the culture of the one gradually changing into the culture of the other. This, however, is not the case. The line of demarkation between the ages is everywhere plainly drawn; and, furthermore, we are learning that a very long time elapsed between the departure, or disappearance, of the Paleolithic tribes, and the arrival of their Neolithic successors. This is shown in a great many ways, and we will notice some of them. We learn that Neolithic man occasionally used caves as a place of habitation. In such cases there is nearly always a thick layer of stalagmite between the strata containing the Paleolithic implements and the Neolithic strata—though this stalagmite is unmistakable evidence of the lapse of many years, we can not determine how many, as we do not know the rate of formation.

This lapse of time is shown very plainly when we come to consider the changes wrought in the surface features of the country by the action of running water. We know that rain, running water, and frost, constituting what we call denuding forces, are constantly at work changing the surface of a country. We know that, in general, this change is slow. But great changes have been wrought between these two ages.

In the British Islands, we know that the rivers had time to very materially change the surface features of the land. The important rivers of Scotland had carved out channels

one hundred feet deep in places; and along their courses, especially near their mouths, had plowed out and removed great quantities of glacial material—forming broad flats which became densely wooded before Neolithic man made his appearance on the scene. In some cases the entire surface of the land had been removed, leaving only knolls and hills of the old land surface. Examples of this occur on the east coast of England, and in what is known as the Fen-lands. The final retreat of the glaciers must have left the country covered with *débris*. After this had been largely denuded, the country became densely wooded. It was not until these changes had taken place, that Neolithic man wandered into Europe.[1]

But still another ground exists for claiming a long interval between these two ages, namely, the great changes that took place in the animal world of Europe during these two epochs. Many different species of animals characteristic of the Paleolithic Age vanished as completely from Europe as the rude tribes that hunted them, before the appearance of Neolithic tribes. But little change in the fauna of England has taken place in the last two thousand years. So it is obvious that the great change above-mentioned demands many centuries for its accomplishment. Huge animals of the elephant kind, such as the mammoth, no longer crashed through the underbrush, or wallowed in the lakes. The roars of lions and tigers, that haunted the caves of early Europe, were no longer heard.[2] In short, there had disappeared forever from Europe the distinctly southern animals that diversified the fauna of Paleolithic times. Even the Arctic animals were banished to northern latitudes, or mountain heights.

[1] Consult Geikie's "Prehistoric Europe," chapters on "British Post-glacial and Recent Deposits."

[2] Lions still lived in Greece at the time of Herodotus. See "Polymnia," vii, 125, etc.

We have dwelt to some length on the proofs of a long-extended time between these two ages. The more we reflect on these instances, the more impressed are we with a sense of duration vast and profound, in which the great forests and grassy plains of Europe supported herds of wild animals all unvexed by the presence of man. We will only mention one more point and then pass on.

We have seen that the highest rank we can assign to Paleolithic man in the scale of civilization is Upper Savagism. But when Neolithic man appeared, he was in the middle status of Barbarism. The time, therefore, between the disappearance of Paleolithic man and the arrival of Neolithic man was long enough to enable primitive man to pass one entire ethnical period, that of Lower Barbarism. But this requires a very long period of time, probably several times as long as the entire series of years since Civilization first appeared, which is supposed to be in the neighborhood of five thousand years ago.[1]

We must now turn our attention to Neolithic man himself and learn what we can of his culture, and discover, if possible, what race it was that spread over Europe after it had been for so long a time an uninhabitable country. A few remarks by way of introduction will not be considered amiss.

We are learning that tribal organization, implying communism in living, is characteristic of prehistoric people.[2] Tribal organization sufficed to advance man to the very confines of civilization. We have no doubt but that this was the state of society amongst the Neolithic people. But this implies living in communities or villages. We need not pic-

[1] This last argument is drawn from Mr. Morgan's work. It is well to state that his divisions are very far from being accepted by all authorities.

[2] Morgan's "Ancient Society."

ture to ourselves a country dotted with houses, the abodes of single families; such did not exist, but here and there were fortified villages.

Still another consequence follows from this tribal state of society. There was no such thing as a strong central government. Each tribe obeyed its own chief, and a state of war nearly always existed between different tribes. Such we know was the state of things among the Indian tribes of America. Travelers tell us that it is so to-day in Africa. Each tribe stood ready to defend itself or to make war on its neighbors. One great point, therefore, in constructing a village, was to secure a place that could be easily defended.

Bearing these principles in mind, let us see what we can learn of their habitations. Owing to a protracted drouth, the water in the Swiss lakes was unusually low in the Winter of 1854, and the inhabitants of Meilen, on the Lake Zürich, took advantage of this state of affairs to throw up embankments some distance out from the old shore, and thus gain a strip of land along the coast. In carrying out this design, they found in the mud at the bottom of the lake a number of piles, some thrown down and others upright, fragments of rough pottery, bone and stone instruments, and various other relics.

Dr. Keller, president of the Zürich Antiquarian Society, was apprised of this discovery, and proceeded at once to examine the collection made and the place of discovery. He was not long in determining the prehistoric nature of the relics, and the true intent of the pile remains. He proved them to be supports for platforms, on which were erected rude dwellings, the platforms being above the surface of the water, and at some distance from the shore, with which they were connected by a narrow bridge.

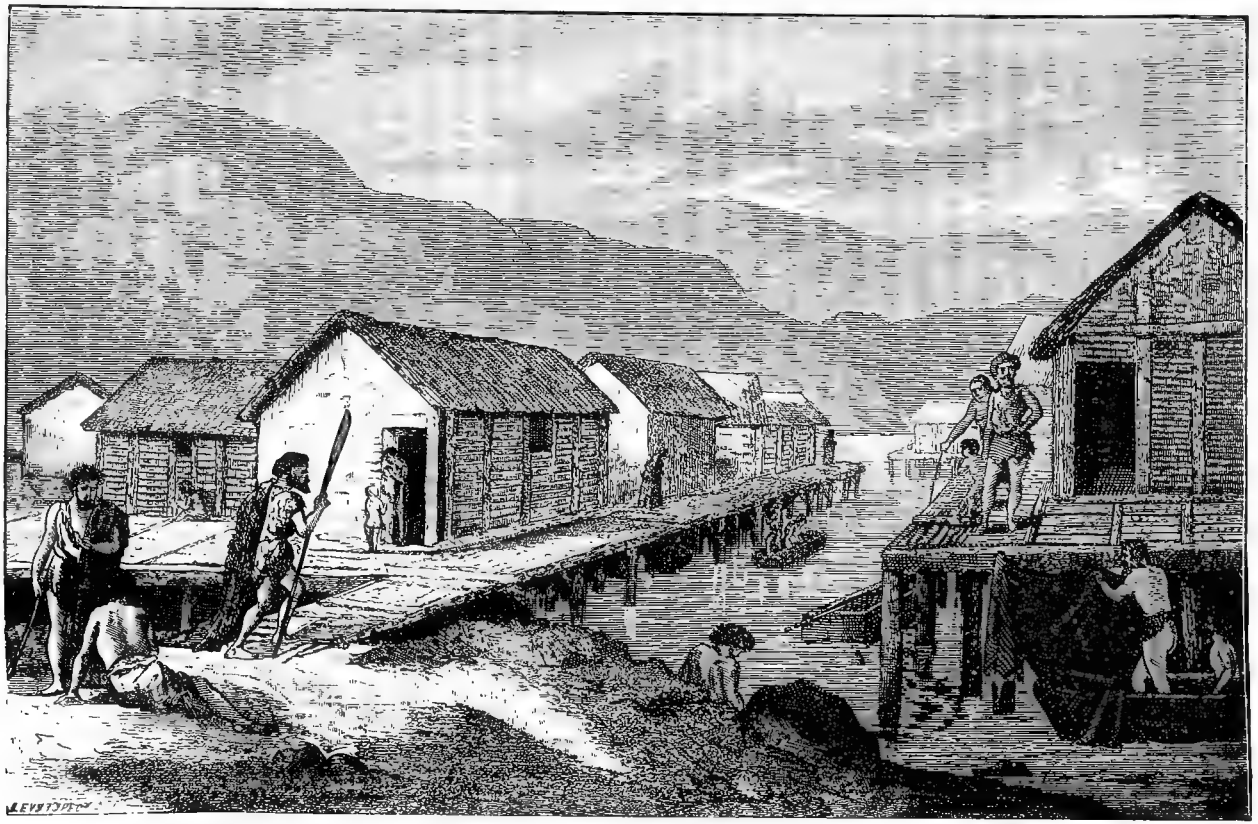
This was the first of a series of many interesting discov-

eries from which we have learned many facts as to Neolithic times. The cut we have introduced is an ideal restoration of one of these Swiss lake villages. It needs but a glance to show how admirably placed it was for purposes of defense. Unless an enemy was provided with boats, the only way of approach was over the bridge. But the very fact that they resorted to lakes, where at the expense of great labor they erected their villages, is a striking illustration of the insecurity of the times.

This discovery once made, it is surprising what numbers of these ancient lake villages have been discovered. Switzerland abounds in large and small lakes, and in former times they must have been still more numerous, but in the course of years they have become filled up, and now exist only as peat bogs. But we now know that during the Neolithic Age the country was quite thickly inhabited, and these lakes were the sites of villages. Over two hundred have been found in Switzerland alone. Fishermen had known of the existence of these piles long before their meaning was understood. Lake Geneva is one of the most famous of the Swiss lakes. Though in the main it is deep, yet around the shore there is a fringe of shallow water.

It was in this shallow belt that the villages were built. The sites of twenty-four settlements are known. We are told that on "calm days, when the surface of the water is unruffled, the piles are plainly visible. Few of them now project more than two feet from the bottom, eaten away by the incessant action of the water. Lying among them are objects of bone, horn, pottery, and frequently even of bronze. So fresh are they, and so unaltered, they look as if they were only things of yesterday, and it seems hard to believe that they can have remained there for centuries."[1]

[1] Lubbock's "Prehistoric Times," p. 189.



LAKE VILLAGE, SWITZERLAND.

A lake settlement represents an immense amount of work for a people destitute of metallic tools. After settling on the locality, the first step would be to obtain the timbers. The piles were generally composed of the trunks of small-sized trees at that time flourishing in Switzerland. But to cut down a tree with a stone hatchet is no slight undertaking. They probably used fire to help them. After the tree was felled it had to be cut off again at the right length, the branches lopped off, and one end rudely sharpened. It was then taken to the place and driven into the mud of the lake bottom. For this purpose they used heavy wooden mallets. It has been estimated that one of the settlements on Lake Constance required forty thousand piles in its construction.[1]

The platform which rested on these piles was elevated several feet above the surface of the water, so as to allow for the swash of the waves. It was composed of branches and trunks of trees banded together, the whole covered with clay. Sometimes they split the trees with wedges so as to make thick slabs. In some instances wooden pegs were used to fasten portions of the platform to the pile-work.

As to the houses which were erected on these platforms, though they have utterly vanished, yet from a few remains we can judge something as to the mode of construction. They seem to have been formed of trunks of trees placed upright, one by the side of the other, and bound together by interwoven branches. This was then covered on both sides with two or three inches of clay. A plaster of clay and gravel formed the floor, and a few slabs of sandstone did duty for a fire-place. The roof was of bark, straw, or rushes. There does not seem to have been much of a plan used in laying out a settlement. As population increased other piles

[1] Figuier's "Primitive Man," p. 223.

were added, and thus the village gradually extended. No one village would be likely to contain a great number of inhabitants. Calculations based on the area of one of the largest settlements in Lake Geneva, gives as a result a population of thirteen hundred, but manifestly nothing definite is known.

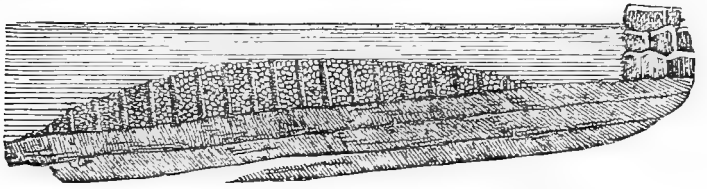
This brief description gives us an idea of a method of constructing villages which, as we shall soon see, extended all over Europe, though varied somewhat in detail. The condition of the remains indicate that these settlements were often destroyed by fire. At such times quantities of arms, implements, and household industries would have been lost in the water, and so preserved for our inspection.

This mode of building found such favor among the early inhabitants of Europe that it continued in use through the Neolithic Age, that of Bronze, and even into the age of Iron. Passages here and there in ancient histories evidently refer to them. Though they have long since passed away in Switzerland, the Spaniards found them in Mexico, and they are still to be seen in some of the isles of the Pacific. Remembering this, we need not be surprised if we find in one small lake settlements belonging to widely different ages. Here one of the Stone Age, there one of the Bronze, or even a confused mingling of what seems to be several ages in one settlement.[1]

There is scarcely a country in Europe that does not contain examples of lake villages. From their wide distribution we infer that a common race spread over the land. We will now mention some differences in construction discovered at some places, where, from the rocky nature of the bed

[1] On lake settlements, consult Keller's "Lake Dwellings;" Rau's "Early Man in Europe," chap. v; Sir John Lubbock's "Prehistoric Times," chap. vi; Figuier's "Primitive Man," p. 218, *et seq.*

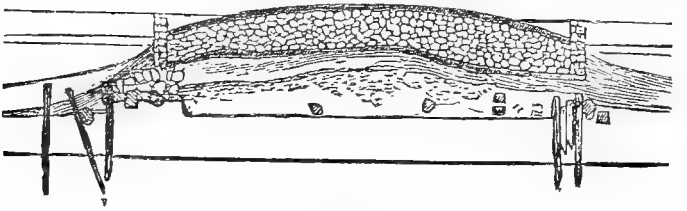
of the lake, it was impossible to drive piles so as to form a firm foundation. They sometimes packed quantities of stone around the piles to serve as supports in a manner as here indicated. "In all probability the stones used were con-



Foundation, Lake Village.

veyed to the required spot by means of canoes, made of hollowed out trunks of trees. Several of these canoes may still be seen at the bottom of Lake Bienne, and one, indeed, laden with pebbles, which leads us to think it must have foundered with its cargo."[1]

In some cases these heaps of stone and sticks rise to the surface of the water, or even above it, the piles in such cases serving more to hold the mass together than as a support to the platform on which the huts were erected. This mode of construction could only be employed in small lakes. This makes in reality an artificial island, and seems



Irish Crannog.

to have been the favorite method of procedure in the British Islands. In Ireland and Scotland immense numbers of these structures are known. They are called crannogs. This cut represents a section of one in Ireland. Though

[1] Figuier's "Primitive Man," p. 222.

they date back to the Neolithic Age, yet they so exactly meet the wants of a rude people that they were occupied down to historic times.

The advantage of forming settlements where they could only be approached on one side were so great that other places than lakes were resorted to. Peat-bogs furnished nearly as secure a place of retreat as do lakes. These have been well studied in Northern Italy. They do not present many new features. They were constructed like the lake villages, only they were surrounded by a marsh, and not by a lake. In some of the Irish bogs they first covered the surface of the bog with a layer of hazel bushes, and that by a layer of sand, and thus secured a firm surface.[1] In this case the villages were still further defended by a breast-work of rough spars, about five feet high. One of the houses of this group was found still in position, though it had been completely buried in peat. No metal had been used in its construction. The timbers had been cut with a stone ax, and the explorer was even so fortunate as to find an ax, which exactly fitted many of the cuts observed on the timbers.

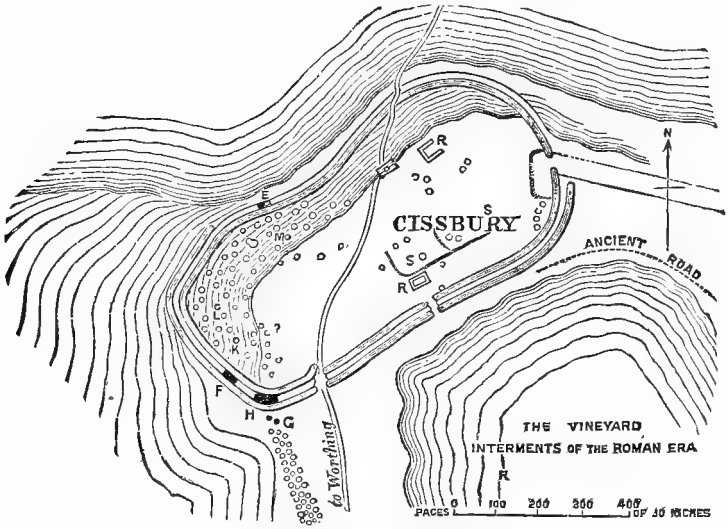
But we are not to suppose that lakes and bogs afforded the only sites of villages. They are found scattered all over the surface of the country, and, as we shall soon see, they show the same painstaking care to secure strong, easily defended positions. They have been generally spoken of as forts, to which the inhabitants resorted only in times of danger. We think, however, they were locations of villages, the customary places of abode. For this is in strict accordance with what we find to be the early condition of savage life in every part of the world.

Traces of these settlements on the main-land have been mostly obliterated by the cultivation of the soil during the

[1] Dawkins's "Early Man in Britain," p. 270.

many years that have elapsed since their Neolithic founders occupied them. In Switzerland the location of five of these villages are known. In all instances they occupied places very difficult of approach—generally precipitous sides on all but one or two. On the accessible sides ramparts defended them. The relics obtained are in all respects similar to those from the lake villages.[1]

Fortified inclosures have been described in Belgium. We are told, "They are generally established on points




Fortified Camp, Cissbury.

overhanging valleys, on a mass of rocks forming a kind of headland, which is united to the rest of the country by a narrow neck of land. A wide ditch was dug across this narrow tongue of land, and the whole camp was surrounded by a thick wall of stone, simply piled one upon another, without either mortar or cement." "One of these walls, when described, was ten feet thick, and the same in height." "These intrenched positions were so well chosen that most of

[1] Keller's "Lake Dwellings." Translated by Lee.

them continued to be occupied during the ages which followed." The Romans occasionally utilized them for their camps. Over the whole inclosure of these ancient camps worked flints and remains of pottery have been found.[1] These fortified places have been well studied in the south of England.

What is known as the South-Downs in Sussex is a range of hills of a general height of seven hundred feet. This section is about five miles wide and fifty miles long. Four rivers flow through these downs to the sea. In olden times their lower courses must have been deep inlets of the sea, thus dividing those hills into five groups, each separated from the other by a wide extent of water and marsh land. To the north of these hills was a vast expanse of densely wooded country. It is not strange, then, to find traces of numerous settlements among these hills. As the surface soil is very thin, old embankments can still be traced. The cut given is a representation of Cissbury, one of the largest of these camps. It incloses nearly sixty acres. The rampart varies according to the slope of the hill. Where the ascent was at all easy it was made double. Fortified camps are very numerous throughout the hill country. They vary, of course, in size, but the situation was always well chosen.[2]

As for the buildings themselves, or huts of the Neolithic people, we know but little. They were probably built much the same as the houses in the lake settlements. We meet with some strange modifications in England. Frequently within these ramparts we find circular pits or depressions in the ground. They are regarded as vestiges of habitations, and they must have been mainly under ground. "They occur singly and in groups, and are carried down to a depth of from seven to ten feet through the superficial gravel into

[1] Figuier's "Primitive Man," p. 153.

[2] General Lane Fox's "Hill Forts of Sussex," Archæology, vol. xvii.

the chalk, each pit, or cluster of pits, having a circular shaft for an entrance. At the bottom they vary from five to seven feet in diameter, and gradually narrow to two and a half or three feet in diameter in the upper part. The floors were of chalk, sometimes raised in the center, and the roof had been formed of interlaced sticks, coated with clay imperfectly burned."[1]

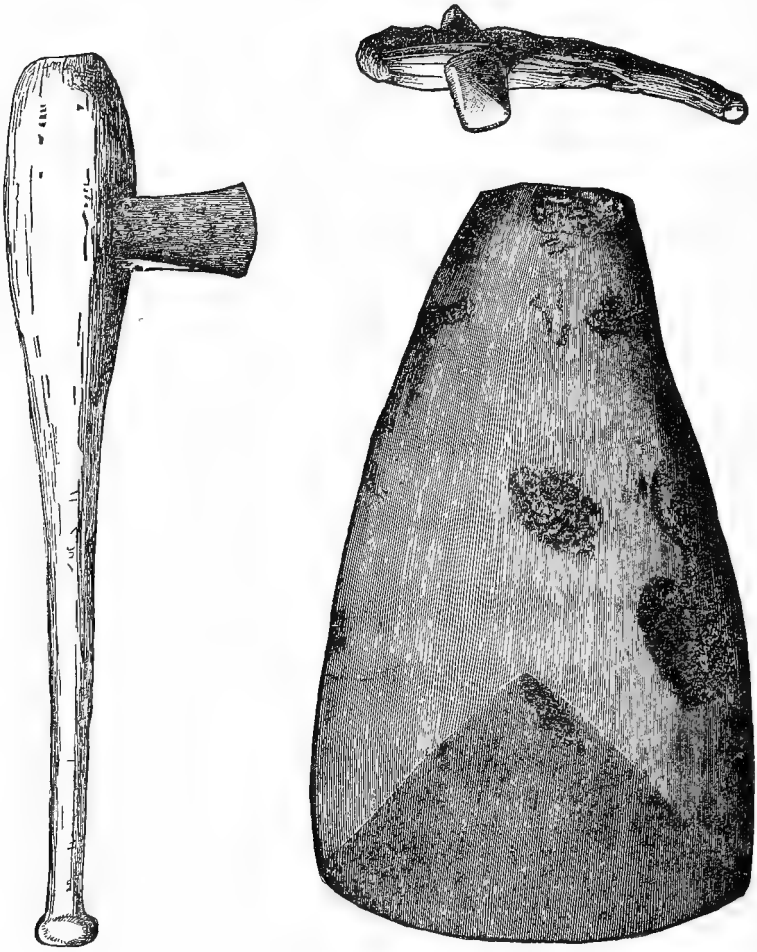
In the north of Scotland, instead of putting them under ground, they built them on the natural surface, and then built a mound over them all. In appearance this was scarcely distinguishable from a mound, but on digging in we discover a series of large chambers, built generally with stones of considerable size, and converging toward the center, where an opening appears to have been left for light and ventilation, In some instances the mound was omitted, and we have simply a cluster of joining huts, with dry, thick walls. These have been appropriately named "Bee-hive Houses."[2]

We can form a very good idea of Neolithic Europe from what we have learned as to their habitations. A well-wooded country, abounding in lakes and marshes, quite thickly settled, but by a savage people, divided into many tribes, independent of and hostile to each other. The lakes were fringed with their peculiar settlements; they are to be noticed in the marshes, and on commanding heights are still others. The people were largely hunters and fishers, but, as we shall soon see, they practiced a rude husbandry and had a few domestic animals. Such was the condition of Europe long before the Greek and Latin tribes lit the beacon fires of civilization in the south.

It is evident that the builders of the lake settlements

[1] Dawkins's "Early Man in Britain," p. 267.
[2] Lubbock's "Prehistoric Times," p. 56.

and of the fortified villages were an intelligent and industrious people, though their scale in civilization was yet low.



Neolithic Axes.

Their various implements of bone, horn, and stone display considerable advance over the rude articles of the Drift.

One of the most important implements was the ax. The Paleolithic hatchet, we remember, was rude, massive, and only roughly chipped into shape, and was intended to be

held in the hand. The Neolithic ax was a much better made one, and was furnished with a handle. They were enabled to accomplish a great deal with such axes. "Before it, aided by fire, the trees of the forest fell to make room for the tiller of the ground, and by its sharp edge wood became useful for the manufacture of various articles and implements indispensable for the advancement of mankind in culture."[1] These axes vary in size and finish. As a general thing they are ground to a sharp, smooth edge, but not always, nor were they always furnished with a handle.

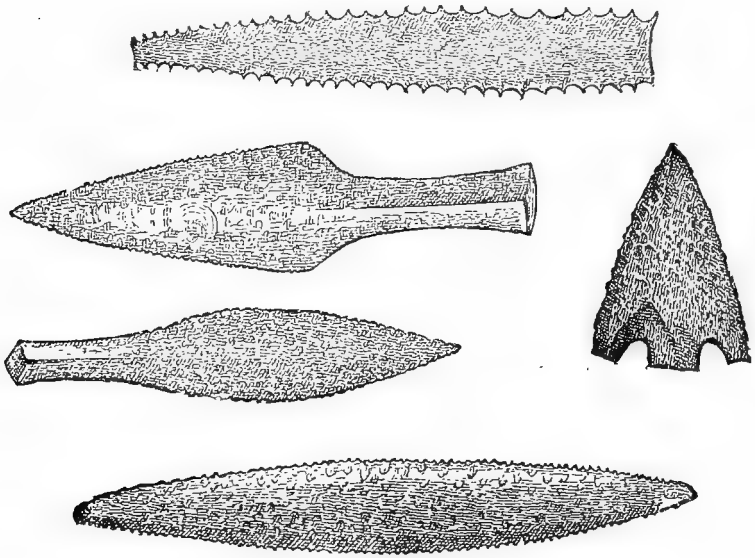
Some axes are found with a hole bored in them, through which to pass a handle. These perforated axes are found in considerable numbers, and some have denied that they could be produced without the aid of metal. It is almost self-evident that the perforated axes are later in date than the solid ones, and probably many of them are no earlier in time than the Age of Metals. There is, however, nothing to show that all belong to so late a time. Besides, experiments have amply shown that even the hardest kind of flint can be drilled without the aid of metals.[2]

Warlike implements are, of course, quite common. Many of the axes found are probably war axes. Then besides we have arrow-heads, spears, and daggers. These are considered to be "marvels of skill in flint chipping."[3] Stone was used for a great many other purposes, such as scrapers, sling-stones, hammers, saws, and so on. Flint was generally the kind of stone used. Our civilization owes a great deal to this variety of stone. It is not only hard, but its cleavage is such that it was of the greatest use to primitive man. In a general way the Neolithic stone

[1] Mr. Dawkins's "Early Man in Britain," p. 274.
[2] Smithsonian Report, 1868. [3] Lubbock's "Prehistoric Times," p. 103.

implements are seen to be better adapted to the object in view than the Paleolithic specimens. They are also generally polished.

Wood was largely used in their common household implements. But it is only in exceptional cases that it has been preserved to us. They have been recovered, however, in peat-bogs and in the remains of lake settlements. These wooden utensils consist of bowls, ladles, knives, tubs, etc.

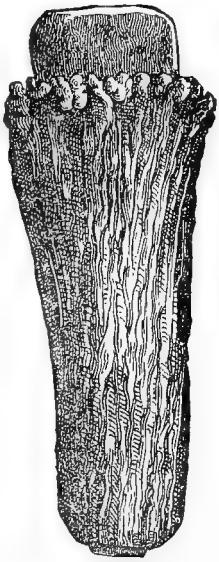


Neolithic Weapons.

They used fire to hollow them out, and the blows of the flint hatchet, used to remove the charred portions, are still to be observed in some specimens.

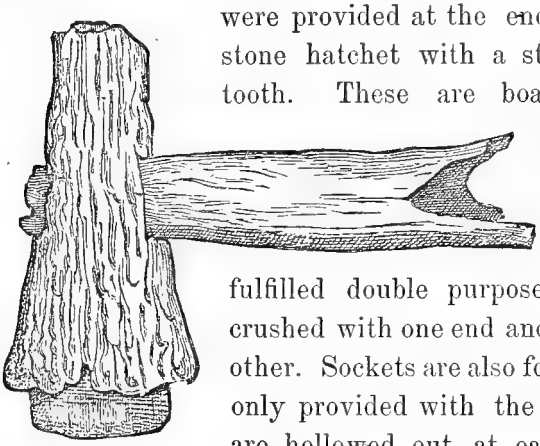
The Neolithic people had learned how to manufacture pottery, though not of a very superior quality. It is all hand-made: so the potter's wheel had not yet been introduced. The material is clay mixed with gravel or pounded shells. Very often they ornamented their clay vessels with lines and dots. The bowls or jars were evidently suspended by

cords, for the bottom was made too rounding for them to stand erect. Besides, we find the holes for the cords, and in some places handles.



Ax in Sheath.

No notice of Neolithic tools would be complete without mentioning the use made of horn and bone. One peculiar use for which they employed horn was as a socket for holding other implements. Thus this figure shows us an ax in a socket of horn. The middle of the socket is generally perforated with a round or oval hole, intended to receive a handle of oak, birch, or some other kind of wood adapted for such a use. The cut below represents a hatchet of this kind. A number of these sockets have been found, which were provided at the end opposite to the stone hatchet with a strong and pointed tooth. These are boars' tusks, firmly buried in the stag's horn. These instruments, therefore, fulfilled double purposes: they cut or crushed with one end and pierced with the other. Sockets are also found which are not only provided with the boars' tusks, but are hollowed out at each end, so as to hold two flint hatchets at once, as is seen in our next figure. Chisels and gouges were also sometimes placed in bone handles. Portions of horn probably at times did duty as hoes. We give a representation of such an



Hafted Hatchet in Sheath.

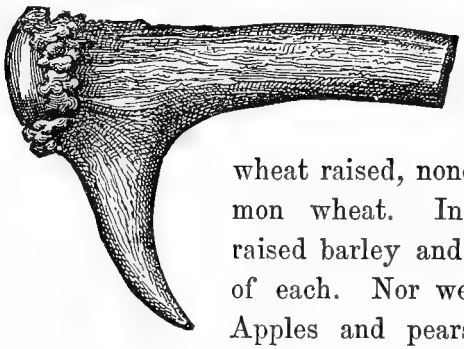
Sheath, with two Hatchets.

implement.[1] We must now seek some information as to how the men of the Neolithic Age supported life.

From the remains of fish at all the lake settlements it is evident they formed no inconsiderable portion of their food. Fishing nets and hooks have been discovered. They were successful hunters as well. But the men of this age were no longer dependent on the chase for a livelihood. We have mentioned several times that they were acquainted with agriculture. This implies a great advance over the primitive hunters of the early Stone Age.

Chisels in Sheath.

On the shores of the lakes which furnished them with a place of habitation they raised many of our present species of grain. Owing to a cause of which we have already spoken—that is, destruction of the lake settlements by fire—the carbonized remains of these cereals have been preserved to us. There were four varieties of wheat raised, none exactly like our common wheat. In addition to this they raised barley and millet, several varieties of each. Nor were the fruits neglected. Apples and pears were dried and laid away for use in the Winter. Seeds of the common berries were found in abundance, show-



Horn Hoe.

[1] Figuier's "Primitive Man," pp. 161–166.

ing that these primitive people were fully alive to their value.

From this it follows that the Neolithic people were not only tillers of the soil, but horticulturists as well. According to Dr. Keller, the vegetable kingdom furnished their principal supply of food. Hazelnuts, beechnuts, and chestnuts were found in such quantities as to show they had been gathered for use. Neither hemp, oats, nor rye were known. Not only do we find the remains of the grains, fruits, seeds, etc., from which the above conclusions are drawn, but, farther than this, pieces of bread have been found in a carbonized state, and thus as effectually preserved as the bread of a far later date found in the ovens of Pompeii. According to Figuier, the peasant classes of Tuscany now bake bread, after merely bruising the grain, by pouring the batter on glowing stones and then covering it with ashes. As this ancient prehistoric bread is of similar shape, it was probably baked in an equally primitive fashion.[1]

Aside from the natural interest we feel in these evidences as to ancient industry, a study of the remains of plants cultivated by the Neolithic people reveals to us two curious and suggestive facts. It has been found that the wild plants then growing in Switzerland are in all respects like the wild plants now growing there. But the cultivated plants—wheat, millet, etc.—differ from all existing varieties, and invariably have smaller seeds or fruits.[2] This shows us that man has evidently been able to effect considerable change by cultivation, in the common grains, during the course of the many centuries which separate the Neolithic times from our own age. But if this rate of change be adopted as a measure of time, what shall we say as to the antiquity de-

[1] "Primitive Man," p. 171. [2] Lubbock's "Prehistoric Times," p. 219.

manded to explain the origin of cultivated grain from the wild grasses of their first form?

We learn, in the second place, that the cultivated plants are all immigrants from the south-east—their native home being in South-eastern Europe and Asia Minor. We shall afterward see that this is true of the domestic animals also. There can be but one explanation for this. The ancient inhabitants of Europe must have come from that direction, and brought with them the plants they had cultivated in their eastern homes, and the animals they had reduced to their service. The traces of agriculture thus found in Switzerland are by no means confined to that country. In other countries of Europe, such as England and France, we also find proofs that men cultivated the earth. In localities where we do not find the grain itself, we find their rude mills, or mealing stones, which as plainly indicate a knowledge of the agricultural art as the presence of the cereals themselves.[1]

As we have stated, Neolithic man in Europe possessed domestic animals. He was not only a cultivator of the soil, but he was a herdsman as well; and he kept herds of oxen, sheep, and goats. Droves of hogs fattened on the nuts of the forest, and the dog associated with man in keeping and protecting these domestic animals. We know that the Swiss Lake inhabitants built little stalls by the sides of their houses, in which they kept their cattle at night. But these domestic animals were not descendants of the wild animals that roamed the forests of Europe. Like the plants, they are immigrants from the south-east. Our best authorities consider they were brought into Europe by the invading Neolithic tribes.

The knowledge of husbandry, though rude, and the pos-

[1] Dawkins's "Early Man in Britain," p. 268.

session of domestic animals, though of a few species only, strikingly indicate the advance over the Paleolithic tribes. They also had fixed places of living. This culture spread all over Europe. That it was substantially the same everywhere there is no doubt. Certain refuse heaps in Denmark, Scotland, and indeed in all the sea-coast countries, have been thought to support a different conclusion. Those of Denmark have been very carefully studied, and so we will refer to them. All along the Baltic coast, but especially in Denmark, have been discovered great numbers of mounds, which were found to consist "almost entirely of shells, especially of the oyster, broken bones of animals, remains of birds and fishes, and, lastly, some wrought flints." The first supposition in regard to those shell-heaps was that they were of marine formation, accumulated beneath the sea, and elevated to the surface along with the gradual rise of the land. But they are now known to be nothing more or less than the sites of ancient settlements. The location of the rude cabins can still be traced. The ancient hearths are still in place. "Tribes once existed here who subsisted on the products of hunting and fishing, and threw out around their cabins the remains of their meals, consisting especially of the *débris* of shell-fish." These heaps gradually accumulated around their rude dwellings, and now constitute the refuse heaps in question.[1]

The careful investigation of their contents has failed to disclose any evidence of a knowledge of agriculture, and the only domestic animal found is the dog. The implements are altogether of stone and horn. No trace of metal has yet been obtained. As a rule, they are rudely made and finished. Though of the Neolithic type, they are not polished except in a few instances. The principal interest

[1] These heaps are generally called "kjökken-möddings"—meaning kitchen refuse.

turns on the question of age of these refuse heaps. Some think they were accumulated at the very beginning of the Neolithic Age—that these tribes preceded by many years the men of the Swiss Lakes. Others think they were tribes of the same great people, living at the same time. On such a point as this, only those who have carefully studied the deposits are entitled to speak.

Some few facts stand out quite prominently. The size of the mounds[1] indicate long-continued residence—showing that these people had permanent places of abode. As they are not confined to Denmark, but are found generally throughout Europe, it would seem to imply that the Neolithic people preferred to live as fishers and hunters wherever the surroundings were such that they could by these means obtain an abundant supply of food. Some shell-heaps in Scotland were still forming at the commencement of the Bronze Age; and Mr. Geikie, on geological grounds, assigns the shell-heaps of Denmark to a late epoch of the Stone Age.

It seems to us quite natural that isolated tribes, living where game was abundant, and where fishing met with a rich reward, should turn in disgust from the agricultural life of their brother tribes, and, resuming the life of mere hunters and fishers, speedily lose somewhat of their hardly won culture—for civilization is the product of labor. Whenever a people from necessity or choice abandon one form of labor for another demanding less skill to triumph over nature, a retrogression in culture is inevitable.[2]

From what we have stated as to the use of flint we can

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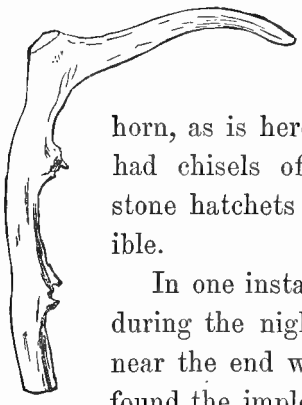
[1] One mound is spoken of as being one thousand feet long, two to three hundred feet wide, and ten feet high.

[2] On Danish Shell Mounds, consult Keary's "Dawn of History," p. 369, *et seq.;* Lubbock's "Prehistoric Times," chap. vii; Geikie's "Prehistoric Europe," pp. 365–9; Figuier's "Primitive Man," pp. 129–134; Rau's "Early Man in Europe," pp. 108–113; Dawkins's "Early Man in Britain," pp. 302–305.

readily see that it was a valuable material. Sections where it was found in abundance would as certainly become thickly populated as the iron and gold regions of our own day. In Paleolithic times the supply of flint was mostly obtained from the surface and in the gravel of rivers. In Neolithic times men had learned to mine for flint. Flint occurs in nodules in the chalk. Near Brandon, England, was discovered a series of these workings. They consist of shafts connected together by galleries. These pits vary in size from twenty to sixty feet in diameter, and in some cases were as much as thirty feet deep. From the bottom of these shafts they would excavate as far as they dared to the sides. They made no use of timbers to support the roof, and so these side excavations were not of great extent. In these old workings the miners sometimes left behind them their tools. The principal one was a pick made of deer's horn, as is here represented. Besides these, they had chisels of bone and antler. The marks of stone hatchets on the sides of the gallery are visible.



Miner's Pick.

In one instance the roof had caved in, evidently during the night, and on clearing out the gallery near the end where the roof stood firm, there were found the implements of the workmen, just as they were left at the close of the day's work; and in one place on the pick, covered with chalk dust, was still to be seen the marks of the workman's hand. How many years, crowded with strange scenes, have swept over England since that chalky impression was made! The surface of the earth is a palimpsest, on which each stage of culture has been written over the faint, almost obliterated, records of the past. Not only the living man, who has left there

the impression of his hand has passed away, but also his people and his culture. And now it is only here and there that we catch a faint tracing underlying our later civilization, by which we reconstruct the history of these far-away times.

Nothing would be more natural than that where flint was found in abundance a regular manufactory of implements would be established. Such was the case at Cissbury, which we have already mentioned as one of the early British towns. Mines had been dug within the walls inclosing the town. The surface of the ground near the old mines at this place is literally covered by splinters of flint in every stage of manufacture, "from the nodule of flint fresh out of the chalk, spoilt by an unlucky blow, to the article nearly finished and accidentally broken.[1] Here the flint was mined and chipped into rudimentary shape, but carried away to be perfected and polished.

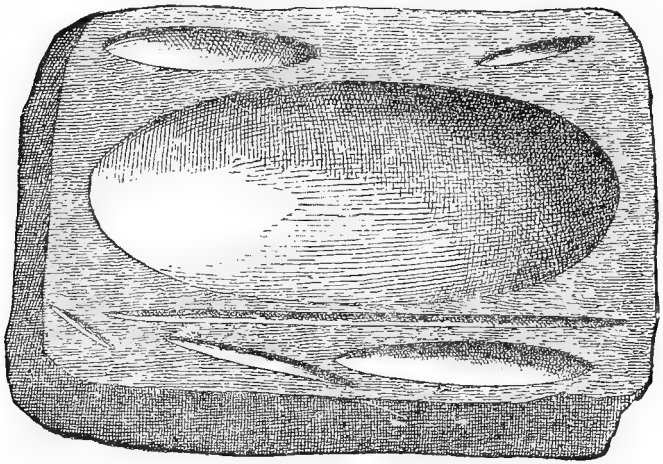
A very important place in Neolithic manufactures was noticed near Tours, France. Here was an abundant supply of flint, and very easily obtained, and the evidence is conclusive that here existed real manufactories. Of one stretch of ground, having an area of twelve or fourteen acres, we are told: "It is impossible to walk a single step without treading on some of these objects." Here we find "hatchets in all stages of manufacture, from the roughest attempt up to a perfectly polished weapon. We find, also, long flakes or flint-knives cleft off with a single blow with astonishing skill."

But in all these objects there is a defect; so it is concluded that these specimens were refuse thrown aside in the process of manufacture. As at Cissbury, very few polished flints are found, so we may conclude the majority of weapons were carried elsewhere for completion. But some weapons were completed here. In the neighborhood have been

[1] Dawkins's "Early Man in Britain," p. 279.

found the stones used as polishers. This cut shows us one used in polishing the axes. The workmen would take one of the rough-hewn instruments, and, rubbing it back and forth on such a stone as this, gradually produced a smooth surface and a sharpened edge.[1]

We have suggested that our civilization owes a great deal to flint. If we will consider the surroundings of their manufacturing sites, we will see the force of this remark.



Polishing Stone.

It must have taxed to the utmost the powers of these primitive men to sink the shafts and run the galleries to secure a supply of this valuable stone. In short, they had to invent the art of quarrying and working mines. This would lead to the division of labor, for while one body of men would become experts as miners, others would become skillful in chipping out the implements, and still others would do the finishing and polishing. A system of barter or trade

[1] Figuier's "Primitive Man," pp. 147–150 and 154. Another very important place was the Island of Rügen, in the Baltic Sea. Rau's "Early Man in Europe," p. 137.

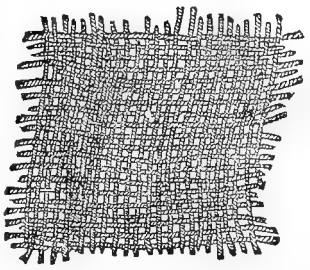
would also arise, for the workmen at the mines and factories would have to depend on others for food and clothing, and in payment for the same would furnish them implements. As localities where flint could be obtained in suitable quantities are but few, we can see how trade between widely

Neolithic Boat-making.

scattered tribes would arise. This kind of traffic is shown to have extended over wide distances in Neolithic times. For instance, there has been found scattered over Europe axes made of varieties of stone known as nephrite and jade. They were highly valued by primitive tribes, being very hard and of a beautiful green color. They are thought to

have been employed in the observance of superstitious rites. But quarries of these varieties of stone do not occur in Europe. An immense amount of labor has been expended in finding their native home. This is now known to be in Asia.[1] Manufactured in Asia, axes of these materials may have drifted into Europe and finally arrived in England.

Trade between different tribes must have been greatly facilitated by means of canoes, which Neolithic man knew well how to make. The art of navigation was probably well advanced. The canoes were formed of the trunks of large trees. In most cases they were hollowed out by means of the ax and fire combined. Sometimes the ends were partially rounded or pointed, but often cut nearly square across—rather a difficult shape to propel fast or to guide properly. These ancient boats have been found in nearly all the principal rivers of Europe, and in many cases, no doubt, come down to much later date than the Neolithic Age. From the remains of fish found in their refuse heaps we are confident that in some such a shaped boat as this they trusted themselves far out at sea. They served to transport them from the shores of Europe to England, and at a later date to Ireland.



Neolithic Cloth.

The clothing of the men of the Neolithic Age doubtless consisted largely of the prepared skins of the animals, and some fragments of leather have been found in the lake settlements. But a very important step in advance was the invention of spinning and weaving, both of which processes were known at this time. The cloth which is here represented "is formed of twists of interwoven flax, of rough

[1] "Proceedings American Antiq. Society, April, 1881," p. 286.

workmanship, it is true, but none the less remarkable, considering the epoch in which it was manufactured. Balls of thread and twine have also been found.[1] This cut is a spindle-whorl. These have been discovered very often. They were made sometimes of stone and at other times of pottery and bone. The threads were made of flax, and the combs which were used for pushing the threads of the warp into the weft show that it was woven into linen on some kind of a loom. Several figures of the loom have been given, but we have no certainty of their correctness.[2]

Spindle-whorl.

Let us now see if we can gather any thing as to the religious belief of Neolithic man. On this point we can at best only indulge in vague conjectures. Yet some light seems thrown on this difficult subject by examination of the burial mounds. This introduces us to a subject of much interest which, in our hurried review, we can but glance at.

Weaver's Comb.

Scattered over Europe are found numbers of mysterious monuments of the past. Some of them we have mentioned already as the embankments surrounding ancient villages. But aside from these are other monuments, such as burial mounds, rude dolmens, and great standing stones, sometimes arranged in circles, sometimes in rows, and sometimes standing singly. Many of these remains may be of a far later date than the Neolithic Age, still it is extremely

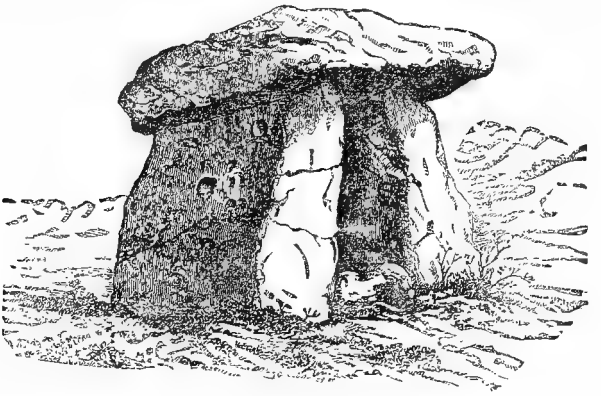
[1] Figuier's "Primitive Man," p. 262.

[2] See remarks of Prof. Rau on this subject ("Early Man in Europe," pp. 128–9 and note.) Mr. Dawkins thinks it "probable also that the art of weaving woolen cloth was known, although, from its perishable nature, no trace of it has been handed down to us." ("Early Man in Britain," p. 275.)

Chambered Burial Mound, Denmark.

difficult to draw a dividing line between the monuments of different ages.

Burial mounds are found everywhere, many in Europe going back to the Neolithic Age, though some are of a very recent construction. The Egyptian Pyramids are burial

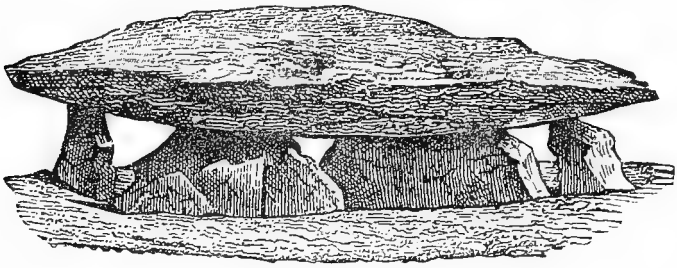


Dolmen, England.

mounds on the grandest scale. The first cut represents a Danish Tumulus, or burial mound, of this Age. The openings lead to the center of the mound, where they connect with

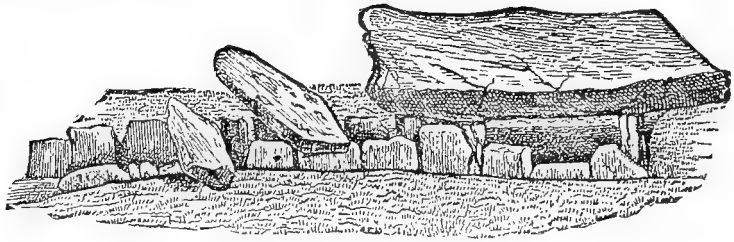
chambers in which the bodies were formerly placed. There are, of course, various modifications of this tumulus. Often the gallery was omitted, a rude chamber was erected, and a mound reared over it. Sometimes, indeed, no chamber was made, but simply a mound placed over the body.

There have been found in England a great many stones arranged as in the preceding cut, though generally not built with such regularity as is there represented. They are named Dolmens, a word meaning stone tables. They were more



Dolmen, France.

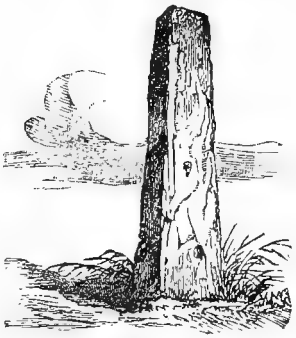
generally made of rough stones, rudely arranged. This cut represents one found in France. In early times these were supposed to have been rude altars used by the mysterious Druids in celebrating their rites. They are now known to be the tombs of the Neolithic Age. They are, in fact, the



Dolmen, once Covered with Earth.

chambers above mentioned. The mound of earth has since disappeared and left its chamber standing exposed to the air. Traces of the old passage way are still met. Whether all

Dolmens were once covered with earth or not, is not yet known. In the majority of cases they probably were. In the last cut portions of stone are still buried in the earth. We are told that in India the people in some places still erect Dolmens similar to those of Neolithic times.[1]



Menhir.

Aside from the tombs themselves, there are other arrangements of great stones which must have once possessed great significance to their builders, but their meaning is now lost. Of this nature are the blocks of rough stone set up in the ground generally in the vicinity of tombs. These are the standing stones, or menhirs, which, as we have stated, are arranged in various forms. When arranged in circles,

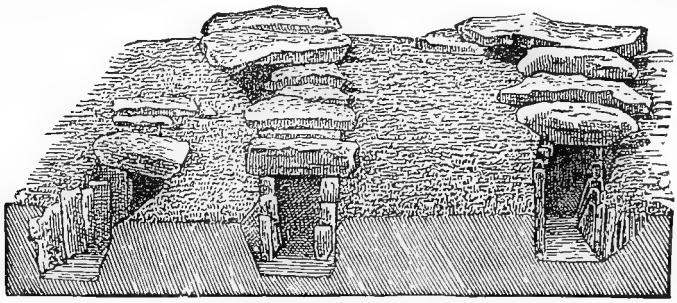
Stone Circle, England.

they are generally regarded as tombs. When placed in long parallel rows, as at Carnac, in France, we are not sure of their meaning. We are told that the Hill tribes of India to this day erect combinations of gigantic stones into all the shapes we have here described.[2]

The peculiar shape of the burial mounds, with a passage way conducting us to an interior chamber, or series of chambers, probably arose from the belief entertained by many

[1] Lubbock's "Prehistoric Times," p. 132.
[2] Lubbock's "Prehistoric Times," p. 130.

savage people, that the dead continue to live an existence much like that when alive, and consequently the same surroundings were deemed necessary for their comfort. So the tomb was made similar to the house of the living. The ordinary Winter huts of the Laplander are very similar in shape and size to the burial tumuli, and amongst some people, as



Chambered Tomb, France.

the inhabitants of New Zealand, the house itself is made the grave. It was closed up and painted red, and afterward considered sacred.

So it may quite well be that the Neolithic inhabitants of Denmark, "unable to imagine a future altogether different from the present, or a world quite unlike our own, showed their respect and affection for the dead by burying with them those things which in life they had valued most; with women, their ornaments, with warriors, their weapons. They buried the house with its owner, and the grave was literally the dwelling of the dead. When a great man died he was placed on his favorite seat, food and drink was arranged before him, his weapons were placed by his side, his house was closed, and the door covered up, sometimes, however, to be opened again when his wife or children joined him in the land of spirits."

That they believed in a life beyond the grave is shown by the objects they buried with the individuals. These

are implements of various kinds, flakes, arrow-heads, scrapers, celts, and pottery, doubtless intended to be of service to the deceased. We know this to be a very common proceeding amongst all barbarous people. In some cases it would appear as if they realized that the material things themselves could be of no service to the departed, but imagined that in some vague way the spirits of things might be of service to the spirits of men, and so they would purposely break the flints and throw the fragments into the grave. Sometimes they may have buried only models of the objects they wished to give to the dead, imagining that in this way the spirits of the objects represented would accompany and be of service to the spirits of the departed. To this day the Eskimos bury small models of boats, spears, etc., rather than the objects themselves. The ancient Etruscans buried jewelry, but made it so thin and fragile that it could not have been of service to the living. In China this is carried still further, and paper cuttings or drawings of horses, money, etc., are burned at the grave.

These remarks may explain the absence of remains so often noticed in Neolithic burials in England. But other evidence can be given to show this belief in future life. The mounds were of course often erected over noted chiefs, and we are not without evidence that he was not allowed to go unattended into the other world. It has been noted that often skeletons have been met with having the skull cleft, and in one case, at least, all but one presented that appearance. It is but reasonable to suppose that these skeletons were those of captives or slaves sacrificed to be the attendants of the chief in the spirit world. Funeral feasts were also held in honor of the dead. Thus we may gather from burial mounds something of the religious belief of their occupants.

It is not improbable that ancestor worship, or the worship of the dead, was part of their faith, so that the mounds became temples. On this point we are told "it is impossible not to believe then that the people who made these great, and in some cases elaborately constructed, tombs would continue ever after to regard them as in some sort consecrated to the great chiefs who were buried under them. Each tribe would have its own specially sacred tombs, and perhaps we may here see a germ of that ancestor-worship which may be traced in every variety of religious belief."[1]

We now approach a difficult part of our inquiry, but, at the same time, one that possesses for us a great interest. Who were these people into whose culture we have been inquiring? While laying the foundation of our present civilization, though being the fountain head from whence many of the arts and industries, which now make our existence comfortable and happy, take their feeble origin, gradually developing and expanding as the time rolls on, have they themselves, as a race, vanished in the mighty past, or are their descendants still to be found in Europe? Who were they? Whence and when? Difficult problems, but we have read to but little purpose if we have not already learned that earnest observers need but the slightest clue to enable them to trace out brilliant results.

In the first place, are there any grounds for supposing the Neolithic people to be the descendants of those who hunted the reindeer along the Vézère? This view has its supporters. M. Quatrefages, a very able scholar indeed, maintains that the Neolithic people were the same race as

[1] On this subject consult Lubbock's "Prehistoric Times," chap. v.; Keary's "Dawn of History," p. 363-6; Geikie's "Prehistoric Europe," p. 375; Dawkins's "Early Man in Britain," p. 284–9; Ferguson's "Rude Stone Monuments;" Figuier's "Primitive Man," chap. iii.; Rau's "Early Man in Europe," p. 139; "Archæology," Vol. XLII.

those who inhabited the caves and found shelter in the rock grottoes of France.[1] This, to others, does not seem credible. We must recall the long lapse of time that it is apparent has elapsed between the two ages. We have seen how different were the two cultures; as Mr. Geikie remarks, "So great, indeed, is the difference between the conditions of life that obtained in the two ages of Stone, that we can hardly doubt that the two people came of different stocks."[2] The Neolithic people brought with them domestic animals and plants whose native home is in Western Asia. We can hardly account for this fact, if we suppose them to be the descendants of Paleolithic tribes in France.

Abandoning, therefore, any attempt to trace lines of connection between the people of the two ages, let us carefully study all the facts connected with the Neolithic people and their culture, to see if we can solve the problem by so doing. We have noticed that substantially the same stage of culture existed throughout Europe from Switzerland to the British Islands. This points to the presence of a common race during at least a portion of the time. But if there was a common race living in Europe they would certainly possess common physical features. As a race they may have been tall in stature, or medium, or short, and portions of the human skeleton would show a uniformity in this regard.

Now one of the means that scientists use to determine the races of men is a comparison of skulls, measured in a systematic manner. The objection has been made that no reliance can be placed on these results, because at the present day skulls of all sorts of shapes and sizes can be obtained among people of the same nationality. But these objections would not apply to people of prehistoric times. Their surroundings would be simple and natural—not arti-

[1] "Human Species," p. 335.

[2] "Prehistoric Europe," p. 547.

ficial and complex, as in modern times. In our times people of different nationality are constantly coming in contact, and intermarriage results; but in prehistoric times this was not liable to occur, and so the comparative purity of blood would certainly produce a much greater uniformity of physical features.[1]

From a very careful examination of a great number of burial mounds in Great Britain, it has been ascertained that in all of those that date back to Neolithic times, and contain portions of human skeletons, the bones are always those of individuals small in stature, the average height being about five and a half feet. The skulls are of that variety known as long skulls. From this we can at once form a mental picture of the Neolithic inhabitants of Britain. No less important conclusions have been deduced from the study of burial mounds on the continent. We meet with remains of these same small-sized people. "They have left traces of their presence in numerous interments in chambered tombs and caves in Belgium and France, as well as in Spain and Gibraltar. We may therefore conclude that at one period in the Neolithic Age the population of Europe, west of the Rhine and north of the Alps, was uniform in physique and consisted of the same small people as the Neolithic inhabitants of Britain and Ireland."[2]

We must now inquire whether there are any people living in Europe which might have descended from the original stock. We are in the position of those who, from a few broken down arches, a ruined tower and dismantled wall, would seek to form a mental picture of the stately building that once stood there. If we can here and there discover, by the light of history or exploration, some races or tribes that, owing to their geographical position, have escaped the

[1] Dawkins's "Early Man in Britain," p. 310, note 3. [2] Ibid., p. 314.

fate that befell the great body of their countrymen, we may perhaps replace our mental picture by one founded on reality. Nor need we be in doubt where to seek for such scattered remnants of people. Successful invaders always appropriate to their own use the fertile lowlands and the fruitful portions of the country of their helpless foes. But a weak people have often, in the rocky fastnesses of their land, made a successful stand. So, to determine the race, we will examine the people living in such regions, and see if there are any that physically conform to what is already known of the Neolithic people, and so entitled to claim a relationship by descent.

Both slopes of Pyrenees Mountains, between France and Spain, have been occupied from time immemorial by a peculiar race of people known as the Basque. Secure in their mountain homes, they have resisted foreign civilization, and retained their national characteristics as well as their liberties, though they have been nominally vassals to many powers, from the early Carthaginians to the later French and Spanish. From the many invasions they have undergone the Basque language and people are by no means uniform. But Dr. Broca, one of the most learned anthropologists in Europe, has shown that the original Basques were dark in complexion, with black hair and eyes. In addition to this, the efforts of some of the most eminent scholars in Europe,[1] who have made numerous examinations of skulls and skeletons obtained from ancient Basque cemeteries, have conclusively shown that in all physical features the Basques agree with men of Neolithic times.[2]

The Basques do not belong to the great division of the

[1] Thurman, Virchow, Huxley, and others.

[2] Mr. Dawkins is inclined to view them as a remnant of the Neolithic people. Whether our scholars will ultimately accept his views, remains to be seen.

human family known as Aryans, to which the English-speaking races, as well as the nations of Europe generally, belong. They belong to a far older division of the human family—the Turanian[1]—and were doubtless in possession of Europe long before the Indo-European nations commenced their westward migrations from Central Asia. They are described as being brave, industrious, and frugal, with patriarchal manners and habits. They scorn authority, except what emanates from themselves, and have but few nobility. They are impetuous, merry, and hospitable, fond of music and dancing.[2] Of their warfare we are told they are "not distinguished in open warfare, but unconquerable in guerrilla warfare, and famed for defense of walled cities."[3] Such are the Basques of to-day, and many of these traits of character, we doubt not, were the same amongst the Neolithic people.

Mr. Dawkins also thinks that two tribes, living in Northern Italy, in the very earliest historical times, are other remnants of the same people. One of these were the Ligurians. Investigations and traditions show that some time before the dawn of history they had been driven out of the pleasant parts of Southern France, but had made a successful stand in the mountain regions of Northern Italy. They, like the Basques, were strong, active, and warlike. They were small in stature, swarthy in features, and long-headed. To the south of these were the Etruscans. But little is known of them, though the evidence is that long before the Christian Era they were a powerful people. In physical features they resembled those already described. Their sculpture exhibits only short, sturdy figures, with large heads and thick arms.

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[1] Brace's "Races of the Old World," p. 82.
[2] Am. Encyclopedia, Art. Basque.
[3] Brace's "Races of the Old World," p. 82.

Another possible remnant of these people existed at the very dawn of history in the mountainous regions of Wales. They were known as Silures, but have since become absorbed in the surrounding population. In civilization and physical features they agree with the remnants already described.

In the north of Russia are found the Finns. Their origin and migrations are alike unknown. One thing is certain, they belong to the Turanian family, and so are probably allied to the Basques and Etruscans. It is possible that they also are but a sorry remnant of the once wide-spread Neolithic people. Driven out of the fairer portions of Europe, they have found an asylum in their present bleak surroundings. Like the people already described, they are short in stature, and dark visaged.[1]

The tribes we have thus briefly mentioned are regarded by some as representatives of the Neolithic people. Prof. Winchell, speaking of the wide-spread extension of the Turanian race, assures us, that "history, tradition, linguistics, and ethnology conspire to fortify the conclusions that, in prehistoric times, all Europe was overspread by the Mongoloid (Turanian) race, of which remnants have survived to our own times in the persons of the Basques, Finns, Esths, Lapps, and some smaller tribes."[2] Researches into the surroundings of these people, combined with what we have already learned as to the culture, customs, and manners of the Neolithic people in the preceding pages, throw no little light on this age. The darkness of oblivion seems dispelled by the light of science, and we behold before us the Europe of Neolithic times, thickly inhabited by a race of people, small in stature, dark visaged, and oval-faced—fond of war and the chase, yet having a rude system of agriculture. The

[1] Brace's "Races of the Old World," p. 82. [2] "Pre-Adamites," p. 150.

picture seems complete; and we have now only to raise some inquiries as to the great stock of people to which they belonged, and conjecture as to the date of their arrival in Europe.[1]

We are now learning that far back in the past, when mankind was yet young in the world, the great Turanian family held a commanding position. They seem to have dispersed widely over the earth. Their migrations began long before that of the Aryan and Semitic people. When tribes of these later people began their wanderings, they found a Turanian people inhabiting the country wherever they went. Long before the times of Abraham, the fertile plains of Chaldea were the home of powerful tribes of this family. Egypt, and the fertile Nile Valley, the home of ancient civilization, was their possession at a time long preceding the rise of the Pharaohs. Their Asiatic origin is corroborated by what we have learned of their domestic animals and cereals, which we know to be also from Asia, or the south-east. These Turanian tribes, at some far remote time, must have appeared in Asia Minor. Urged onward by the pressure of increasing population, they passed into Europe and Northern Africa. Their progress was, doubtless, slow; but they gradually filled Europe. The English Channel must have presented no inconsiderable barrier, and it was after Europe had been populated for a long time that they ventured to brave its passage in their rude canoes.

The Neolithic culture, which we have treated of in reference to Europe only, is seen to have been of Turanian origin. From its Asiatic home it spread over the entire

[1] It is unnecessary to caution the reader, that, after all, our knowedge of "prehistory" is vague. Prof. Virchow, who is eminent authority on these points, thinks it not yet possible to identify the prehistoric people of Europe; and good authorities hold that the Turanian tribes just named are the remnants of Paleolithic tribes, instead of Neolithic.

world—to the islands of the Pacific, and even America. The road that leads from barbarism to civilization is long and difficult, and it is not strange that but one or two families of men were able to attain that end by their own unaided effort.[1] The Turanian Family, which probably advanced man from savagism into barbarism, seems to have at that stage exhausted its energies. This is but an illustration of the fact that a race, like an individual, has a period of growth, a maturity of healthful powers, and an old age of slow decadence. After thus dispersing over the world, carrying with them the culture of the Neolithic Age, they seem to have halted in their progress. It remained for a new people, starting, perhaps, from the same state of culture, but with new energies, to discover and employ metals in the construction of tools and implements. This gave them so great a command over nature that civilization became possible. But whatever considerable advance the Turanian races were able to make beyond the Neolithic culture was by reason of intercourse with these later people. Where completely isolated from them, as in the New World, they remained, for the most part, in the Neolithic culture.[2]

We have hitherto spoken as if there was but one race in Europe during Neolithic times. In the main this is true; yet, near the close of this time, a different race arrived in Europe. That this is so, is proved by the same line of evidence used to determine the Neolithic people. We shall have much to say of them hereafter. They were the vanguard of the great Aryan race. This calls for some explanation. It has been found that the principal languages of Europe and South-western Asia have certain common charac-

[1] Morgan's "Ancient Society," p. 39.

[2] The exceptions to this statement are the higher classes of sedentary Indians, of which we shall treat in future pages.

teristics; so much so that we are justified, even compelled, to assume that the nations speaking these languages, such for instance as the Teutonic, Sclavic, Italic, Greek, Persian, Hindoostanee, and others, are descendants from a common ancestor. These people are called, collectively, Aryans. They were the ones who drove the Turanians out of the fairest portions of Europe. Though they appeared at a late date, they have filled the most important places in history, and the civilization of the world to-day is Aryan.

Now we must again form a mental picture of Neolithic Europe—after it had been for a long time in the possession of the Turanian tribes, the first band of Aryan invaders make their appearance. They must have appeared somewhere near the south-eastern confines of Europe, but they pressed forward to the western portion. They firmly seated themselves in the western and central parts of Europe, driving out the Turanian tribes who had so long possessed the land. They were themselves still in the Neolithic stage of culture. But they probably did not long antedate the knowledge of metals. Mr. Dawkins thinks that it caught up with them before they arrived in Britain, and that they are the ones who introduced bronze into that island. The Aryan tribe, who thus made their appearance in Europe, are identified as the Celts of history.

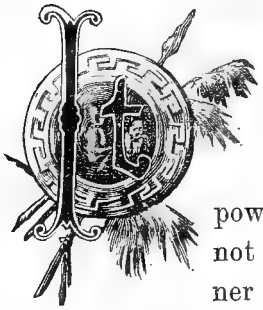
The Neolithic Age thus drew to its close, but not all at once. It disappeared first in the southern portion of Europe—from Greece and Italy; but it lingered to a far later date in the north: among the scattered tribes of Turanian people it would still assert its sway. Even after metals were introduced, the cheapness and abundance of stone would cause it to be used, among the poorer people at least. But finally this culture gives way to a higher one in Europe—though it still survived in portions of Asia, the Isles

of the Pacific, and in America. We can but reflect on the difference between the two ages of stone. The former ends amidst Arctic scenes—and, in the darkness that ensues, ages pass before we again detect the presence of man. The Neolithic closes gradually, everywhere giving way to a higher culture. We must not forget that our present civilization owes much to our far away Neolithic ancestors. When we reflect on the difficulties that had to be overcome before animals could be profitably held in a domestic state, or cultivation of the earth made profitable, we almost wonder that they succeeded in either direction. Aside from these, we turn to them for the origin of trade, navigation, and mining. No inconsiderable part of the battle of civilization had thus been won.

# CHAPTER VII.

## THE BRONZE AGE IN EUROPE.[1]

RACES of Men, like Individuals—Gradual change of Neolithic Age to that of Bronze—The Aryan family—First Aryans Neolithic—Origin of Bronze—How Great discoveries are made—Gold the first metal—Copper Abundant—No Copper Age—The discovery of Tin—Explanation of an Alloy—Bronze, wherever found, the same Composition—What is meant by the Bronze Age—Knowledge in other Directions—Gradual Growth of Culture—Three Centers of Bronze Production—Habitations during the Bronze Age—The Bronze Ax—Implements of Bronze—Personal ornaments—Ornaments not always made of Bronze—Advance in Arts of living—Advance in Agriculture—Warlike Weapons—How they worked Bronze—Advance in Government—Trade in the Bronze Age—Religion of the Bronze Age—Symbolical figures—Temples of the Bronze Age—Stonehenge.



IS with races of men as with individuals, the progressive growth of youth soon reaches its limit and maturity of power. While it brings greater strength, it has not the buoyancy of early years, so the manner of life becomes fixed, and onward progress stops. They can then only hope to hold on the even tenor of their way, happy if increasing years do not bring again their childhood state. The Neolithic people entered Europe early in the youth of the race which spread their civilization over the globe, but the race to which they belonged appear to have reached their zenith of development long ages ago, since which time, whatever higher culture they have reached has been a

[1] The manuscript of this chapter was submitted to Prof. Chas. Rau, of the Smithsonian Institution for criticism.

gift to them by other people. Their energies became exhausted, and for a long series of years Europe was filled by the camps, lake villages, and fortified places of Neolithic times.

As to the absolute length of time during which they inhabited Europe, we have no data to determine. Relatively, their sojourn, however long, was but a short time compared to the duration of the old Stone Age. It presents no such evidence of lapse of ages as can be observed in the older deposits, yet we may be sure that it was for no inconsiderable period.

The Paleolithic Age was apparently terminated in Europe by the cold of the last glacial epoch. No such natural course put an end to the Neolithic Age, but as the strong have an advantage over the weak, the young over the old, so does a race young, undeveloped, or in the early maturity of its powers, have an advantage over the older and more fixed civilization with which it comes in contact. To understand the causes which introduced into Europe the Bronze Age, we must refer to the Aryan race and to Asia.

We have in the preceding chapter briefly mentioned the Aryan race. They have so much to do with the higher culture of the Metallic Ages, that it seems not out of place to refer once more to their origin. The evidence goes to show that the ancient Aryans inhabited some portion of Southwestern Asia. As a race or family, they appear to have been one of the latest developed. Yet a record of their progress is a record of civilization.

Unless we reflect, we are liable to be misled by the expression, recent development. The Hindoos, one of the latest members of this family, were in India several thousand years before Christ.[1] But however far back we trace them, we find

[1] Brace's "Races of the Old World," p. 60.

them in possession of metals. Aside from this, we know that before the different Aryan tribes had commenced their migration (with the exception, however, of the Celts), while they formed but one mass of people, they worked some of the metals.[1] They could have acquired this knowledge only after the passage of many years, when they were ignorant of it. This bespeaks a profound antiquity for the Aryan family.

As we have seen, Europe, while yet inhabited by Neolithic people, was invaded by a branch of the Aryans. We do not know the date of this invasion, yet it must have been an early date, since the Celts separated from the Aryans before the use of metals. The Aryans have ever been noted as an aggressive people, and under different names have, in modern times, carried victorious arms in all quarters of the globe. This is equally characteristic of the primitive Aryans. Though it is not apparent that they possessed any higher culture than the people who already inhabited Europe, yet they everywhere triumphed over them and possessed themselves of the fairest portion of the Neolithic domain, driving the primitive inhabitants to those mountainous regions where their descendants are found to-day.

It is not probable that the Aryan invaders waged exterminating war against the Neolithic tribes. The evidence shows that there was considerable mingling of the two races. It has been suggested, however, that the Neolithic people who were not driven away were reduced to slavery.[2] However that may be, the remains of the two people are found side by side in chambered tombs and sepulchral caverns, showing that they dwelt together in the same area. As before remarked, the Aryan invaders are identified as the Celts.

[1] Brace's "Races of the Old World," p. 61.

[2] Dawkins's "Early Man in Britain," p. 343.

That it was relatively late in the Neolithic Age when they made their appearance, is shown by the fact that they had only reached the English Channel when a knowledge of bronze caught up with them.

We must now endeavor to learn the origin of bronze. The impulsive energies of this newer race found vent not only in conquest over the neighboring tribes, but it is extremely probable that they are the ones who first compelled nature to yield up her metallic stores to be of service to man. If the knowledge of fire was the starting point of human advancement, surely the knowledge of metals, their useful properties, and how to extract them from their ores, may lay claim to being the starting point of our present enlightenment. We have but to glance around us to see how many of our daily comforts are dependent on the use of metals. Should we, by any mischance, become deprived of the use of iron, or of the useful alloys, bronze and brass, our civilization would be in great danger of reverting to Savagism. Man, destitute of metals, can do but little to improve his surroundings; but grant him these, and victory over his environment is secured.

We can not retrace the exact steps of this beautiful discovery; we are not sure to what family it is to be ascribed. Perhaps not to any one alone. Nature may have taken her children by the hand, and kindly guided their feeble steps in the line of experiments leading up to this knowledge, and, finally, one family, more fortunate than the others, succeeded in the attempt. All great discoveries have been approached in different directions, by different people. No sooner is it made than this fact appears, and people widely separated by time and place are found to be on the verge of the same great truth. It was probably so at the discovery of metallurgy.

The Turanian tribes, who had so long inhabited Europe, were suddenly confronted by the victorious hosts of the Celts, the vanguard of the Aryans, the precursors of a higher culture. The movements of these primitive people could not fail to have a great effect on the human mind. It would become alert, keen, and active. Such was the state of ancient society when a knowledge of bronze was introduced—a discovery which consigned stone, hitherto the substance most commonly made use of to advance human interests, to a subordinate position, and opened up for man the exhaustless mineral stores of nature.

It is suggested by some that gold was the first metallic substance employed. Its glittering particles would attract the attention of primitive man, and little articles of ornament were early manufactured from it. To be sure, the supply was very limited; but what there was would serve the useful purpose of imparting to men some idea of metallic substances. Portions of it falling in the fire might have suggested the idea of smelting and of molding—might, at least, have lead to experiments in that line. The supply of gold existing in a native state is so small, that no use could have been made of it except for ornaments.

Iron, we know, is the most abundant mineral. But it is very rare in a native state, and its ores have nothing distinguishing about them, and so it is not strange that another metal received the attention of primitive man. That metal was probably copper. It is often found in a pure state in nature. In the Michigan mines of our own country, masses of pure copper many tons in weight have been discovered.[1] No such rich deposits are found in the Old World; but considerable quantities of native copper were obtained, and it was

[1] "One mass estimated to weigh two hundred tons." Dana's "Manual of Mineralogy," p. 291.

by no means a rare metal. Copper possesses several qualities that would attract attention. It is quite malleable; that is, it can be easily hammered into shape. We can imagine the surprise of the old stone-workers at finding a stone that, instead of breaking or splitting, could be hammered into shape. By accident, or otherwise, it would be learned, in time, that it could be melted. This would lead to the idea of molding.

If the above process were followed out, there would be a real Copper Age preceding that of Bronze: no trace of such an age has yet been detected in Europe. "But there is, however, every reason for believing, that, in some parts of the world, the use of native copper must have continued for a lengthened period before it was discovered that the addition of a small portion of tin not only rendered it more fusible, but added to its elasticity and hardness."[1] The absence of a Copper Age in Europe would imply that the art of manufacturing bronze was discovered in some other locality.

Copper by itself is so soft that it would not be of much use to man, except the experience they would gain of melting and molding. In our own country the aboriginal inhabitants were well acquainted with copper, and even knew how to mold it. Yet, except as just pointed out, it is not probable that it exerted any marked influence on their development.[2] In the old world supplies of native copper are limited, and recourse must be had to the ores of copper. Now these ores, such as copper-pyrites, are nearly always of a bright color, and as such would attract the attention of primitive man. They might suspect that these bright colored ores

[1] Evans's "Ancient Bronze Implements," p. 2.

[2] Rau's "Anthropological Subjects," p. 89. In his preface to this collection he asserts his belief, that "former inhabitants of North America, notwithstanding all assertions to the contrary, were unacquainted with the art of melting copper." Ibid., vii.

contained copper from finding similarly colored ores in connection with native copper, in fact passing from one form to the other. But it requires no little skill to reduce the ores of copper; and, when obtained, for reasons just pointed out, it would not be of great utility. But primitive man was thus cautiously and experimentally feeling his way to a knowledge of metallurgy.

All the evidence obtainable goes to show that tin was known as early as copper, or at least soon after. Its ores though not striking on account of their color, are on account of their great weight. It is comparatively easy to reduce it from its ores. It is quite widely distributed over the earth. It often occurs in the gravels of rivers, where, as we have already mentioned, primitive men must have, at a very early date, sought for gold. Owing to their weight, the gravel of tin-stone would remain behind with the gold when it was washed. "In process of time its real nature might have been revealed by accident; and, before the eye of the astonished beholder, the dull stone, flung into the fire, became transfigured into the glittering metal."[1]

When two metals come together in a molten state, they often form, not a mixture of the two, part copper and part tin, for example, but a new compound, different from either, called an alloy. Copper is, so to speak, a sociable metal, and readily unites with many different metals—amongst others with tin, when it forms bronze, the article that marks a new state in the history of primitive culture. It seems to us strange that an alloy, a combination of two different metals, should have been the first used by man, and not a simple metal like iron. Such, however, is the fact of the case; and we have tried to point out the probable steps which led up to the invention of bronze. We can scarcely

[1] Dawkins's "Early Man in Britain," p. 401.

comprehend the difficulties which attended the labors of the primitive metal-workers. There were no books containing the wisdom of many, from which the investigator could draw his stores of knowledge: and the only way that knowledge could be disseminated was by word of mouth.

Now, when one man makes an important step in a discovery, hundreds of earnest workers, some, perhaps, in distant places, are quickly made aware of the fact, and extend its scope, or point out its imperfections, and thus hasten on the desired end. Then, each individual, or community, must, of necessity, have commenced at the beginning, and the discoveries made would hardly be perpetuated in the memory of others. There were so many obstacles to be overcome before a knowledge of bronze could be acquired, in the then existing state of human knowledge, that it must ever remain a source of wonder to us, at the present day, that it was invented at all.

We may picture to ourselves the ancient copper-worker, after numerous experiments, guided by some good genius, finally hitting on some process by which, from his mass of ore, he extracted a nearly pure piece of copper. Having learned how to reduce these ores, there are many ways in which it might have been found that a mixture of the two metals would form a new compound of greatly increased value.

It must have taken a long course of experiments to determine what proportions of each metal to use to make the best bronze. It is interesting to know that these early workers had learned the proportions of each to use, not varying a great deal from the results of modern research—that is, from ten to twelve per cent of tin. Bronze relics, no matter where obtained, whether in the Old or the New World, do not widely depart from this standard, and such

instances as do would probably denote that the supply of tin became short. This uniformity of composition would imply that the art of making bronze was discovered in one place, from which it gradually spread over the globe.

This fact is a key to the culture of the Bronze Age. Widely separated communities, destitute of a knowledge of metals, would instinctively make use of stone. In this case uniformity of type would not imply community of knowledge. But a knowledge of metals is altogether different. It is wonder enough that one community should have hit on the invention of bronze. The chance would be against its independent discovery in widely separated areas. They would be more apt to chance on the production of some other metal. Thus; tribes in the interior of Africa are said to have passed direct from the Stone to the Iron Age, a knowledge of bronze not having been carried to them.

We are thus able to form a true conception of the Bronze Age. It did not prevail over the world at the same time. Indeed, as we shall subsequently see, there is every reason to suppose it spread very slowly, and that it still lingered in Central and Northern Europe long after its use had been abandoned for that of iron in the South. Neither, when it was first introduced, did it put a stop to the use of stone. It was necessarily costly, and on its first appearance in a country, brought hither by trade, could only be afforded by rich and powerful chiefs and warriors. As time advanced, and they learned to make it cheaper, and each country took up its separate manufacture, it would gradually supersede stone. But bronze was never cheap enough to drive out the use of stone altogether. This only occurred when the art of working iron was discovered.

We shall learn that the knowledge of bronze, while a very important and distinguishing phase of culture of the

Bronze Age, was not its only characteristic. It was distinguished by the arrival and spread of the Aryan races, by a great extension of commerce, by more refinements in the comforts of life, by the increasing strength of government, which in after ages flowered out in the mighty nations of antiquity, and rendered historic civilization possible.

Some facts stand out with great prominence. The origin of this culture is lost in the very night of time. We may be sure that it goes back to a profound antiquity, and that it extended over a long series of years.

It is evident there was no great and sudden change from the culture of the Stone Age to that of Bronze. It was as if the darkness of night had given place to the roseate light of dawn, to be shortly followed by the full day of historic times. It was probably introduced by trade. The articles introduced in this way would consist of simple implements, weapons, and ornaments. Following after the trade would be found the smelter with his tools, and, where the conditions were favorable, local manufactories would be set up. But this home industry would not prevent importation of more pretentious articles from abroad. This would account for the rich collections of shields, swords, and golden cups found in Denmark that betray an Etruscan origin.

Investigations of recent scholars show that the bronze of the early Bronze Age came from Asia Minor. Subsequently there were three great centers of bronze production, each having certain styles. These were the Russian on the east, the Scandinavian on the north, and the Mediterranean on the south. If this view be correct, bronze must have been in use in the South of Europe long before it was in the North. This view of the introduction of bronze is, we think, that of the best scholars in Europe. Others, however, think bronze was brought in by the invasion of the

Aryan tribes. Mr. Keary says: "The men of the Bronze Age were a new race, sallying out of the east to dispossess the older inhabitants, and if, in some places, the Bronze men and the Stone men seem to have gone on for a time side by side, the general characteristic of the change is that of a sudden break."[1] We have shown that it was carried to England by an invasion, and it was, perhaps, so introduced into Denmark, but in other countries of Europe by trade.[2]

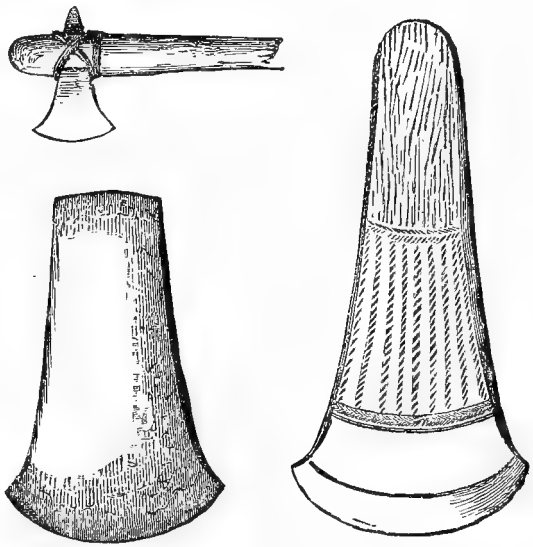
Let us now see what change in the home life, in the culture of the people, would be brought about by the use of bronze. We must reflect that we are not to deal with some new race, but with the same race that inhabited Europe at the close of Neolithic times. The people who had triumphed over nature with their implements of stone were now put in possession of weapons and implements of greatly increased efficiency. The results could not fail to advance their culture. We would not expect any great change in the houses. They would, however, be much better built. The metallic tools were certainly a long ways ahead of the best stone implements. With the aid of metallic axes, knives, saws, gouges, and chisels, their cabins could be increased in size and appearance. They still built settlements over the lakes, but the Bronze Age settlements were more substantially built, and placed farther out from shore. Fortified places were still numerous; the remains of thousands of them of this age have been found in Ireland. But the forests were cleared, wild animals disappeared, society became more settled, and we may be sure that an increasing number of little hamlets were scattered over the country.

Caves were resorted to during this epoch only in times

[1] "Dawn of History," p. 367.

[2] For an excellent discussion of this subject, about which there is yet much uncertainty, we would refer the reader to Evans's "Ancient Bronze Implements," chap. xxii.

of danger. One at Heathbury Burn, in England, contained portions of the skeletons of two individuals, surrounded by many articles of bronze and a mould for casting bronze axes. It is not difficult to read the story. In some time of sudden danger workers in bronze fled hither with their stores, but owing to some cause were unable to escape the death from which they were fleeing, and their bodies. with their mineral stores, were lost to sight until the modern explorer made them a subject of scientific speculations.[1]



Bronze Axes—First Form.

The most important implement was the ax. Our civilization has originated from many small things. It is difficult to overestimate the importance of the ax in advancing civilization. The stone axes, easily blunted and broken, could have made but little impression on the vast forests of pine, oak, and beech, covering the greater part of Britain and the continent in the Neolithic Age. Clearings necessary for pasture and agriculture must unquestionably, then, have been produced principally by the aid of fire. Under the edge of the bronze ax clearings would be rapidly produced, pasture and arable land would begin to spread over the surface of the country; with the disappearance of the forests the wild animals would become

[1] Dawkins's "Early Man in Britain," p. 355.

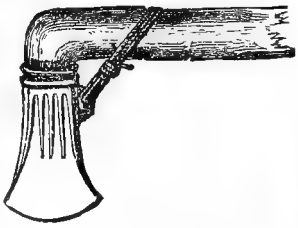
scarce, hunting would cease to be so important, agriculture would improve, and a higher culture inevitably follow. "When first the sound of the woodman's ax was heard in the forests of the north, the victory of man over his natural environments was secured, and the forest and morass became his forever."[1]

Bronze Axes—Second Form.

The bronze ax was used for a great variety of purposes, not only as an ax, but as chisel, hoe, etc. As might be expected, the oldest axes were simply modeled after the stone ones. The preceding cut represents these simple forms. They were inserted into the handle much the same as they did the stone axes. It never occurred to these ancient workers to cast the axes with a hole in them for the handle.

The above cut represents the second form of the ax. The trouble with the first was that much usage would inevitably split the handle. To remedy this, a stop or ridge was raised across the celt, and the metal and the wood were made to fit into one another.

The small figure illustrates this method of hafting. It would be quite natural to bend the sides of this second



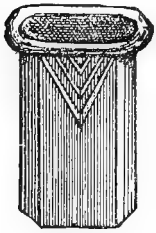
Bronze Axes—Third Form.

[1] Dawkins's "Early Man in Britain," p. 350.

form around, and thus would arise a third form, in which the handle was let into a socket, of which we also give a cut. As a general thing, bronze axes were plain, but they were sometimes ornamented with ridges, dots, and lines.

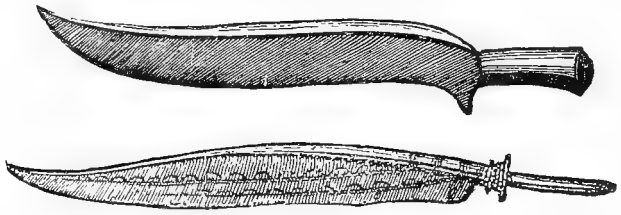
Chisel.

In addition to axes, they of course had many other implements of bronze. Chisels were made much the same as at present, except that the handle fitted into a socket. A few hammers have been discovered in the Swiss lake villages. Bronze knives of different styles and sizes were quite numerous. The workmenship on them is generally skillful. They were, as a rule, fitted into a handle of bone, horn, or wood, and the blade was nearly always carved. In some cases the knives also ended in a socket, into which the handle fitted.[1]



Hammer.

In matters of personal ornament, the men and women of the Bronze Age were as willing to make use of artificial helps as their descendants to-day, and no doubt fashion was quite as arbitrary in her rule then as now. Among some savage nations the dressing of the hair—especially of the men—is carried to a very elaborate pitch.[2]



Bronze Knives.

In this respect, some of the dandies of the Bronze Age certainly excelled. They evidently built up on their heads a

[1] "Prehistoric Times," p. 34. [2] "Early Man in Britain," p. 351.

great pyramid of hair; in some cases large enough to allow of the use of hair-pins two feet long. Of course such a structure as this was intended to last a lifetime. So careful were they of this head-dress that they used a crescent-shaped pillow of earthenware, so that it might not be disturbed when they slept. Dr. Keller, who first described these crescent-shaped articles, thought they were religious emblems of the moon. He may be right, as the matter is not yet decided, but some think they were the pillows in question. At first thought this would seem absurd, but when we learn of the habits of the natives of Abyssinia and other savage races, we cease to wonder.

Crescent—Use Doubtful.

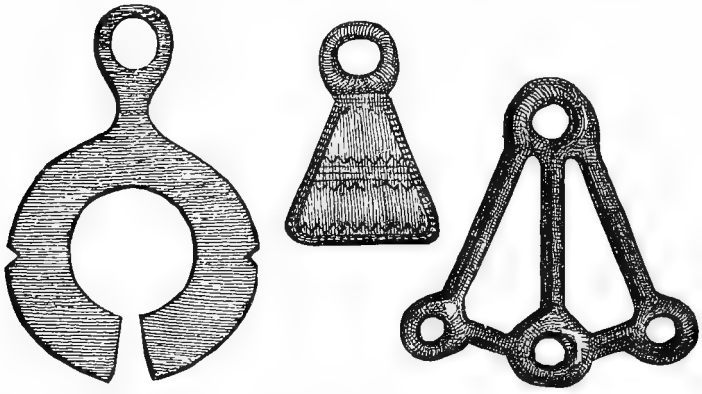
Hair-pin.

In speaking of the ornaments of the Bronze Age, a caution is necessary, because ornaments of bronze may belong to any age. Bracelets and rings have been quite numerous. The bracelets vary much in shape, are decidedly artistic in workmanship, and often set off with carved designs. Some of this shape are composed of a single ring of varying width, the ends of which almost meet and terminate by a semicircular clasp; others are a combination of straight or twisted wires ingeniously joined to one another. "Some of these ornaments remain even up to the present

Bracelet.

day in a perfect state of preservation. In an urn from one of the lake settlements six specimens were discovered, the designs of which appeared quite as clearly as if they had only just been engraved."[1]

We are called on to notice one important point in reference to these bracelets and rings. That is, they are so small they could scarcely be worn nowadays; a fact leading us to infer that the people must have been of small size. It has also been noticed that the handles of the



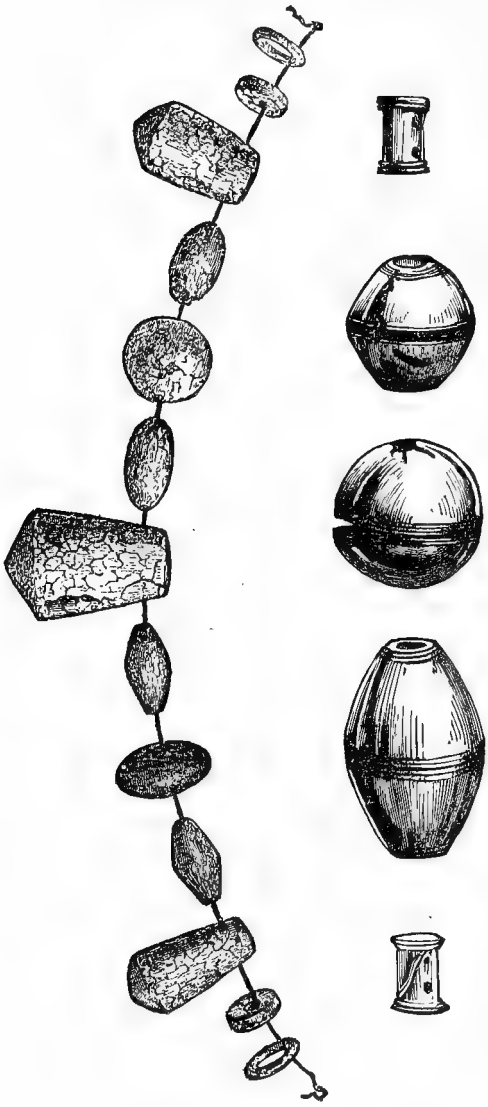
Bronze Pendants.

swords are smaller than would be convenient for soldiers now. Some ornaments of bronze were worn as pendants. For this purpose they were provided with a circular hole, and were probably worn suspended around the neck.

Ornaments were not always of bronze. Necklaces were sometimes made of amber, and gold beads were quite common. We give a cut of both. They are from burial mounds of this age in England. We remember the ornamentations on implements in the Paleolithic Age was by engraving animal forms. In the Neolithic Age they seem to have cared very little for ornamenting. During the Bronze Age the ornamentation was of a simple but

[1] Figuier's "Primitive Man," p. 255.

pleasing and uniform style. It consisted of simple geometrical patterns, combination of circles, dots, and straight lines. In this next figure we have given the principal designs found in France.

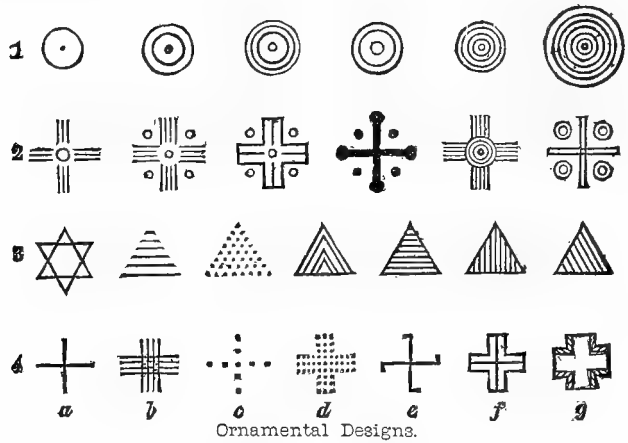


Necklace and Beads.

In the arts of living an increase in culture is noticeable. We have seen that in Neolithic times they were acquainted with the use of the distaff. In the Bronze Age they manufactured woolen cloth. We have but few specimens of this cloth, because it is under only very exceptional circumstances that woolen fabrics can be preserved for any great length of time. From examinations of burial mounds of this period, it would appear that the better class of people were clad in linen and woolen. Probably the use of the skins of animals for dress purposes was mostly discontinued during this age. Woolen cloaks of this period

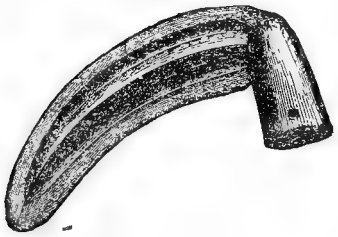
have been found in Denmark, though probably dating from near the close.

In agriculture we detect only such advances as improved



Ornamental Designs.

implements would suggest. They used the sickle in gathering in the harvest. We find no implements which we are sure were used for agricultural purposes. Yet they must have had some means of preparing the ground for the cereals. The day of wild animals was gone. In the lake settlements of this age the domestic animals outnumbered the wild species.[1]


Bronze Sickle.

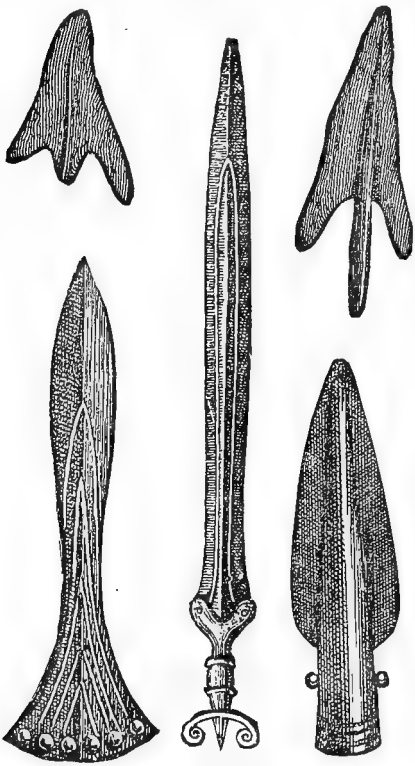
During this age the horse was used for riding and driving, and oxen were used for plowing. The proof of this fact is certain sketches found in Denmark. But the use of Bronze in that country continued after iron had been introduced in the south of Europe. Pottery was more carefully made—though the wheel for turning it was not yet introduced. The shapes were varied and elegant; sometimes, instead of having a

[1] Rau's "Early Man in Europe," p. 135, and note.

flat base, they came to a point below—in which case they had to be placed in a support before they could stand upright. Nearly all the pottery bears the ornamentation peculiar to the Bronze Age—that is, straight lines, dots, etc.

Clay Vessel and Support.

During this age, the inhabitants were as much given to war and conquest as any rudely civilized people: we, therefore, meet with remains of their weapons. The principal ones were swords, daggers, spear-heads, and arrows. The swords are always more or less leaf-like in shape, double-edged, sharp-pointed, and intended more for stabbing and thrusting, rather than cutting. No hand guards were used.



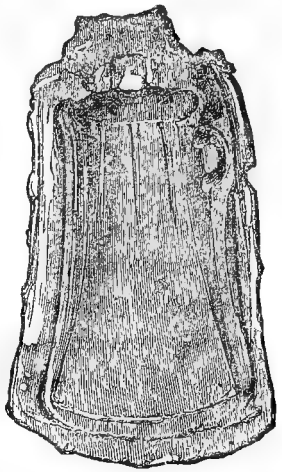
Bronze Weapons.

Sometimes the handles were fastened to the swords by means of rivets; and, at other times, the handle was plaited with wood or bone. They are of different lengths, intermediate between the sword and the dagger. It is doubtful whether they made use of shields.

Bronze shields are, indeed, found; but, from the ornaments and other circumstances, they are generally considered to belong to the Iron Age: for we shall subsequently learn that the introduction of iron did not prevent the con-

tinued use of bronze. The bow was well known; and this must have necessitated the use of arrows. Some bronze arrows have been found; but a flint arrow is nearly as serviceable as bronze, and much cheaper, so we may be sure they were more common. They also employed spears and javelins, and the bronze heads of these weapons are found in various places. The invading Celt found many camps and fortified places already in existence, and continued them in use after the original occupant had been driven away.

As we have spent some time in learning the different objects manufactured out of bronze, it may be of interest to learn somewhat of their methods of working bronze. We have already stated how the amateur worker in bronze would follow on after the trader—and so the objects of bronze would be made in all the countries of Europe. Molds have been found in various places. This is a mold for casting the axes having a socket in which to put the handle. It was found in the cave at Heathbury Burn, already mentioned. None of the bronze objects were forged out, as a smith forges out objects of iron—they were cast. In the absence of steel, it would be almost impossible to cut bronze; hence it was necessary to make the casting as nearly perfect as possible. Sometimes the molds were cut out of stone, as in the figure just given. The molds themselves were, in this case, difficult to make; besides, they could scarcely be made so perfect as not to leave a little ridge, where the two halves of the mold came together, which, as just explained, owing to the absence of steel, it would be



Mold.

very difficult to remove. In process of time they discovered an easier way of making the molds, that employed at the present day—that is, by the use of sand. The ridge would still remain, and is to be plainly seen on specimens of ancient bronze.

To overcome the difficulty just mentioned, they invented a third method of casting, which displays great ingenuity. A model of the object desired was made of wood or wax, and inclosed in prepared earth mixed with some inflammable material, in order that, when subjected to heat, it might become porous. The whole was then heated until the wax or wood disappeared. The mold was then ready for use. The great advantage of this method was that there were no projecting lines of junction to disfigure the complete implement. This seems to have been the most common method employed. This explains the fact, that we seldom find any two bronze objects exactly similar to one another. Any impression left on the wax model would be faithfully reproduced. Marks of the spatula, with which the wax was worked, are frequently found; and, in one case, the impression of the human finger was observed.[1]

A people as highly cultured as those of the Bronze Age must have had some system of government, and one that was a sensible advance over the government of the Neolithic people. In the Neolithic Age it was, doubtless, tribe against tribe. Confederacies, the union of several tribes for common purpose of defense, must have been more common at this age.[2] The first Aryan tribes to arrive in Europe, as we have seen, were the Celts. In time, they had to withstand the pressure of invasion themselves. The Belgæ, and other Germanic tribes, were also on the move. But war at this pe-

[1] Lubbock's "Prehistoric Times," p. 39.
[2] Morgan's "Ancient Society," pp. 119, 120.

riod would partake more of the nature of people against people, than of tribe against tribe. The civil and the military departments of government must have taken more definite shape, and we are not without evidence of fairly organized and disciplined forces. As early as two thousand eight hundred years before Christ, the sea-coast people of Europe, while yet in the Bronze Age, allied their forces for the conquest of Egypt.[1]

We have referred to the influence of trade in shaping civilization. It is commerce that to-day is carrying civilization to remote corners of the globe. Long before the dawn of history, it was an active agent in advancing culture. It is important to note the great expanse of commerce, both inland and marine, which prevailed during the Bronze Age. An important article of trade was, of course, bronze. The people who first learned the secret of its manufacture would speedily find a demand for their wares from surrounding tribes, and we have already pointed out how this trade would quickly give rise to local manufactures. But, to produce bronze, we know tin is just as necessary as copper—and all the countries of Europe are not provided with these metals; so more or less trade would inevitably take place. In various ways the stores of the bronze merchant might be lost, and only revealed in after years by accident. One of these deposits, found in France, is evidently the store of a merchant or trader from Etruria to the tribes of the north and west, and so gives us a quite a vivid idea of the trade of that early time. It consisted of over four hundred articles of bronze, "comprising knives, sickles, lance-heads, horse-bits, rings, buttons, pendants, and bracelets."[2]

As an article of adornment, amber was highly prized, not

[1] Dawkins's "Early Man in Europe," p. 449.
[2] Dawkins's "Early Man in Britain," p. 383.

only by the people of Europe during the Bronze Age, but also by the people of the preceding Neolithic Age. This caused a trade to spring up which certainly did its share in enlightening the people. The main supply must have been obtained from the shores of the Baltic. That the trade was of importance, is evidenced by the fact that amber has been found scattered over Europe in the tombs of the Neolithic and Bronze Ages.

We have given a passing glance at the religion of each age we have examined. It must be confessed that great uncertainty hangs over the results. From a close examination of their industries, we can gather considerable as to the home life and general enlightenment of prehistoric times. A knowledge of religious belief is gathered mainly from a study of their burial customs. This is a very important part of our investigation, because a religious belief is one of the exponents of the culture of a people.

We have seen that in the Neolithic Age the dead were buried surrounded by implements, weapons, and ornaments for use in the future life. The descendants of these people throughout Europe, even in the Bronze Age, would still continue this custom. The implements buried with the body were more often of stone than bronze. We must constantly bear in mind that bronze was costly. This will explain its absence in many cases. It is interesting to note in this connection that these are "cases in which it is evident that flint implements were deposited in graves rather in deference to ancient customs than because they were still in every-day use."[1] We also notice that during this age, often the objects placed in the graves were, from their shape, obviously not intended for daily use. This would clearly indicate that the popular mind became impressed with the fact that these vo-

[1] Lubbock's "Prehistoric Times," p. 157.

tive offerings, however freely given, could be of no assistance to the departed, but they still continued the custom because it was sanctioned by usage of past years.

But the dead were not always buried during the Bronze Age, nor, indeed, as a general rule. The invading race doubtless brought with them a new religion. Many of the ornamentations on their swords, vases, and other articles, are supposed by some writers to be religious symbols. From the frequent occurrence of the circle, and combinations of circles, it has been suggested that they worshiped the sun. And the occurrence of customs observable even at a late day, in various portions of Europe, as pointed out by Prof. Nelson, show that the worship of the fire-god, or the sun, was once widely extended in Europe.[1] On this point we are further told: "That even as late as the time of Canute the Great,[2] there is a statute forbidding the adorement of the

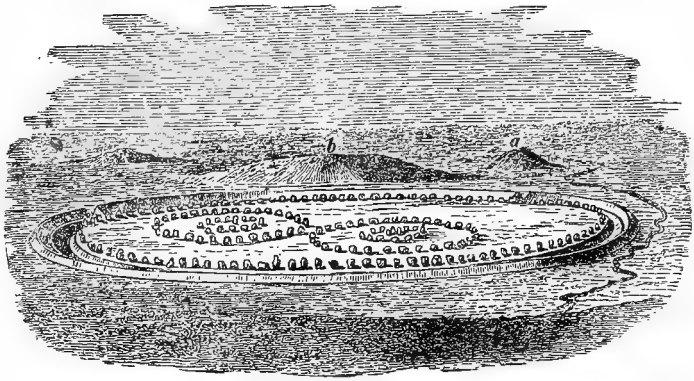
Burial Mound.

sun and the moon."[3] So it is not strange that in the new faith a different method of burial would be followed. That was by cremation. "The dead were burned, were purified by being passed through the fire along with their possessions."[4] The ashes was then gathered together and placed in urns and burial mounds and barrows. The votive offerings of flint and bronze articles in daily use were also thrown in the fire, and their burnt remains placed with the other ashes

[1] Lubbock's "Prehistoric Times," p. 74.
[2] A. D., 995—1035.
[3] Ferguson's "Rude Stone Monuments."
[4] Dawkins's "Early Man in Britain," p. 367.

in the burial urn. The cut is that of a bell-shaped barrow of the Bronze Age.

We have just seen what inferences have been drawn from the use of the circle as an ornament. This is not the only sign that has been thought to have some symbolical meaning. The cross was also used as an ornament, and possessed probably some religious significance. A third figure which has caused some discussion was the triangle. "It is, on the whole, very probable that all these signs, which are not connected with any known object, bear some relation to certain religious or superstitious ideas entertained by the men of the



Avebury Restored.

Bronze epoch, and, as a consequence of this, that their hearts must have been inspired with some degree of religious feeling."[1]

We have mentioned the use of stone circles in Neolithic times. During the Bronze Age they built the circle very large, sometimes twelve hundred feet in diameter, and they were sometimes made of earth. These circles are regarded by some[2] as being simply burial places, and many of them have been proved to be such. But others regard them as temples, meaning thereby not a building, in our sense of the

[1] Figuier's "Primitive Man," p. 283.

[2] Ferguson's "Rude Stone Monuments."

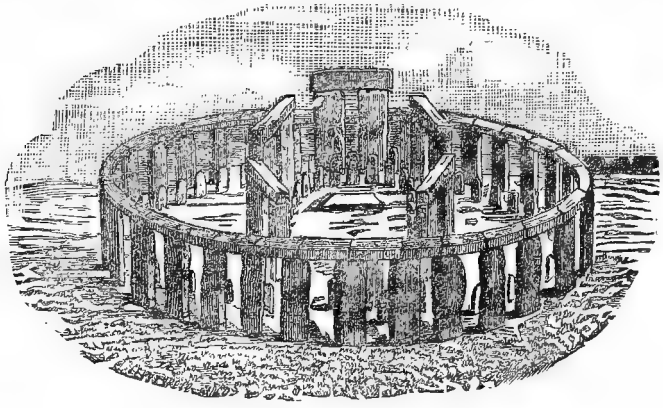
word, but a place of sanctity, and probably where some form of worship was held. "Even if we allow that they were originally tombs in every case, it does not follow that they have not also been temples, for the religious sentiment has, in all ages, and in all places, tended to center in tombs, which ultimately have become places of worship. Many of our Christian Churches have originated in this manner, and it is a most obvious transition from the tomb to the temple. The worship of the spirits of the dead at the one would naturally grow into the worship of the Great Unknown in the other.[1]

The preceding cut is a restoration of one of the largest of these temples. Here we see a circle twelve hundred feet in diameter, of upright stones, guarded by both a ditch and embankment. From the two openings in the embankment formerly extended two long winding avenues of stone. Between them rises Silbury Hill, the largest artificial mound in Great Britain, being one hundred and thirty feet high. The area of the large inclosure was about twenty-eight and a half acres. This was a temple of no inconsiderable size. It was of course in ruins when the earliest account of it was written, and we can only speculate as to the lapse of time since it was venerated as a place of worship.

Stonehenge, on Salisbury Plain, is a better known ruin, though not on as large a scale as at Avebury. The cut gives us a restoration of it. The outer circle of standing stones is one hundred feet in diameter, and when entire consisted of one hundred stones. These are of sandstone, and were obtained in the vicinity. A course of stone was laid along the top. We notice within a smaller circle of stone. The material of these stones is such that we know they must have come from a distance. Mr. James tells us that they are erratic—that is, bowlders brought from the

[1] Dawkins's "Early Man in Britain," p. 377.

North of Scotland by the glaciers—and that others of the same kind are still to be seen lying around the country.[1] But the more common opinion is that they were brought there by the people from a distance, perhaps Cornwall or the Channel Islands. If this be true, it is evidence of a strong religious feeling, and a peculiar value must have been attached to the material, since for any ordinary monument the stones in the neighborhood would have sufficed. Still nearer the center were five groups of three great stones each, and



Stonehenge Restored.

immediately within these a horseshoe of smaller stones. Finally, near the head of the horseshoe, a great slab of sandstone is supposed to have served for an altar. The date of the two structures just described has been a matter of some dispute.

It is worthy of notice that in the immediate neighborhood of both of them are found a great number of barrows of the Bronze Age. Over three hundred were erected in the neighborhood of the latter. In the opinion of many this fixes their date in the Bronze Age. Stonehenge, in its ruined state, has formed the subject of no little speculation,

[1] James's "Stonehenge," p. 3,

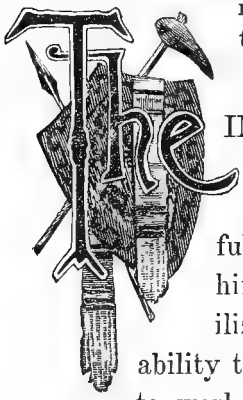
Modern explorers, in connecting it with the Bronze Age, have not dispelled from it the enchantment of mystery. We must ever wonder as to the nature of the rites there observed. Our questionings meet with but feeble response; for though we have learned somewhat of past times, it is comparatively but little. Ruined columns, crumbling burial mounds, and remains of stone and bronze will always be surrounded with more or less mystery—a striking illustration that science is able to dispel but little of the darkness which unnumbered years have thrown around the culture of the past.

Ancient Tower, Scotland.

# CHAPTER VIII.

## THE IRON AGE IN EUROPE.

BRONZE not the best metal—Difficulties attending the discovery of Iron—Probable steps in this discovery—Where this discovery was first made—Known in ancient Egypt—How this knowledge would spread—Iron would not drive out Bronze—The primitive Iron-worker—The advance in government—Pottery and ornaments of the Iron Age—Weapons of early Iron Age—The battle-field at Tilfenan—Trade of early Iron Age—Invention of Money—Invention of Alphabetic Writing—Invasion of the Germanic Tribes—The cause of the Dark Ages—Connection of these three Ages—Necessity of believing in an extended past—Attempts to determine the same—Tinière Delta—Lake Bienne, British Fen-beds—Maximum and Minimum data—Argument from the widespread dispersion of the Turanian Race—Mr. Geikie's conclusions—The isolation of the Paleolithic Age.



THE INTRODUCTION of bronze was the harbinger of better days to the various tribes of Europe. Without metals it is doubtful if man would ever have been able to raise himself from barbarism. His advance in civilization has been in direct proportion to his ability to work metals. As long as he knew how to work bronze only he could not hope for the best results. The trouble was not in the metal itself, but in the supply; for copper and tin, the constituents of bronze, are found only in limited amounts. When we reflect on the multiplicity of purposes for which some metallic substance is needed, we at once perceive that men require a metal which can not only be worked cheaply,

but must exist in great abundance, so that the needs of a rich and varied culture may be met.

The Divine Author of nature has stored away just such a metal, and in such exhaustless quantities that it forms an ingredient in nearly all soils, and flows away in the waters of many springs and rivers. It exists in abundance in nearly every country of the globe, in some forming veritable mountain masses. We refer to iron, the king of metals; and when man had learned to reduce it from its ores he had taken the first step in a new direction, the end whereof is yet far distant.

We have in the preceding chapter presented some reasons why copper would be known before iron. In the first place, how were men to learn there was such a thing as iron? Supposing its ores did occur in abundance, there was nothing to attract attention to them. They were not of great heft, like tin ore, or of striking color, like the ores of copper. In the hills, and under the foot of man, nature indeed had imprisoned a genius; but there was no outward sign by which man was to divine his presence. Copper, as we have seen, occurs frequently in a native form that is ready for use, without reducing from its ores. Native iron, on the contrary, is almost the rarest of substances, though it is reported as occurring in one or two localities on the earth.[1] Almost the only examples of native iron has been obtained from meteorites. Strange as it may seem, these wanderers in space, which occasionally flame athwart the sky, consist largely of pure iron; at least this is true of such specimens as have from time to time been found on the earth's surface. This supply is of course extremely limited, yet some Siberian tribes are said to make knives from iron obtained in this manner.[2] Moreover the evidence of language, as

[1] Dana's "Manual of Mineralogy," p. 230. [2] "Primitive Man," p. 298.

used by the ancient Greeks and Egyptians, would imply the meteoric origin of the first known form of the metal.[1] But though such accidental finds might prove the existence of another metal, they would furnish no hint how to extract it from its ores, or indeed, that it existed in the form of ores.

The prolonged schooling in metallurgy, which men received during the Bronze Age, could not fail to give them many hints, and doubtless accidental discoveries of metallic substances were made. We can conceive how, by accident or design, iron ore, treated in a similar manner to copper and tin ore, would leave behind a mass of spongy iron. The difficulty would be in working it; for, as we have seen, they were in the habit of casting their articles of bronze. But iron is very difficult of fusion. It was a long while before they learned how to do that. They had therefore to learn an entirely new art—that is, to fashion their implements of iron by hammering the heated mass.

There is no reason to suppose that iron was first discovered in Europe. Its spread has been from the east and south to the north and west. It, in all probability, was discovered, like bronze, in Asia. Although evidence, both archæological and traditional, goes to show that bronze was in use long before iron, yet iron has been known from time immemorial. Explain it how we will, civilization and history follow close after the knowledge of iron. Wherever the light of history first falls on the nations of the Old World, we find them acquainted with iron, but such knowledge, at least on the part of the Mediterranean nations, does not long precede history, for at that early time, iron was still a most precious metal. It was not yet produced in sufficient quantities to take the place of bronze; hence the prehistoric Iron Age was there but of short duration.

[1] Evans's "Ancient Stone Implements," p. 5.

Among the early Egyptians iron was known, but was probably not very common. There is on this subject some diversity of opinion; some believing that at the very earliest historical period they were skilled in working it, and employed it in all the affairs of life, but others assure us that at the most ancient period they did not really use iron, and that bronze was the metal employed for all ordinary purposes.[1]

A wedge of iron is said to have been found in a joint between the stones of the great pyramid. Here, then, at the dawn of historic times, iron seems to be making its way among a bronze-using people. The ancient Chaldeans employed iron as an ornament, but not for implements. With them it was therefore a precious metal. Among the Assyrians, iron was largely used, and at a comparatively early date. A careful study of the poems of Homer shows that the Greeks of nearly three thousand years ago had a knowledge of iron, though it was a highly prized metal. But to the north of the Mediterranean the prehistoric Iron Age was of longer duration.

We can readily see that a knowledge of iron would spread in much the same way as did bronze. When first introduced, it would be rare and costly, and so would be used sparingly. Bronze axes have been found with the edge of iron. Afterwards, as it became more abundant, it would be used altogether for cutting instruments and weapons, while bronze, being more easily worked, would still be used for ornaments, brooches, etc. At Hallstadt, in Austria, was discovered a cemetery which evidently belongs to a time when iron was taking the place of bronze. In this case, the implements of bronze are those forms which we have learned were produced near the close of the Bronze

[1] Evans's "Ancient Bronze Implements," p. 8.

Age. The iron implements are not those forms best suited for that metal, but imitations of those of bronze.[1] We remember when bronze was first introduced, the weapons were simply copies of those forms already made in stone.[2]

We may suppose that a knowledge of iron would spread rapidly. The knowledge of metallurgy necessary for the production of bronze was at this time widely disseminated. It would require, therefore, but a hint to start them in experiments. In the dissemination of this knowledge, commerce, of course, played a most important part. Whenever the early Greek and Roman writers have occasion to mention the arms of the less civilized tribes of Europe, we learn they were of iron. This shows that at a very early time this knowledge had spread all over Europe.[3]

It is scarcely necessary to remark that the use of iron would not drive out the use of bronze. That would still be used for many purposes; and even stone would continue in use, at least for some purposes. At the battle of Marathon, arrow-heads and lances of stone were largely used. We can easily understand how, by one of a number of causes, some rude tribes, yet unacquainted with the use of metal, would come to occupy the site of some settlement, the inhabitants of which had been in the Bronze or Iron Age. This actually happened at ancient Troy, where the remains of a stone-using folk have been found above those of a people using metal. This, though an exception to the general rule, need give us no surprise.

Iron manufacture at the present day, is one of our great industries. In its present form it is the final development of an industry whose first unfoldings we have now to glance at. That the first process man employed to procure iron should have been very rude, is what we would expect.

[1] "Ancient Bronze Implements," p. 3. [2] Ibid., p. 40. [3] Ibid., p. 19.

Some of the partially civilized tribes of to-day may give us an insight into the process employed. We are told that in Tartary each native makes the iron he needs, just as every household would make its own bread. The furnace is a very small affair, not holding more than three pounds of ore. This is filled with ore and charcoal. The bellows are used, and after the charcoal is all burned out, the result is a small piece of spongy iron, which needs only repeated heating and hammering to be made serviceable.[1] Primitive furnaces, on a somewhat larger scale, have been discovered in Switzerland. Here the excavation was made in the side of a hill, and a rude, dome-shaped chimney built over it.

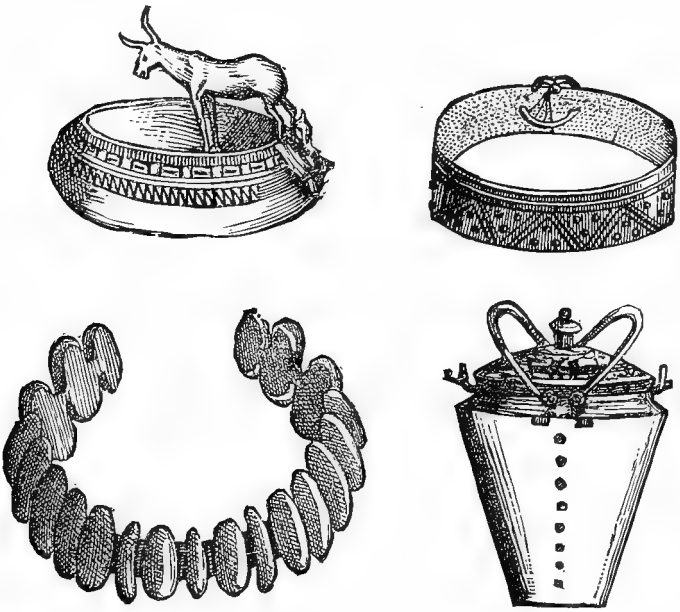
We must not forget that our task ends where the historian's begins. The use of iron did not long precede history, so we have but little to describe as to the customs and manners of life during the prehistoric Iron Age. A general advance in all the social arts must surely have taken place. Improved tools, and more cheaply produced, could not fail to advance man very materially in culture. Some lake settlements were still in use as places of residence, but better means of protection than water was now known—walled cities were in use, especially around the Mediterranean sea.

Mr. Morgan has traced for us the evolution of government. At this early date the Greek and Roman people were engaged in substituting for ancient society the modern idea of government founded on territory.[2] The great body of European tribes were now in the final stage of barbaric life. Their system of government was doubtless the highest known to ancient society—that of confederacies; the union of tribes speaking dialects of the same language, for offensive and defensive purposes.

[1] Figuier's "Primitive Man," p. 300.

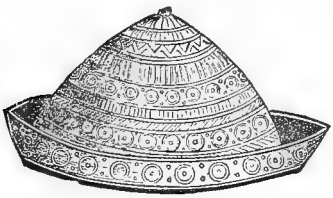
[2] "Ancient Society," p. 216.

As characteristic of the advance of this epoch, we may mention the appearance of pottery made on the potter's wheel, and baked in an improved kind of furnace. Pre-



Ornaments.

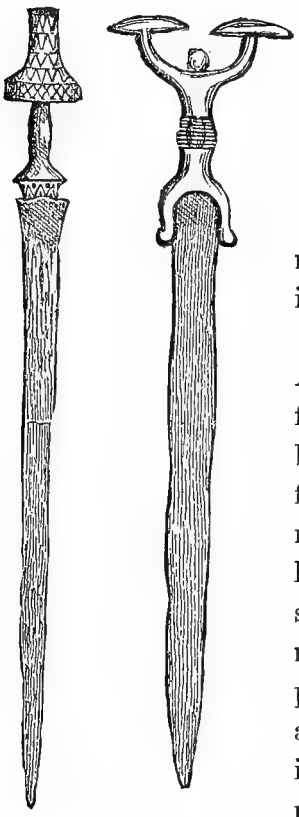
vious to this epoch all the pottery had been moulded by hand and baked in an imperfect manner in the open air. This may be thought to be but a small improvement. Our civilization, however, depends upon small improvements. Only during the early part of this age, while iron was scarce, and therefore valuable, would it be used for the purpose of ornaments. Iron brooches have been found in considerable quantities in the lake settlements. Bronze would still be the principal article used for ornaments. The articles of bronze manufactured for ornamental purposes, are certainly very tasty, and dis-



Gold Ornament.

play a great deal of skill. Nor was gold entirely forgotten. The cap-shaped ornament of gold was found in Ireland. During the Bronze age, as we have seen, there was no attempt made to represent animal forms by way of ornaments; but we meet with such representations during the early part of the Iron Age. This shows how they ornamented the sheath of a sword found in one of the Swiss lakes.

Ornamental Sword-sheath.

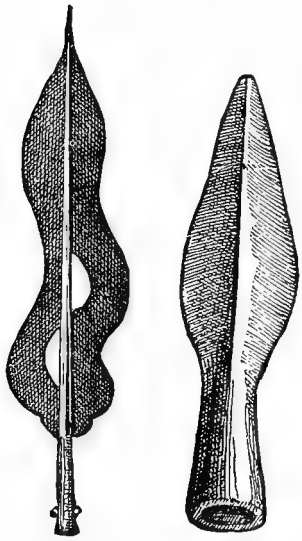


Swords.

The warriors of the early Iron Age possessed leaf-shaped swords for stabbing. The hilts were of bronze. This period was a struggle for existence, on the part of the various tribes of Europe. War must have been very common, so it is not strange that a large number of relics of this age are of warlike implements. Lance-heads, javelins, and arrow-heads have been found in abundance. It appears, from experiments ordered by the Emperor Napoleon III, that the javelins could only have been used as missile weapons, and that they were thrown, not by the hand merely grasping the shaft, but

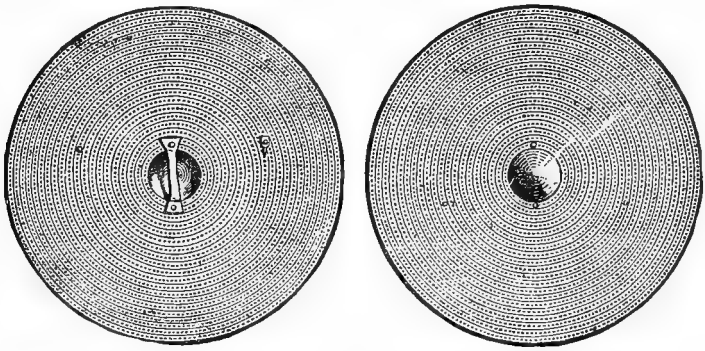
by means of a cord or thong, something after the principle of a sling.[1]

Some years ago an old battle-field was discovered at Tiefenau, in Switzerland. On it were found a great number of objects made of iron, such as fragments of chariots, bits for horses, wheels, pieces of coats of mail, and arms of various sorts, including no less than a hundred two-handed swords. All of these were made of iron.[2] The soldiers also carried with them shields, made sometimes of bronze, as in the cut below, or of wood, studded with iron.



Lance-head and Javelin.

There is evidence of considerable volume of trade at this time. The Mediterranean was the theater of an extended commerce. Phœnician sailors not only ventured to brave the Mediterranean sea, but carried their vessels out on the Atlantic at as early a



Shields.

date as 500 B. C. The Greek traders were also active. Massilia, or as it is known in modern times, Marseilles, was

[1] Figuier's "Primitive Man," p. 325. [2] "Prehistoric Times," p. 7.

the seat of a thriving trade. African ivory has been found in the tombs of Hallstadt, in Austria, in connection with ornaments of amber from the Baltic, and gold from Transylvania. The inhabitants of this town possessed in their salt mines the source of a lucrative trade. The trader of the Iron Age was able to take an immense stride by reason of the invention of money. Heretofore, in Europe, we have not met with coins, and trade must have been carried on by means of barter.

Acquainted as we are at the present day with money and the mechanism of exchange, it is difficult to see how any extended trade could be carried on without some unit of value, yet no coins are known earlier than the Iron Age.[1] The most ancient coins known are Greek, and date back to the eighth century before Christ. This coin is one found in one of the lake settlements. It is made of bronze, and the figures are not stamped, but obtained by melting and casting.[2] This, however, is not a Greek coin, but a Gallic one. On the battlefield of Tiefenau, mentioned above, several Greek coins, struck at Massilia, were found.[3]

Gallic Coin.

It is scarcely necessary to point out, that though iron gives its name to this age, it by no means follows that the only difference between this and the Bronze Age is the use of iron. "The pottery is different, the forms of the implements and weapons are different, the ornamentation is different, the knowledge of metallurgy was more advanced, silver and lead were in use, letters had been invented, coins

[1] M. Desor, in "Smithsonian Reports," 1865, tells us that small brass rings were probably used by people of the Swiss lake villages of the Bronze Age epoch as money.

[2] Figuier's "Primitive Man," p. 310.

[3] Lubbock's "Prehistoric Times," p. 7.

had been struck."[1] That wonderful invention, the phonetic alphabet, was made during the early part of this age. The past was no longer simply kept alive in the memory of the living, handed down by tradition and song. Inscriptions, and monuments, and books abounded, and we are no longer confined to an inspection of their handiwork, or examination of their habitations, and explanation of ancient burial mounds for our knowledge of their life and surroundings. It is no longer the archæologists' collections, but the writings of the historian that unfolds past times and customs.

Let us cast a glance at the condition of Europe at the dawn of history. We have seen that in general terms the Bronze Age coincided with the arrival and spread of the Celts, though the earlier Celts were still Neolithic. The use of iron could scarcely have been inaugurated before the innumerable hordes of the Germanic tribes, probably driven from their Asiatic homes by the presence of invading people, were on the march. The world has, perhaps, never witnessed such a movement of people as convulsed Europe for several hundred years, beginning the second century before Christ and continuing until the fall of the Western Empire of Rome. The light of history dawns on a stormy scene in Europe. The Celts confined to the Western portion had been largely subjected by the Roman armies, but the largest portion of Europe held by the Germanic tribes was the seat from whence assault after assault was made on the Roman Empire, which at length, weakened by internal dissensions and enervated by luxury, split in twain, and the western, and most important part, fell before its barbarian foes.

The various tribes could not keep alive the civilization they had overthrown. The wandering hordes of Germanic people could not easily forget their former barbaric life, their

[1] Lubbock's "Prehistoric Times," p. 17.

marches of conquest, and careers of pillage. But the claims of civilization, though light and pleasant, are none the less imperative, and a people who seek her rewards must form settled communities, develop public spirit, organize government, and sink the individual in the public good. Not appreciating these claims, it is not strange that the incipient civilization nearly expired, and that the night of the Dark Ages enwrapt Europe. From out that darkness, composed of the descendants of the people whose culture we have been investigating, finally emerged the mediæval nations of Europe.

Tne review has been a pleasant one, for it is a record of progress. The difference between the culture of the Neolithic and the Iron Age is great, but it is simply a development, the result of a gradual growth. Civilization and history have only hastened this growth. If we look around us to-day we can trace the elements of our civilization back through the eras of history, and though the faint beginning of some can be noticed, yet many of them come down to us from prehistoric times. We have treated of these early people in the three stages of culture known as the Neolithic, Bronze, and Iron Ages. We have seen there is no hard and fast line dividing the different stages of culture. To borrow the words of another, these stages of progress, like the three principal colors of the rainbow, overlap, intermingle, and shade off the one into the other, and yet in the main they are well defined.[1]

We instinctively long to set bounds to the past, to measure it by the unit of years. It affords us satisfaction to give dates for events long since gone by. For any event in the domain of history, it is natural and appropriate to gratify this desire. It gives precision to our thoughts, and more firmly fixes the march of events. But the historical portion

[1] Evans's "Ancient Bronze Implements," p. 1.

of human life on the globe is but a small part of the grand whole. When we pass beyond history, or into prehistoric times, we find ourselves utterly at a loss as to dates.

We have referred in the preceding pages to the commonly accepted belief of a few years ago, that, at most, a few thousand years express the whole period of human life on the globe. This was supposed to be the teaching of the Scriptures, but Infinite Wisdom left not only his word, but he left an imperishable record of the past in rocky strata and excavated valley, in dripping caves and mountain masses. When it was seen that the claims of geology for a greatly extended past, one transcending the powers of the human mind to conceive its length, could no longer be successfully denied, then it was that earnest investigators in the field of human antiquity could no longer shut their eyes to the fact that if geological evidence were worth any thing, man must have existed in the world for a far longer time than one covered by the brief period hitherto relied on.

This truth is so patent and plain that it has received the unqualified indorsement of the most learned scholars. Distinguished divines have been amongst its able expounders, and instead of being in opposition to the Bible, as already stated, the earnest reader finds in the periods of the geologists unexpected confirmation of its truths. The evidence of an extended past for man is not, however, wholly of a geological nature, though these have been the ones principally relied on. The archæologist to-day summons to his aid the science of language, studies into the origin of civilization and the comparison of the different races of men, and derives from each and all of these concurrent testimony as to a vast, shadowy, and profound antiquity for man, one stretching way beyond the dawn of history, far into the very night of time.

As we have now spent some time in tracing out the cul-

ture of these early ages, it may be well to see if there are any means at our command to determine the absolute chronology of the various ages. At the very outset of our inquiry, we shall perceive that we have no such class of facts as guided our investigations into the age of the Paleolithic remains. We have but to recall the situation in which the implements of that age were found, always under such circumstances, that we see at once that a great lapse of time has passed since they became imbedded where found, and then the bones of the various extinct animals, found so associated with the implements, that we are justified, even compelled, to admit they occupied the same section of country, and then, from a variety of causes, we are satisfied that they occupied Europe at the close of the Glacial Age, if not for long ages before. All this gave us a point of departure, and we have showed with what care scholars have studied all questions relating to the date of the Glacial Age.

But aside from the fact that geology points out that a long time went by after the close of the Glacial Age before Neolithic man arrived on the scene, we are largely deprived of its aid in our investigations; for all the various implements and specimens of the household industries, from which we derive our knowledge of these latter ages, are found only in surface deposits; that is, in the modern alluvia and silt of river bottoms, in superficial deposits, in caves, and in peat-bogs; and even in other instances where apparently deeply buried, as in the submerged forest deposits of the British coasts, we know that, geologically speaking, their age is recent.

But in spite of these difficulties, attempts have been made from time to time to determine the absolute chronology of these ages. The results, however, can only be considered as approximations of the truth. We will call attention to

some of these calculations. Their value to us consists in showing us the methods by which this problem has been attacked, and not in the results obtained. M. Morlot, of Switzerland, has sought to determine this question by a study of the delta of the Tiniere, which is a small river flowing into the lake of Geneva. Like all mountain streams, it brings down considerable quantities of sediment, with which it has formed a conical shaped delta. Cuttings for a railroad exposed a fine section of this cone, and showed that at three different times layers of vegetable soil, which must once have been its old surface were found.

The lowest surface was some twenty feet beneath the present surface, and here were found relics of the Stone Age. The second layer was at the depth of ten feet, and contained relics of the Bronze Age. Finally the first buried layer, three feet beneath the present surface, was found to contain relics of the Roman Age. Obtaining from other data the time that has elapsed since the deposits of the Roman layer, he readily calculates the age of the Stone and Bronze layers. By this means he obtains for the Bronze Age an antiquity of between three and four thousand years, and for the Neolithic Age from five to seven thousand years.[1] M. Morlot does not claim for his calculation more than approximate accuracy.[2] But if we were to allow it a greater accuracy than its author claims, it would still only show us that from a period of from five to seven thousand years ago, tribes of stone using folks lived in Switzerland. It tells us nothing as to their first appearance, or the total length of this age.[3]

[1] "Smithsonian Report," 1860, p. 342. [2] Ibid.

[3] Mr. Southall, in "Recent Origin of Man," p. 475, quotes, from Dr. Andrews, of Chicago, to the effect that these calculations are very erroneous, as he thinks that M. Morlot forgot that the size of the cone would increase more and more slowly. On the contrary, M. Morlot says as follows: "Only this growth must have gone on at a gradually diminishing rate, because

Other calculations of a similar nature have been made. The Lake of Bienne, in Switzerland, has been gradually silting up along its margins from time immemorial. About seven hundred and fifty years ago there was an abbey built at one place on the then existing shore of the lake. Since that time the gain of land has been about twelve hundred feet. A considerable distance further up the valley are found the remains of a lake settlement of the Stone Age. If the gain of land has been uniform, it has not been far from seven thousand years since the lake washed round the ancient settlement. Of course the land may have gained faster at one time than at another, but from the general configuration of the valley it is considered that its gain was regular.[1]

Mr. Skertchly, of the Geological Survey of England, has furnished still another estimate, based on the growth of the Fen-beds on the east coast of England. It is sufficient to state that he also arrives at an estimate of about seven thousand years for the Neolithic period.[2] Now these results are interesting, and their substantial agreement is, to say the least, striking. We must remember, however, that none of them are free from error. They may serve to clear up our thoughts on this subject, but we notice they tell us nothing as to the beginning of the Neolithic Age.

Abandoning the effort to obtain dates for the various ages, attempts have been made to calculate the entire interval that has elapsed since the close of the Glacial times, and thus set bounds to the first appearance of Neolithic

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the volume of a cone increases as the cube of its radius. Taking this fact into consideration, etc." (Smithsonian Report, 1860, p. 341.) There are, however, several objections to this calculation, for which see Lubbock's "Prehistoric Times," p. 400; also Quatrefages's "Human Species," p. 138.

[1] Lubbock's "Prehistoric Times," p. 402. For criticisms on this calculation see Southall's "Recent Origin of Man." [2] British Assoc. Rep., 1879.

man. We briefly touched on this question in determining the antiquity of the Paleolithic Age, and we say, as far as this country was concerned, it was comparatively a recent thing, but as for Europe, it must be at a very remote time. M. Quatrefages has called our attention to two investigations in Europe, which, in order to understand this question, we will now glance at. The waters of the Rhone carry into Lake Geneva every year quantities of sediment. In other words, from this and other sources, the lake is gradually being filled up. Carefully calculating the amount carried into the lake in a year, estimates have been made of the length of time it has taken the river to fill up the lake as much as it has.

But in making this calculation the date arrived at was a maximum one—that is, a point beyond which it is not reasonable to suppose the time extended. These calculations gave as a result one hundred thousand years. The meaning of this is that the time elapsed since the close of the Glacial Age was something less than the number just stated. On the other hand, a minimum date for this time has been obtained by estimating the amount of erosion in the valley of the River Saone, in France. From this we know that the time can not be less than seven thousand years.[1]

It is, perhaps, doubtful whether we shall ever be able to obtain satisfactory answers to these questions. From what we have repeatedly seen of the slowness of development of primitive man, we do not doubt but what the antiquity of Neolithic Man goes much farther back than seven thousand years. When a naturalist finds in widely separated parts of the world animals belonging to a common order, he is justified in concluding that the order is a very ancient one. To illustrate, the opossum belongs to an order

[1] Quatrefages's "Human Species," p. 139, *et seq.*

of animals of which the only other representatives are found in Australia and the neighboring islands.[1] We are not surprised, therefore, to learn that this order was the first to appear in geological time.[2] We think the rule is equally applicable to races of men. We are told that the Turanian race, or, as it is often named, the Mongoloid race, is a very widely scattered one. Its representatives are found over the larger portion of Asia, in Northern Europe, the islands of the Pacific; and they were the only inhabitants of the New World at the time of the conquest.[3] This wide dispersion would imply that they were one of the ancient races of the world, and as such their antiquity must be far greater than the above named number of years.

This point grows clearer when we see what light is afforded on this subject by historical research. The Turanian people were in full possession of Europe while yet the ancestors of the Hindoos and the various European nations dwelt together as one people in Asia. As a race they had grown old when the Celts commenced their wanderings. Egypt comes before us as a powerful people, at a time at least as early as six thousand years ago. Even at that time they had attained civilization. But we need not doubt that there is a long series of years lying back of that, during which this people were slowly advancing from a previous condition of barbarism. The Egyptian people themselves are, in part at least, descendants of a Turanian people that probably in former times occupied the valley of the Nile and North Africa.[4]

Mr. Geikie has lately gone over the entire ground from

[1] Nicholson's "Manual of Zoölogy," p. 535.

[2] Dana's "Manual of Geology," p. 416, note.

[3] Keary's "Dawn of History," p. 382; Morgan's "Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity."

[4] Dawkins's "Early Man in Britain," p. 324.

the point of view of a geologist. He ranges over a wide field, and appeals in support to writers of acknowledged ability in all branches of learning[1]. Yet the impression we gather from his writings is that of ill-defined, but far-reaching antiquity, one necessary to account for the great climatic and geographical changes which he shows us have taken place since the Glacial Age. But he tells us that any term of years he could suggest would be a mere guess. We can not do better than leave the matter here. Perhaps as a result of the research of our present scholars, we may soon have more precise results.

These closing essays have impressed on us clearly and distinctly the isolation of the Paleolithic Age. When we reflect on its prolonged duration, its remoteness in time, and its complete severance from the Neolithic and succeeding ages, we are almost ready to wonder whether they were indeed human beings. But beginning with the Neolithic Age, we come to our own era. This primitive culture seems to have been the commencement of our own culture, and so the industries, household implements, and weapons of these ages possess a greater interest to us. We have now completed our inquiry into prehistoric life in Europe, and are ready to turn our attention to other parts of the field. What we have thus far learned shows us how true it is that the past of human life on the globe is full of mystery. We trust that what has been written will enable our readers to form clearer conceptions of life in Europe during these far away times.

[1] "Prehistoric Europe," chap. xvi to xxii.

# CHAPTER IX.

## EARLY MAN IN AMERICA.[1]

CONFLICTING accounts of the American Aborigines—Recent discoveries—Climate of California in Tertiary Times—Geological changes near its close—Description of Table Mountain—Results of the discoveries there—The Calaveras skull—Other relics—Discussion of the question—Early Californians Neolithic—Explanation of this—Date of the Pliocene Age—Other discoveries bearing on the Antiquity of man—Dr. Koch's discovery—Discoveries in the Loess of Nebraska—In Greene County, Ill.—In Georgia—Difficulties in detecting a Paleolithic Age in this country—Dr. Abbott's discoveries—Paleolithic Implements of the Delaware—Age of the deposits—The race of Paleolithic man—Ancestors of the Eskimos—Comparison of Paleolithic Age in this country with that in Europe—Eskimos one of the oldest races in the World.

THE energy and skill of Columbus were crowned with success, and the storm-tossed Atlantic was found to lave the shores of a western continent, reflecting minds in Europe were much interested in the strange stories they heard of the inhabitants of the New World. On the one hand Spanish adventurers told scarcely credited stories of populous cities, temples glittering with gold and silver ornaments, and nations possessed of a barbaric civilization scarcely inferior to their own. On the other hand were accounts of morose savages, cruel and vindictive in nature, depending on fishing and the chase for a livelihood. Nearly four centuries have elapsed since that time. The aboriginal

[1] The manuscript of this chapter was submitted to Dr. C. C. Abbott, of Trenton, New Jersey, for criticism.

inhabitants have nearly diaappeared, leaving their origin and prehistoric life almost as great a riddle to us as it was to the early colonists.

But in endeavoring to unroll the pages of their history, we have chanced upon some strange discoveries. The Aztecs, that people whose culture is to-day such an enigma to our scholars, are known to be a late arrival in the valley of Anahuac. They were preceded in that section by a mysterious people, the Toltecs, whose remains excite our liveliest curiosity, but of which we have yet learned but little. Yucatan is shown to have been for many centuries the home of a people whose advancement equaled that of the Aztecs at their palmiest day. Like important discoveries attended the labors of explorers in the North. The entire valley of its great river is known to have been the home of a numerous population, that, from the nature of their remains, we call the Mound-builders. Who these people were, when and whence they came, and whither they went, are questions whose solution is by no means accomplished. Nor are such discoveries the only results. A study of their institutions has done much in revealing the constructions of ancient society, and thereby throwing light on some mysterious chapters of man's existence.

Of late years interest in the antiquity of man in America has been reawaked by the discoveries of human remains in Pliocene deposits in California, and the Glacial gravel of the Delaware at Trenton, New Jersey. Before this it was supposed that we had no authentic instance of human remains in America found under such circumstances that it was necessary to assign to them a profound antiquity. If these latter day discoveries be true, we can not escape the conclusion that man lived in America at as early a date as that indicated by any of the European explorations. Some hold

that the proof of his existence here in Pliocene times is far more satisfactory than any evidence of his presence in Europe during that time. There is something fascinating in this belief. If some of the most eminent scientists of America are not mistaken, man lived on our Pacific coast before the great ice-sheets that pulverized the surface of the earth and dispersed life before them came down from the north. He ranged along the western rivers before the volcanic peaks of the Sierras were uplifted, and his old hunting-grounds are to-day buried underneath the great lava flow which desolated ancient California and Oregon. But this assertion has not been allowed to pass undisputed, nor has it received the assent of all scientists.

We can easily understand why scholars subject all questions relating to the first appearance of man to very careful scrutiny. If a competent geologist should assert that he had found, in undoubted Pliocene formations, bones of some species of animals not hitherto suspected of living at that date, his statement would be accepted as proof of the same. But in the case of man, every circumstance is inquired into. It is but right that the utmost care should be exercised in this direction. But, on the other hand, we are not justified in demanding mathematical demonstration in every case of the accuracy of a reported discovery. Yet such seems to be the position of a portion of the scientific world. For, although they willingly admit that man has lived on the earth for a very long time indeed, they urge all sorts of objections to extending that time into a past geological age.

Accordingly, when Professor Whitney states as the result of many years spent in the investigation of the Tertiary formation of California, that he finds evidence of the existence of man in the Pliocene Age, it is not strange that one part of the scientific world listens incredulously to his state-

ments, and are at once ready to explain away the facts on which he relies. He may, of course, be mistaken, for it is human to err, but his proofs are sufficiently strong to convince some of the best scholars in America. We can do no more than to lay the facts before the reader and let him judge for himself.

We have seen what a genial climate prevailed in Europe during the Tertiary Age. This must also have been true of California. A rich and varied vegetation decked the land. The great trees of California of our day then flourished in Greenland, Iceland, and Western Europe. The cypress of the Southern States was then growing in Alaska and other high northern latitudes. The climate probably passed from a tropical one, in early Tertiary times, to a milder or temperate one in Pliocene times. Amongst the animals inhabiting America were three species of camels. Rhinoceroses, mastodons, and elephants trooped over the land. Tigers and other carnivora prowled in the forests. Herds of horse-like animals, one scarcely distinguishable from our common horse, grazed in the valleys, along with several species of deer. From the presence of the old drainage beds, we know that majestic rivers rolled their watery burden through the land. Such a country might well afford a home for man if he were present.

To understand fully the course of events which now took place we must venture on geological ground. The great Pacific Ocean, lying to the west of America, is constantly exerting a lateral pressure, which during Tertiary times showed its effect in the uplifting of the great mountain ranges of the western coast.[1] During late Tertiary times, as a counterpart to the upward movement, a great subsidence commenced in the Pacific region.[2] Doubtless many islands,

[1] Dana's "Manual of Geology," p. 735, *et seq.* [2] Ibid., p. 753.

some think an entire continent even, disappeared beneath the waves. The completion of the various mountain ranges left the coast firm and unyielding; hence, as it could not bend before the fiery flood forced upward from below by the downward motion just mentioned, it broke, and the torrent of molten rock leaped out as a lava flow. In consequence of this, near the close of Pliocene times, the surface of California and Oregon, especially the north of California, became buried under the lava and ashes of the most desolating volcanic outbreak that the earth has ever known.

Let us now see what bearing this has on the question of the antiquity of man. Scattered here and there throughout California are numerous masses of basaltic lava, which appear as elevated ridges, the softer strata around having been denuded away. They have received the general name of Table Mountains. They have not only been noted for their picturesque beauty, but miners long since found that the gravels underneath the lava covering were rich in gold. In Tuolumne County the Table Mountain is a flow of lava which originated in lofty volcanoes several miles away.

It extends along the north side of the Stanilaus, which is a small river flowing in a south-westerly course through the county. The mountain is in the form of a ridge about two thousand feet above the present level of the river. At one point the river breaks through this ridge, which has been worn away for a considerable distance. From this point the ridge appears as a continuous mountain, stretching away to the south for a distance of twenty miles, from where it crosses the river. "As seen from a distance the Table Mountain reveals its origin at once, in the contrast between the long, straight line of its upper edge and the broken and curving ones which the eroded hills of the auriferous strata everywhere exhibit. Its dark color and com-

parative absence of trees and shrubs on its top and sides also indicate very clearly that the materials of which it is composed are very different from that of the surrounding hills."[1]

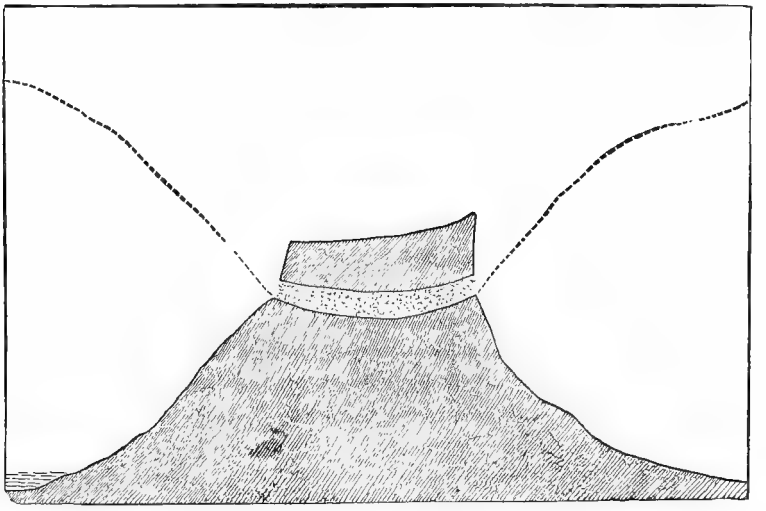
This is the celebrated Table Mountain of Tuolumne County. It is simply a vast flow of lava. It must have been a grand sight when this river of fire came rolling down from its volcanic fount. Its present position on top of an elevated ridge is a very singular one. In explanation of that we arrive at some very important conclusions, and we can not fail to be impressed with the fact that countless ages have rolled away since that lava flood poured down the mountain side. "No one can deny that a stream of melted lava, running for forty miles down the slope of the Sierra, must have sought and found a depression or valley in which to flow; for it is impossible that it should have maintained for any distance its position on the crest of a ridge." Lava is about as thick as molten iron, and would as surely seek some valley in which to flow as would so much water. "The valley of the Stanilaus, now two thousand feet deep, could not then have existed; for this flow of lava is clearly seen to have crossed it at one point."

"The whole face of the country must, therefore, have undergone an entire change since the eruption took place, during which this mass of lava was poured out. The valley of the Stanilaus must have then been occupied by a range of mountains. The same is true of the other side, where now is the valley of Wood's Creek; for such ranges must have existed in order to form and wall in the valley in which the current of lava flowed. There has been, therefore, an amount of denudation during the period since this volcanic mass took its position of not less than three or four

[1] Whitney's "Geology of California," Vol. I.

thousand feet of perpendicular depth, and this surprising series of changes is not peculiar to one locality, but the whole slope of the Sierras, through the gold region, is the scene of similar volcanic outflows and subsequent remodeling of the surface into a new series of reliefs and depressions."[1]

In order to fully realize the change here spoken of, an imaginary section of Table Mountains is here presented. Here we see the two valleys on the sides, and the mass of



Imaginary Section of Table Mountain.

lava covering the top of the mountain. The dotted lines represent the position of the old line of hills, which must once have inclosed the valley down which coursed the fiery torrent.

We require to dwell on this fact before we can fully understand its meaning. The "eternal hills," two and three thousand feet in height, have been completely washed away, and where they stood is now a deep valley. But the old valley, protected by its stony covering, is now a mountain ridge; and this, we are told, is not a solitary instance, but

[1] Whitney's "Geological Survey of California," Vol. I.

the entire surface of the country has been thus denuded. We stand in awe before the stupendous results, which nature, working through vast cycles of time, has accomplished.

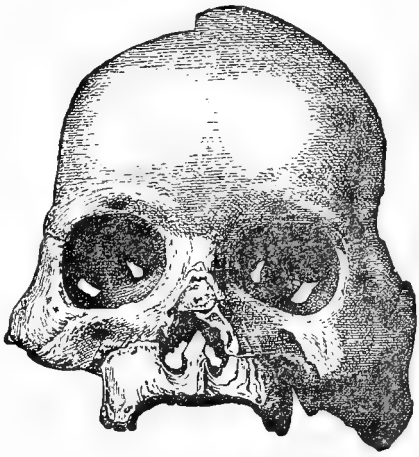
But if this lava flow took place in a pre-existing valley, we ought to find under the rocky covering beds of gravel, rolled stones, and other *débris* peculiar to a river bed. Such, in fact, we do find extended along directly underneath the lava, about fifteen hundred feet above the general level of the country. These old river gravels are found to be very rich in gold, and miners have tunneled into them in numerous places in search of the valuable metal. In order to determine the geological age of these gravels, and subsequent lava flow, a careful examination of portions of plants and bones of animals found therein has been made. The plants are pronounced by competent authority[1] to be Pliocene, totally distinct from any specimens now growing in California. The animal remains are rhinoceroses, camels, and an extinct species of horse. The age of these gravels is, therefore, pronounced to be Pliocene. We would say in this connection that the auriferous gravels of California have been the object of a very careful research by Prof. Whitney. He adds to his conclusions that of another of the State geologists. We need not give in detail his arguments, but he reaches the conclusion that the auriferous gravels of the Pacific slope represent the whole of the Tertiary Age.[2]

We have seen that in the ancient gravels of European rivers archæologists have found the materials wherewith to build a fascinating story of man's appearance in Quaternary times. We have underneath the lava flow of California the gravel beds of rivers far antedating the gravels of the

[1] Dr. Newberry's "Geological Survey of California."
[2] Whitney's "Auriferous Gravels of California," p. 283.

Somme. It is therefore not a little interesting to learn from Prof. Whitney that he finds many proofs of the existence of man in the gravels of the Pliocene Age in California. Under the solid basalt of Table Mountain have been found many works of men's hands, as well as the celebrated "Calaveras Skull."

This skull was taken from a mining shaft at Altaville, at a depth of one hundred and thirty feet from the surface, beneath seven different strata of lava and gravel. Prof. Whitney was not present when it was found. He, however, made it his business to examine into the facts of the case, and he thus speaks of it: "That the skull was found in these old, intact, cemented gravels has been abundantly proved by evidence that can not be gainsaid." And again: "So far as human and geological testimony can at present be relied on, there is no question but that the skull was found under Table Mountain, and is of the Pliocene Age."[1]



Calaveras Skull.

This would seem to be pretty explicit, but, as we have said before, Prof. Whitney, in his formal report as the State geologist of California, reaches the conclusion that the auriferous gravels of the Pacific are all of the Tertiary Age. It is therefore not a little interesting to learn that numerous instances are recorded of the finding of human remains or the works of man in these gravels. Prof. Whitney men-

[1] Cambridge Lecture, 1878.

tions twenty such instances.[1] Mr. Bancroft furnishes us a list of such discoveries, giving as his authority Mr. C. D. Voy, of the California Geological Survey, of Oakland, California. He states that Mr. Voy personally visited most of the localities where the discoveries were made, and took all possible pains to verify their authenticity, and in many cases obtaining sworn statements from the parties who made them.[2]

Two stone mortars and spear-heads, six and eight inches long, were found in the gravel under Table Mountain, just mentioned. These relics were found about three hundred feet from the surface. A hundred feet and more of this depth was of solid lava. At another place a stone bead was found three hundred feet from the mouth of the tunnel, under a thick layer of lava. Many other instances might be given of such discoveries, not always under lava coverings, but always in such instances that we are compelled to assign to them an immense antiquity. As, for instance, at San Andreas, according to a sworn statement in Mr. Voy's possession, large stone mortars were taken from a layer of cemented gravel, overlain by one hundred and twenty-five feet of volcanic and gravel materials. Many similar instances are on record, but enough have been mentioned to serve the purpose of the chapter.[3]

As we have briefly gone over the ground on which the antiquity of man in America is, by some, referred to the Pliocene Age, it is but fair to notice some of the objections that have been raised. It is not necessary to point out that the only questions worthy to be considered are of a scientific nature.

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[1] Cambridge Lecture," 1878. [2] "Native Races," Vol. IV, p. 698.

[3] In general, all about Sonora, in the auriferous gravels, are found bones of extinct animals, and, associated with them, many relics of the works of human hands. These are found at various depths down to one hundred feet. (Whitney's "Auriferous Gravels," p. 263.)

We must deny either the age of the gravels themselves or that the objects of human handiwork were found as claimed, or else that they are of the same age as the gravels. Prof. LeConte thinks, from the nature of the gravels and the peculiar circumstances which surround them, that they are not older than the close of the Pliocene Age. He thinks they, in fact, belong to the transitory period between that age and the Quaternary.[1] But as we are considering the question of Pliocene man, it makes but little difference if the gravels do belong to the very close of that period. They may still be called Pliocene.

One great trouble with those remains is that they were not discovered by professed geologists. We have to depend upon the statements of miners. But if their statements can be believed (and why should they not?), there is no doubt about their genuineness. The testimony, as Mr. Whitney says, "all points in one direction, and there has never been any attempt made to pass off on any member of the survey any thing out of keeping, or—so to speak—out of harmony with what has been already found, or might be expected to be found. It has always been the same kind of implements which have been exhibited to us, namely, the coarsest and the least finished, which one would suppose could be made, and still be implements at all."[2] This result would hardly be possible, where so many parties are concerned in furnishing the evidence, if the objects were not genuine.[3]

In opposition to this conclusion it has been urged that the stone mortars, pestles, etc., have become imbedded in the gravel by the action of streams, or slips from the

[1] *American Journal of Science*, Vol. XIX, p. 176, 1880.

[2] "Auriferous Gravels," p. 279.

[3] Wright's "Studies in Science and Religion," p. 289.

mountain side in modern times, or are the results of interments or mining operations.[1] As an illustration of how they might become buried by the action of streams, reference is made to somewhat similar discoveries in the tin-bearing streams of Cornwall (Wales). We know with considerable certainty that at a very early date the Phœnicians worked in the gravels of these streams for tin ores. Implements made use of by them and others—such, for instance, as shovels, mortars, pick-axes, stone bowls, and various dishes—have been found at all depths in this gravel, by more modern miners.[2]

This may explain the presence, in some instances, of similar remains in California, but it utterly fails to do so, where the remains have been buried underneath a lava flow or a bed of volcanic materials, as is the case in many of the instances we have cited. Manifestly no water has disturbed their strata since the volcanic materials were laid down. Neither can we think of a land-slide carrying these remains into the heart of a mountain, or burying them underneath a hundred feet of lava. The peculiar position in which they were often found is surely lost sight of by those who think they might have been placed there by interment. We can not think of a savage people digging a grave in such a position.

It has been urged with considerable force that these relics have been left behind by ancient miners when they mined for gold. Dr. Wilson is cited as authority for the statement that the Mexicans obtained "silver, lead, and tin from the mines of Tasco, and copper was wrought in the mountains of Zacotollan by means of galleries and shafts, opened with persevering toil where the metallic veins were imbed-

[1] Dawkins, in Southall's "Pliocene Man," p. 18.
[2] Southall's "Pliocene Man," p. 19.

ded in the solid rock." Prescott, the historian, also testifies to the same fact.

We need only add to this, that wherever these ancient galleries were opened in the solid rock, they still exist. Schoolcraft mentions finding one two hundred and ten feet deep.[1] The chances are not worth considering, that these old mines would be overlooked. If, for instance, the Calaveras skull is that of a prehistoric miner, killed in an old mining gallery only a thousand years or so ago, it is inconceivable that all evidence of this mine should have disappeared. Or, if in one case it should have done so, it would surely have been detected in other instances. The variety and explicitness of the testimony brought forward makes all such supposition improbable.[2]

It is best, in this matter, to hold the judgment in suspense. We have stated Mr. Whitney's position, and the objections that have been raised to it. The amount of thought bestowed on the antiquity of man will doubtless soon clear up the whole matter. We can not do better than to consider his surroundings, supposing that he was really present. The country must have been very different from the California of to-day. Dr. Cooper says, "The country consisted of peninsulas and islands, like those of the present East Indies; resembling them also in climate and productions."[3] The probabilities are that to the west and southwest of California, instead of watery expanse of the Pacific, only

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[1] Schoolcraft's "Archæology," Vol. I, p. 105.

[2] As bearing on the question of Pliocene man, we might refer to the impression of human (?) foot-prints in the sand-stone quarry of the State prison at Nevada. At one time this area was the bottom of a lake, and we can plainly see the tracks of various animals that came down to drink. A huge mammoth visited the place; so also did horses and other animals. Among these is one series of tracks evidently made by a biped. Some think they are the sandaled foot of a human being. This question is still under discussion.

[3] "Geographical Survey West of the 100th Meridian," Vol. VII, p. 11.

broken here and there by an ever-verdant islet, there was either a continental expanse of land or, at any rate, a vast archipelago. We know that over a large part of the Northern Pacific area the land has sunk not less than six thousand feet since late Tertiary times.[1]

We are certain the ocean area must have presented a vastly different aspect before that depression commenced. It is not unreasonable to suppose that communication between North America and Asia was much easier than in subsequent epochs. It might have been an easy matter for man to pass back and forth without losing sight of land. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that if Pliocene man was in existence, he would have occupied both sides of the Pacific at this early time.[2] These last conclusions are very important ones to reach, and as there is reasonable foundation for them, we must bear them in mind in the subsequent pages.

It will be remembered that the races of men who inhabited Europe in the Paleolithic Age had only very rudely formed, unpolished implements. It is not until we arrive at the Neolithic stage of culture that we meet with specimens of polished stone implements. To judge from the specimens of early Californian art, the beautifully polished pestles, beads, plummets or sinkers, spear-heads, etc., Pliocene man in California must have been in the Neolithic stage of culture. Though they were not acquainted with the potter's art, yet from their skill in working vessels of stone, they had undoubtedly passed entirely through Savagism, and had entered the confines of Barbarism,[3] as far advanced, in fact, as many of the Indian tribes the Spaniards found in possession of the country.

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[1] Dana's "Manual of Geology," p. 583.

[2] Putnam, in "Geographical Survey West of the 100th Meridian," Vol. VII, p. 11.

[3] Ibid., p. 18.

It must be confessed, this seems very singular. It is this statement that causes many to shut their eyes to what would be otherwise at once admitted and refuse to believe the genuineness of the discovery. If the implements brought to light had been of the rude River Drift type—celts but little removed from nodules of flint—scholars would not be so cautious about accepting them. But when we learn they are Neolithic, we at once see why they hesitate, and ask for more conclusive proofs; yet this is no reason to disregard the discoveries. They may be a great surprise, they may be an unwelcome discovery to the holder of some theories, yet the only question is, whether they are true or not, and if true, theories must be modified to fit the facts. Prof. Putnam thus speaks, in reference to them: "As the archæologist has no right to be governed by any pre-conceived theories, but must take the facts as he finds them, it is impossible for him to do otherwise than accept the deductions of so careful and eminent a geologist as Prof. Whitney, and draw his conclusions accordingly, notwithstanding the fact that this Pliocene man was, to judge by his works in stone and shell, as far advanced as his descendants were at the time of the discovery of California by the Spaniards."[1]

Perhaps a partial explanation of this matter may be found when we consider all the circumstances of the case. The origin of man is generally assigned to some tropical country. Sir John Lubbock thus speaks of it: "Our nearest relatives in the animal kingdom are confined to hot, almost tropical climates; and it is in such countries that we are, perhaps, most likely to find the earliest traces of the human race."[2] This is also the opinion of other eminent scholars. M. Quatrefages thinks that man probably origi-

[1] "Geographical Survey West of the 100th Meridian," Vol. VII, p. 12.
[2] "Prehistoric Times," p. 436.

nated in Asia. He points out, however, that, during Tertiary times, the climate was much milder, and man might have originated in Northern Asia.[1] Now, if it be true that a great mass of land has disappeared beneath the waves of the Pacific, why may we not suppose that, if this sunken land was not the original home of man, it was at a very early time inhabited by him; that here he passed through his experience in savagism?[2] We know how suited the islands of the Pacific are to the needs of a savage people; and we must not lose sight of the probable ease with which they could reach the coast of California—and also of what Dr. Cooper has told us of the climate and geographical surroundings of California at that early time. So it may not be unreasonable to suppose that man reached California long ages before he wandered into Europe, and so reached the Neolithic stage of culture much earlier than he did in other parts of the world.[3]

It might be objected, that if a people in the Neolithic stage of culture lived in California in the Pliocene Age, they ought to have reached a very high stage of culture indeed when the Spaniards invaded the country. This is what we would expect had they been left to develop themselves. The great geographical changes that took place near the close of the Pliocene would cut off the primitive Californians from the Asiatics. Not only was the land connection—if it indeed existed—now destroyed, but causes were changing the climate. Ice and snow drove from the north life of both animals and plants, and for an entire geological

[1] "Human Species," p. 147.

[2] The researches of Mr. Dall in the Aleutian Islands demonstrate the long-continued occupation of them by a savage people, and a gradual advance of the same in culture—though this apparent advance may have been simply the inroads of more advanced tribes. U. S. Geographical Survey W. of 100th M., p. 12.

[3] Wright's "Studies in Science and Religion," p. 292.

period communications with Asia by way of the north must have been very difficult, if not cut off altogether. Who can tell what changes now came to the Asiatic branch of these people? We are but too familiar with the fact that nations and races sicken and die: many examples could be given. The natives of the Sandwich Islands seem doomed to extinction. In a few centuries, the Indians of America will live only in tradition and song.

Such may have been the fate of the early inhabitants of the Pacific continent: certainly it would not be surprising, if the immense climatic and geographical changes which then took place would produce that result. Or it may be that but a scanty remnant lived on, absorbed by more vigorous, though less highly cultivated stocks of the same people, whose homes had been on the main-land of Asia—and the remnant left along the Pacific coast must have lived on under vastly different circumstance. The interior of North America was largely a dreary expanse of ice and snow down to the 39th parallel of latitude. It is quite true, this great glacier did not reach the Pacific Slope; but it must have exerted a powerful influence on the climate: and the evidence points, that the Sierra Nevada were occupied by local glaciers which reached down into the fertile expanse of the plains.

This was certainly a far different climate, and a far different country, than that which sustained a vegetation of a tropical growth. It may well be that the people should, as a result of their changed conditions, have deteriorated in culture; or, at any rate, their progress toward civilization may have been stopped, and many thousands of years may have passed with no perceptible improvement. It may be objected, that man will improve under any state of existence, give him time enough. This is, doubtless, in the main true.

But a race may early reach its limit of culture; in which case, as a race, it will not improve: we may do much with the individual, but nothing, or but very little, for the race.

In these considerations which have been advanced we may find some reason for the early appearance of Neolithic man, as well as the fact that he advanced no farther in culture. But whether man first arrived in California in Pliocene times or not, he continued to inhabit the land to the present day. He would, however, be exposed to assault after assault from invading tribes. We do not wish to examine the question of the origin of the native Americans. It is held, by the best authorities, that at least a portion of them came from Asia, using the Kurile Islands as a stepping stone. Reaching the main-land of America, and passing down the coast, they would, sooner or later, reach the Valley of the Columbia—which has been characterized as the most extraordinary region on the face of the earth in the variety and amount of subsistence it afforded to tribes destitute of a knowledge of agriculture. At certain seasons of the year the rivers are crowded with fish, and they are then caught with the greatest ease. As a mixture of forest and prairie, the country is an excellent one for game. A species of bread-root grew on the prairies; and, in the Summer, there was a profusion of berries. To these advantages must be added that of a mild and equable climate.[1]

These combined advantages would make this valley one of the centers of population, from whence would issue successive bands of invading people. A portion of these, passing over into California, would come in contact with the descendants of Pliocene man. The result would be, that the primitive inhabitants, unable to escape to the west, would come in contact with wave after wave of invading tribes.

[1] Morgan's "Ancient Society," p. 108, note.

This is not altogether theory. All inquirers into the customs, arts, and languages of the primitive Californians have been struck with the remarkable commingling of the same. We are driven to the conclusion that here has been the meeting ground of many distinct tribes and nations. "From such a mixture, and over-population of the most desirable portions of the country, would naturally result the formation of the hundreds of petty tribes that existed in both Upper and Lower California when first known to the Spaniards."[1]

In view of these facts, it is not strange that no advance in culture is noticeable; and the grounds just mentioned may go far to explain why we catch sight, here and there, of bits of customs, habits, and manners of life which strangely remind us of widely distant people—though it will not explain the presence of words of Malay or Chinese origin which are claimed to exist.[2] What is known as the Eskimo trace is quite marked in the physical characters and in the arts of the Californians.[3] It is, probably, the continuance of the type of the primitive American race.

It would naturally be interesting to know whether any date can be given for the Pliocene Age, and so give us some ideas as to the antiquity of man, if he were really here during that epoch. This, however, is one of the most difficult questions to answer, and in the present state of our knowledge incapable of solution. Approximations have, of course, been made, and, as might be expected, vary greatly in results. When it was acknowledged on all hands that on geological grounds the age of the earth was certainly very great, many times the few thousand years hitherto relied on, it is not strange that popular thought swung to

[1] "Geographical Survey West of the 100th Meridian," Vol. VII, p. 3.
[2] Bancroft's "Native Races," Vol. III, pp. 646, 647.
[3] "U. S. Geographical Survey West of the 100th Meridian," Vol. VII, p. 12.

the other extreme, and hundreds of millions of years were thought necessary to explain the series of changes which the geologists unfolded. This demand for a greatly extended time was strengthened when the law of the gradual evolution of life was expounded by the modern school of naturalists, and as great a lapse of time as five hundred millions of years was not deemed an extravagant estimate. Sir William Thompson has, however, demonstrated that the time that has elapsed since the crust of the earth became solidified can not be far from one hundred millions of years, and consequently we know the time since the appearance of life must be greatly less than that number of years.

Attempts have been made to estimate the length of time required to form the sedimentary crust of the earth. The results are so divergent on this point that it is best not to adopt any standard at present. Our views on this matter are also dependent on the time that has elapsed since the close of the Glacial Age, which, as we have seen, is not yet a settled point. If it be true that the islands of the Pacific commenced to sink during late Tertiary times, then we have a measure of that time in the growth of coral, which has required at least four hundred thousand years to form reefs the thickness of some that are known to exist.[1]

But here, again, it seems we are not certain when this depression commenced.[2] In a previous chapter we have gone over the Glacial Age, and have seen when, according to Mr. Croll's theory, it commenced. This was probably not far from the close of the Pliocene Age. We might as well leave the matter here. There are so many elements of uncertainty that it is doubtful if we will ever be able to assign satisfactory dates to the epoch.[3]

[1] Dana's "Man'l of Geology," p. 591. [2] LeConte's "Elements of Geology."
[3] Prof. Winchell, in his last work, "World Life," p. 363, *et seq.*, goes over

In bringing to a conclusion this somewhat extended notice of early man in California we have to admit that much of it is speculative; still it is an endeavor to explain known facts. The main statement is that man lived in California in the Pliocene Age, in the Neolithic stage of culture. Whether the arguments adduced in support of this statement are sufficient to prove its accuracy must be left to the mature judgment of the scientific world. There is no question but that the climate and geography, the fauna and the flora, were then greatly different from those of the present. Starting with these known facts, so strange and fascinating, it need occasion no surprise if the pen of the enthusiastic explorer depict a scene wherein facts and fancy are united.

In this case truth is certainly stranger than fiction, and when, in imagination, we see the great Pacific archipelago emerge from the waves, and, in place of the long swell of the ocean, we picture the pleasing scenes of tropic lands, the strange floral growth of a past geological age, the animal forms which have since disappeared, with man already well advanced in culture: when we recall all this, and picture forth the surprising changes which then took place, the slowly subsiding land, the encroaching waters, and the resultant watery waste, with here and there a coral-girt island, the great volcanic uplift on the main-land, the flaming rivers of molten lava, which come pouring forth, followed by the night of cold, ice, and snow: when we consider these, and the great lapse of time necessary for their accomplishment, how powerless are mere words to set forth the grandeur and

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the entire subject. As might be expected, no decisive results are obtained. He sums up the arguments to show that in this country the close of the Glacial Age is not more than seven thousand years ago (p. 375). The student who reads these pages and then Mr. Geikie's work, "Prehistoric Europe," will be sorely puzzled to know what conclusions to adopt. We can not do better than refer to the chapter on Antiquity Paleolithic Age.

the resistless sweep of nature's laws, and to paint the insignificance and trifling nature of man and his works!

The discoveries in California are not the only instances of the relics of man and his works found under such circumstances that they are relied on by some to prove the great age of man in America. But on account of the rarity of these finds, and the contradictory statements and opinions respecting them, the scientific world has until lately regarded with some distrust the assertion of a great antiquity for man on this continent; but a review of the evidence on this point, and especially of Dr. Abbott's discoveries in New Jersey, must impress on all the conclusion that tribes of men were living here at the close of the Glacial Age, and probably long before that time.

It need occasion no surprise to learn that several of the discoveries of former years, relied on in this connection, have since been shown to be unreliable. They have not been able to stand a careful examination at the hands of later scholars. They were made when European savants were first communicating to the world the results of the explorations of the river gravels and caves of that country. The antiquity of man being amply proven there, may afford some explanation why more discriminating care was not employed. Of this nature were some of the discoveries in the valley of the Mississippi; such, for instance, as the portion of the human skeleton found mingled with the bones of extinct animals a few miles below Natchez, and the deeply buried skeleton at New Orleans, in both of which cases a simple explanation is at hand without the necessity of supposing a great flight of years.

Some of these discoveries yet remain an unsettled point. Such is the discovery of flint arrow-heads in connection with the bones of a mastodon found in Missouri. Dr. Koch,

who made the discovery, draws from the facts of the case such a suggestive picture that we will give his own words. After describing where found, he says: "The greater portion of these bones had been more or less burned by fire. The fire had extended but a few feet beyond the space occupied by the animal before its destruction, and there was more than sufficient evidence that the fire had not been an accidental one, but, on the contrary, that it had been kindled by human agency, and, according to all appearance, with the design of killing the huge creature which had been found mired in the mud, and in an entirely helpless condition. All the bones which had not been burned by the fire had kept their original position, standing upright and apparently quite undisturbed in the clay, whereas those portions which had been extended above the surface had been partially consumed by the fire, and the surface of the clay was covered, as far as fire had extended, by a layer of wood ashes, mingled with larger or smaller pieces of charred wood and burnt bones, together with bones belonging to the spine, ribs, and other parts of the body, which had been more or less injured by the fire. It seemed that the burning of the victim and the hurling of rocks at it had not satisfied the destroyers, for I found also, among the ashes, bones, and rocks, several arrow-heads, a stone spear-head, and some stone axes."

Such is Dr. Koch's very interesting statement of this find. "It was received by the scientific world," says Foster, "with a sneer of contempt," and, it seems to us, for very insufficient reasons. It is admitted that his knowledge of geology was not as accurate as it should have been. He made some mistakes of this nature, which have been clearly shown.[1] Still, he is known to have been a diligent collector, and we are told "no one who knew him will question but

[1] Dana's *Am. Journal of Science*, May, 1875.

that he was a competent observer."[1] It seems to us useless to deny the truth of his statements. There is, however, nothing to necessitate us believing in an immense age for these remains. This is not to be considered a point against them, for there is no reason for supposing that the mastodon may not have lingered on to comparatively recent times, and that comparatively recent men may not have intercepted and destroyed helpless individuals. Indeed, we are told there are traditions still extant among the Indians of these monsters.[2]

We have other facts showing that, in this country as in Europe, man was certainly living not far from the time when the land was covered with the ice of the Glacial Age, whatever may be true of still earlier periods. We are told that, when the time came for the final breaking up of the great glaciers, and while they still lingered at the head waters of the Platte, the Missouri, and the Yellowstone rivers, a mighty lake—or, rather, a succession of lakes—occupied the greater portion of the Missouri Valley. The rivers flowing into them were of great size,[3] and heavily freighted with sediment, which was deposited in the still waters of the lakes, and thus was formed the rich loess deposits of Nebraska.

From several places in this loess have been taken rude stone arrows, buried at such depths and under such circumstances, that we must conclude they were deposited there when the loess was forming. But this requires us to carry them back to a time when elephants and mastodons roamed over the land, for bones of these huge creatures[4] are quite

[1] Foster's "Prehistoric Races," p. 62.

[2] See Lockwood, in *Popular Science Monthly* for 1883, for account of beaver dam built on a mastodon skeleton and evidence of contemporaneity of Indians and mastodons.

[3] "The Missouri was a stream thirty miles wide." [4] "Hayden," p. 255.

frequently found. This arrow-point—or, it may be, spear-head—was found twenty feet from the surface; and almost directly above it, and distant only thirteen inches, was a vertebra of an elephant. "It appears, then, that some old races lived around the shores of this lake, and, paddling over it, accidentally dropped their arrows, or let them fly at a passing water-fowl;" and, from the near presence of the elephant's bone, it is shown that "man here, as well as in Europe, was the cotemporary of the elephant, in at least a portion of the Missouri Valley.[1]

Implement found in Loess.

Other examples are on record. In Greene County, Illinois, parties digging a well found, at the depth of seventy-two feet, a stone hatchet. Mr. McAdams carefully examined the well, to see if it could have dropped from near the surface. He tells us the well was dug through loess deposits; and from the top down was as smooth, and almost as hard, as a cemented cistern.[2] The loess was, as in Nebraska, deposited in the still waters of the lake which once occupied the Valley of the Illinois.[3] And we need not doubt but that it dates from the breaking up of the glacial ice. The position of this hatchet, then, found at the very bottom of the loess deposits, shows that, while yet the glaciers lingered in the north, and the flooded rivers spread out in great lakes, some tribes of stone-using folks hunted along the banks of the lakes, whose bottoms were to form the rich prairies of the West.

Previous to this discovery, Mr. Foster had recorded the

[1] For the facts on which this paragraph rests, see Report of Samuel Aughey, Ph. D., in "U. S. Survey of the Territories, for 1874," p. 243, *et seq.*

[2] "American Assoc. Rep.," 1880, p. 720.

[3] "Illinois Geological Reports," Vol. III, p. 123.

finding, in this same formation, distant but a few miles, a rude hatchet. There was in this case a possibility that the stone could have been shaped by natural means, and so he did not affirm this to be a work of man; but he says, "had it been recovered from a plowed field, I should have unhesitatingly said it was an Indian's hatchet."[1] We think it but another instance of relics found under such circumstances, that it points to the presence of man at the close of the Glacial Age.

No doubt many similar discoveries have been made, but the specimens were regarded as the work of Indians; and though the position in which they were found may have excited some surprise, they were not brought to the attention of the scholars. Nor is it only in the prairie regions of the West where such discoveries have been made. Col. C. C. Jones has recorded the finding of some flint implements in the drift of the Chattahoochee River, which we think as conclusively proves the presence of man in a far away time as do any of the discoveries in the river gravels of Europe. It seems that gold exists in the sands of this river, and the early setlers were quick to take advantage of it. They dug canals in places to turn the river from its present channel—and others, to reach some buried channel of former times. These sections passed down to the hard slate rock, passing through the surface, and the underlying drift, composed of sand, gravel, and bowlders. "During one of these excavations, at a depth of nine feet below the surface, commingled with the gravels and bowlders of the drift, and just above the rocky substratum upon which the deposit rested, were found three [Paleolithic] flint implements."[2]

He adds that, "in materials, manners of construction, and

[1] "Prehistoric Races," p. 69.

[2] Jones's "Antiquities of the Southern Indians," p. 293.

in general appearance, so nearly do they resemble some of the rough, so-called flint hatchets, belonging to the drift type, as described by M. Boucher De Perthes, that they might very readily be mistaken, the one for the other." "They are as emphatically drift implements, as any that have appeared in the diluvial matrix of France." On the surface soil, above the flints, are found the ordinary relics of the Indians. The works of the Mound Builders are also to be seen. Judging from their position, the Paleolithics must be greatly older than any of the surface remains. Many centuries must go by to account for the formation of the vegetable soil above them

Speculating on their age, Mr. Jones eloquently says, "If we are ignorant of the time when the Chattahooche first sought a highway to the Gulf; if we know not the age of the artificial tumuli which still grace its banks; if we are uncertain when the red Nomads who, in fear and wonder, carried the burdens of the adventurous DeSoto, as he conducted his followers through primeval forests, and, by the sides of their softly mingling streams, first became dwellers here, how shall we answer the question as to the age in which these rude drift implements were fashioned and used by these primitive people?"[1]

The examples we have quoted, even though the case of California be not considered, are all suggestive of a great antiquity for man, taking us back in time to when the glaciers still "shone in frigid splendor" over the northern part of the United States. When European savants had established the science of Archæology, and shown the existence of separate stages of culture, it was but natural that those interested in the matter on this side of the Atlantic should turn with renewed energy to investigate the archæology of this coun-

[1] Jones's "Antiquities of the Southern Indians," p. 295.

try, to see if here, too, they could find evidence of a Paleolithic Age. But the scholar in this country is confronted with a peculiar difficulty. Owing to the very multiplicity and variety of relics of prehistoric times, it is difficult to properly classify and understand them. The field is of great extent, the time of study has been short, and the explorers few; so it is not strange that but few localities have been thorougly searched. But, until this is done, we can not hope to reach definite conclusions.

The peculiar culture of the Indians, prevailing among them at the time of the discovery, proved a hinderance, rather than a help, in this matter. The Indians are certainly not Paleolithic, many of their implements being finely wrought and polished; but their arrow-heads, hatchets, and celts were sufficiently rude to spread the conviction that all weapons and implements of stone should be referred to them. This belief has done much to hinder real progress. It is not to be wondered at that some difference of opinion has prevailed, among our scholars, whether the different stages of culture, discovered in Europe, have any existence here.

On one hand, it is denied that different stages can be detected. Says Prof. Whitney: "It is evident that there has been no unfolding of the intellectual faculties of the human race on this continent similar to that which has taken place in Central Europe. We can recognize no Paleolithic, Neolithic, Bronze, or Iron Ages."[1] Others assure us, that if present, the ages stand in reverse order. "The relics last used were by far the rudest, and the historic races, which are the survivors of the prehistoric, are the wildest of the two; the lower status remaining, while the higher has passed away."[2] In still another place we read: "The Neolithic and

[1] Quoted by Abbott's "Primitive Industry," p. 3.

[2] Peet's "Archæology of Europe and America," p. 11.

Bronze Ages preceded the Paleolithic, at least in the Mississippi basin."[1]

Notwithstanding these quotations, we think it will yet be shown that in this country, as in Europe, there was a true Paleolithic Age, and that there was no such inversion as is here spoken of. In some places sedentary tribes may have been driven away and their territory occupied by more warlike, but less highly cultivated tribes. But take the whole Indian race, and they were steadily advancing through the Neolithic stage of culture. They were acquainted with copper, and were drawing near to the discovery of bronze and metals, and, indeed, the discovery had been made of bronze in the far south. But lying back of the true Indian Age, long preceding it in time, to which probably belong the relics mentioned in the preceding discoveries, is a true Paleolithic Age.

We are indebted for the facts on which the above conclusion rests more to the writings of Dr. C. C. Abbott, of Trenton, New Jersey, than any other individual, and his results are based on an extensive study of the relics themselves and the position in which found. In a collection of stone implements of this country arranged in a cabinet, we find rude and unpolished specimens, as well as those of a finely wrought Neolithic type. Now the Indians, when first discovered, frequently made use of very rudely formed implements, and from a knowledge of this fact, it came about that but little attention was paid to the position in which the relics were discovered. They were all classified as Indian relics. But the greatest and most valuable discoveries in science have occurred as a result of the attention paid to little things; in this case by carefully scrutinizing the position in which they occurred.

[1] Short's "North Americans of Antiquity," p. 27.

Dr. Abbott commenced by gathering a very extensive collection, carefully searching his section of country and gathering all specimens of artificially shaped stones. These must have existed there in considerable quantities, as, in three years' time, he collected over nine thousand specimens,[1] carefully examining them as they came from the soil.[2] As a result of this extensive and careful research, he is able to present us some general conclusions. The surface specimens, including in this classification also those specimens turned up by the plow,[3] are characteristically Indian. The material is jasper and quartz, and they are generally carefully made. They used other varieties of stone as well. Like the Neolithic people of Europe, they sought the best varieties of stone for their purpose. But his collection also included rude Paleolithic forms, and he found by taking the history of each specimen separately, that just in proportion as the relics were rude in manufacture and primitive in type the deeper were they buried in the soil.[4] Writing in 1875, he says: "We have never met a jasper (flint) arrow-head in or below an undisturbed stratum of sand or gravel, and we have seldom met with a rude implement of the general character of European drift implements on the surface of the ground.[5]

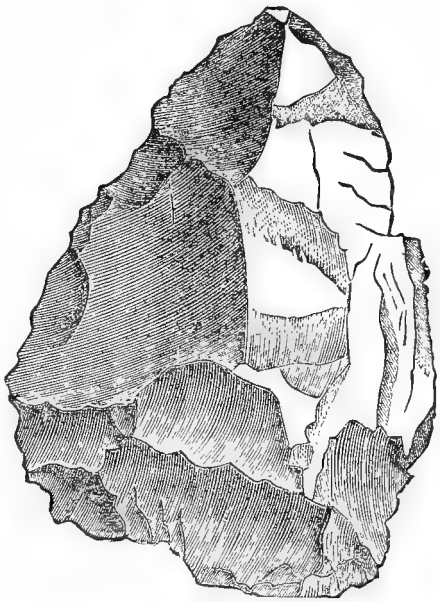
These are not theoretical opinions, but are deductions drawn from a very extensive experience. From figured specimens of these rudest formed implements, we see they are veritable Paleolithic forms, resembling in a remarkable manner the rude implements of the old world, whether collected in France or in India. We learned that the Paleo-

[1] Up to the present time (1884) Dr. Abbott has collected over 20,000 specimens of stone implements, and all his more recent "finds" but confirm the opinion he expressed as to their significance ten years ago. His collection is at the Peabody Museum of Archæology, at Cambridge, Mass. (See last Peabody Report.)

[2] "Nature," Vol. XI, p. 215. [3] Ibid. [4] "Nature," Vol. XI, p. 215.

[5] Ibid.

lithic people of Europe utilized the easiest attainable stone for their implements. They contented themselves with such pieces of flint as they could gather in their immediate vicinity. The easiest attainable rock in the valley of the Delaware is not flint, but argillite, and such is the material of which the Paleolithic implements are formed. Thus it is shown that the first appearance of a stone-using folk in the valley of the Delaware was in the Paleolithic stage of their culture. Judging from the depths of their buried implements, this long preceded the Neolithic stage.



Spear-shaped Paleolithic Implement.

These conclusions have been sustained in a very marked manner by late discoveries in the valley of the Delaware, to which we will now refer. After reaching the conclusion that the relics of the Stone Age in New Jersey clearly pointed to a Paleolithic beginning, when argillite, the most easily attainable stone, was utilized in the manufacture of weapons and implements, Dr. Abbott made the further discovery that in the ancient gravels of the Delaware River Paleolithic implements only were to be found. We must remember that it was in the gravels of European rivers that the first discoveries were made which have since resulted in so wonderfully extending our knowledge of the past of man.

The city of Trenton, New Jersey, is built on a gravel

terrace whose surface is between forty and fifty feet above the flood plain of the Delaware. We are told that this gravel is clearly a river deposit, and must have been laid down by the Delaware at some former time in its history. It is in this gravel deposit that quite a large number of Paleolithic implements have been found.

This cut is a representation of one of them, found under such circumstances that there can be no question about its antiquity. We are told it was taken from the face of the bluff fronting the river. Owing to heavy rains, a large section off of the front of the bluff became detached just the day before this specimen was discovered. It was found in the fresh surface thus exposed, twenty-one feet from the surface, almost at the bottom of the gravel. Immediately above it, and in contact with it, was a bowlder estimated to weigh over one hundred pounds. Immediately above this last was a second and much larger bowlder. It is manifest the implements could never have gotten in the place found after the gravel had been deposited.[1]

Paleolithic Implement.
Argillite.

This is only one of the many examples that could be given. But it is to be noticed that implements of the Neolithic type do not occur in the gravel, except on the surface. Dr. Abbott is not the only one who has found those implements. Many of our best American scholars have visited the locality and secured specimens, amongst others, Prof.

[1] "Primitive Industry," Abbott, p. 506.

Boyd Dawkins, of England, who is so familiar with this class of relics in Europe. We may consider it proven, then, that in this country there was also a Paleolithic Age. Our present information in regard to it is only a beginning.

Since this interesting discovery was made in New Jersey we have received news of similar discoveries in Minnesota. A lady, Miss Frank Babbitt, has found in the modified drift of the Mississippi River, at Little Falls, Minnesota, evidence of the existence of Paleolithic man. The implements are made of quartz, and not argillite, but closely resemble implements made of this later material as described by Dr. Abbott. It is, to say the least, an interesting coincidence that one of a very few flint implements found in the Trenton gravel by Dr. Abbott should be identical in shape with some of the flint implements in Minnesota.[1]

This point being determined, others at once spring up asking solution. Among the very first is the question of age. The river terrace on which Trenton is built is a geological formation, and if we can determine its age we shall also determine at least one point in the antiquity of man, for we know the implements are as old as the gravels. It is not necessary for our purpose to give more than the results of the careful labors of others in this direction. We may be sure that this question has been carefully studied. When the implements were first discovered, the gravels were considered of glacial origin, and to that period they were assigned by Dr. Abbott. Subsequently Prof. Lewis, a member of the Pennsylvania State survey, decided that they were essentially post-glacial—that is, more recent in time than the Glacial Age.[2] Still more recently Prof. Wright, of Oberlin, but also of the State survey of Pennsylvania, con-

[1] Seventeenth Report Peabody Museum, p. 354 and note.
[2] "Primitive Industry," p. 551.

cludes that they are, after all, a deposit made at the very close of the Glacial Age.[1]

He thinks the sequence of events were about as follows: When the ice of the Glacial Age reached its greatest development, and came to a pause in its southward march, it extended in an unbroken wall across the northern part of New Jersey, crossing the Delaware about sixty-five miles above Trenton. In front of it was accumulated the great terminal morain—a long range of gravelly hills still marking its former presence.

It is certain that the close of the Glacial Age was comparatively sudden, and marked by floods far exceeding any thing we are acquainted with at the present day. For, when the formation of the ice ceased, we must bear in mind that the country to the north of the terminal morain was covered with a great glacier, in some places exceeding a mile in thickness. When glacial conditions were passing away, and the ice commenced to melt faster than it was produced, the thaw would naturally go on over the entire field at an increasing rate, and hence would result floods in all the rivers.

He considers the gravels in question to have been deposited near the close of this flooded period, when the land stood at about its present level and the glaciers had retreated perhaps to the Catskill Mountains. The rivers were still swollen and would be heavily charged with coarse gravel brought from the morains and lying exposed on the surface of the ground vacated by the glaciers.[2]

Probably but few geologists will take exceptions to these views. Thus we have very satisfactory reasons for connecting these Paleolithic people with the close of the Glacial Age—a conclusion to which the scattering discoveries men-

[1] "Studies in Science and Religion," p. 324. [2] Ibid., p. 324.

tioned in the preceding pages also points. But as regards Dr. Abbott's discoveries, they are on such a scale, and vouched for by so many eminent observers, that we need no longer hesitate to accept them, or complain of the scattering nature of the finds.

But we might inquire whether this is the earliest period to which the presence of man can be ascribed in this country? Excepting, of course, California, we do not know of any well established fact on which to base a greater antiquity for man. However, this subject is very far from being as closely studied as in Europe. Believing that in Europe man was living before the Glacial Age, and that in all probability he was living in California at the same early time, we would naturally expect to find some evidence of his presence in the Mississippi Basin and along the Atlantic seaboard. But no explorer has yet been fortunate enough to make such discoveries.[1]

It is scarcely necessary to point out that we have only the relative age of these gravel deposits. We have not yet arrived at an answer in years. This we are not able to do. As we have several times remarked, our American scholars, as a rule, do not think many thousands of years have elapsed since the Glacial Age, and yet they are not all agreed on that point. From the depths in the gravel and loess deposits that the stone relics are found, we may suppose that man was present during the entire series of years their formation represents. Prof. Aughey, to whose discoverias in loess deposits in Nebraska we have referred, estimates the length of time necessary to produce those de-

[1] We believe that similar results will attend the careful exploration in other sections. As bearing on this subject, it is interesting to know that Paleolithic implements are reported from one locality in Mexico. Our information in regard to them is very slight. (Brit. Assoc. Reports, 1881; Pres. Address, Count De Saporte, *Popular Science Monthly*, Sept., 1883.)

posits as between nineteen and twenty thousand years, and this he considers a low estimate. So we see that, at any rate, the date of man's first appearance in America was certainly very far in the past.

In forming a mental picture of the conditions of life at that early time, it is not necessary to imagine a dreary scene of Arctic sterility. This is not true of the time when the Glacial Age was at its greatest severity. But at the time we are now considering, the glaciers had retreated over a large part of the country, though they still lingered in northern and mountainous regions. Great lakes and majestic rivers were the features of the country. The St. Lawrence was still choked with ice, and the great lakes must have discharged their waters southward.[1] The Mississippi, gathering in one mighty stream the drainage of the Central Basin, sped onward to the Gulf, doubtless many times larger than its present representative. The animals then living included several species that have since become extinct. Mastodons and elephants must have been numerous, as their remains are frequently found in loess deposits.[2] They have also been found in the gravels of New Jersey, in connection with the rude implements already mentioned. Probably keeping close to the retreating glaciers were such animals as the moose, reindeer, and musk-ox, while the walrus disported itself in the waters off the coast. At any rate those animals now only found in high northern latitudes were living during Glacial times as far south as Kentucky and New Jersey.[3]

A good deal of interest is connected with the finding of one mastodon's tooth. It was found in the gravel deposit,

[1] Dana's "Manual of Geology," p. 540.
[2] "Geographical and Geological Survey," 1874, p. 254.
[3] Abbott's "Primitive Industry," p. 483.

about fourteen feet beneath the surface. It must have been washed to the position where found when the great floods from the melting glacier, with their burden of sand and gravel, were rolling down the valley. We can either conclude that the climate was such as to permit the existence of such animals, or that the animal to which it belonged lived in some far away pre-glacial time. But our interest suddenly increases when we learn that, but a few feet away, under exactly similar circumstances, was found the wisdom tooth of a human being. It, too, was rolled, scratched, and polished, and had evidently been swept along by the tumultuous flood. "The same agency that brought the one from the Upper Valley of the Delaware brought the other, and, after long years, they come again to light, and jointly testify that, in that undetermined long ago, the creatures to which they respectively belonged were living together in the valley of the river."[1]

We must now consider the question of race. Who were the men that fashioned the implements? Were they Indians? or were they a different people? As far as we know the Indians, they were Neolithic. Their implements and weapons are often polished, pecked, and finely wrought; and, as before remarked, they employed the best kind of stone for their purpose. Dr. Abbott, who speaks from a very extensive personal experience, tells us, that it is not practical to trace any connection between the well-known Indian forms and the Paleolithic implements of the river gravels: "The wide gap that exists between a full series of each of the two forms is readily recognized when the two are brought together."[2] Besides this difference in form, there is also a difference in material. The ruder forms not being of

[1] Abbott: "Proceedings of the Boston Society of Natural History," Vol. XXII, p. 102. [2] "Primitive Industry," p. 512.

jasper and allied minerals, but are almost exclusively of argillite.[1] In addition to the foregoing, we must consider the different positions they occupy—the former being found only on or near the surface, the latter deeply buried within. These different reasons all point to the same conclusion: that is, that the Indians were preceded in this country by some other people, who manufactured the Paleolithic specimens recently discovered.

In Europe, Prof. Dawkins, as we have seen, maintains that the Cave-men were the predecessors of the Eskimos. This may serve us as a point of departure in the inquiry as to who the pre-Indian people were? It is manifest, however, that we must have some ground on which to base this theory. The Eskimo seem to belong to the Arctic region, as naturally as the white bear and the walrus. At the early time we are considering in America, glaciers had not retreated very far. So his climatic surroundings must have been much the same as at present. But the Eskimo may not live where he does now by choice: we may behold in him a people driven from a fairer heritage, who found the ice-fields of the North more endurable than the savage enemy who envied him his possession. It seems very reasonable to suppose that the Eskimos long inhabited this country before the arrival of the Indians, if it was not, in fact, their original home.

Mention has been made of the Eskimo traits still to be observed among the tribes of California. Prof. Putnam thinks that this fact can best be explained on the supposition that these tribes came in contact with primitive Eskimo people.[2] Dr. Rink, from investigation of the language and traditions of the different Eskimo tribes, thinks they are of

[1] "Primitive Industry," p. 512.

[2] "U. S. Survey West of the 100th Meridian," Vol. VII, p. 12.

American origin, and must once have lived much farther south.[1] He says, "The Eskimos appear to have been the last wave of an aboriginal American race, which has spread over the continent from more genial regions—following principally the rivers and water-courses, and continually yielding to the pressure of the tribes behind them until they have at last peopled the sea-coasts."[2] Mr. Dall, in his explorations of the Aleutian Islands, comes to the same conclusion as Dr. Rink. He says his own conclusions are, "that the Eskimos were once inhabitants of the interior of North America—have much the same distribution as the walrus, namely, as far south as New Jersey."[3]

All this tends to prove that the Paleolithic people of New Jersey were ancestors of the Eskimos. This becomes highly probable when we pursue the subject a little farther. Dr. Abbott has shown, from the similarity of implements, position in which found, and so forth, that the Paleolithic people continued to occupy the country down to comparatively recent times, when Indian relics took their place.[4] This is such an important point that we must give his reasons more in detail. Remember that Dr. Abbott speaks from the experience gained by gathering over twenty thousand specimens of stone implements, and paying especial attention to the position in which they were found. The surface soil of that section of New Jersey, where he made his explorations, was formed by the slow decomposition of vegetable and forest growth. In this layer he found great numbers of undoubted Indian implements. The number, however, rapidly decreases the deeper we go in this stratum. This would show that the Indians were late arrivals. Be-

[1] Abbott's "Primitive Industry," p. 520. [2] "Ibid., p. 519.

[3] "U. S. Geographical Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region," Vol. I, p. 102, quoted from "Primitive Industry," p. 519.

[4] *Popular Science Monthly*, Jan., 1883.

low this surface soil is a stratum of sand, overlying the gravelly beds below and passing into the surface soil just mentioned. In this layer were found great numbers of implements inferior to the Indian types found on the surface, but superior to the Paleolithic specimens described. They are not only inferior in finish to the Indian specimens, but are of different material. They are always formed of argillite. It was further noticed that the number of these rapidly decreased in the layer of surface soil, and are but rarely found on the surface.

Now it might be said that these rude forms were fashioned by Indians when in a rude state of culture, and, as they became more advanced, they learned the superior qualities of flint, and so dropped the use of argillite. But it so happens that we have found several places where were veritable manufactories of Indian implements. It is very significant that we never find one where the workman used both flint and argillite. He always used flint alone. Every thing seems to point to the fact, that the tribes who fashioned the argillite implements were different from the Indian tribes who made the flint implements. It is Dr. Abbott's conclusions that the former, the descendants of the Paleolithic tribes, were the Eskimos, who, according to these views, must have inhabited the eastern portion of the United States to comparatively recent times.

In further support of these views, we think we have grounds for asserting that we have veritable historical accounts of the Eskimo people slowly retiring before the aggressions of their Indian foes. It is no longer doubted but that Norsemen, as early as the year 1000, made voyages of discovery along the coast of North America, as far south as Rhode Island: they called the country Vineland. It is true that the Icelandic accounts of these expeditions

contain some foolish and improbable statements; but so do the writings of Cotton Mather, made many years later.

These accounts refer but very briefly to the inhabitants they saw, but enough is given to show that the people were not Indians, but Eskimos. The language used is: "The men were small of stature and fierce, having a bushy head of hair, and very great eyes, and wide cheeks."[1] Their small size is frequently referred to, which would surely not be the case if they were describing the Algonkins that the English colonists found in the same section of country many years later. To the same effect is the assertion that the Eskimos did not reach Greenland until the middle of the fourteenth century.[2] The traditions of the Tuscarawas Indians that place their arrival on the Atlantic coast in the year 1300, also refer to a tribe of people that were at least much like the Eskimos.[3]

Thus we are led, step by step, to the recognition of a Paleolithic Age in America, and finally to the belief that the descendants of these people were Eskimos. We at once notice the coincidence of these results with some of the conclusions of Prof. Dawkins, of England, and it is desirable to trace a little further the points of resemblance and difference between this age in America and in Europe. In this latter country we have seen the Paleolithic Age can be divided into two stages, or epochs, during which different races inhabited the country. The first, or the epoch of the men of the River Drift, long preceded the epoch of the Cave-men. It was those latter tribes only that Mr. Dawkins connects with the Eskimos.

We have not yet found evidence in this country that points to such a division of the Paleolithic Age. We have

[1] DeCosta's "Precolumbian Discovery of America," p. 69.
[2] Winchell's "Preadamites," p. 389.
[3] Brinton's "Myths of the New World," p. 23. Note.

no relics of Cave-men as distinguished from the men of the River Drift. It is true, we are not lacking evidence of the use of caves by various tribes,[1] but there is nothing to show that such use was very ancient, or that the people were properly Paleolithic. We can not say what future discoveries will unfold, but as yet we have only implements of the River Drift type, and these are the men Dr. Abbott considers to be the ancestors of the Eskimos. In this country, then, we have shown the existence of but one race of men in the same stage of culture as the men of the River Drift, but of the same race as the men of the cave. These results may be cited as an argument in favor of those scholars who think that the men of the River Drift and the men of the Cave were in reality the same people.[2]

In Europe there was apparently a long lapse of time between the disappearance of the Paleolithic tribes and the arrival of the Neolithic people, but we have no evidence of such a period in America. The Paleolithic people remained in possession until driven away by the Neolithic ones. All evidence of Paleolithic man in Europe terminated with the Glacial Age, and there is little doubt but what they date from preglacial times. Our present knowledge does not carry us any farther back in this country than the close of Glacial times. If we consider that the Glacial Age in America coincides in time with the same age in Europe, then the last statements would imply that the Paleolithic Age here was later than in Europe; in fact, that Paleolithic man had run his course in Europe before he appeared in America, and some might even go further, and say that he migrated from Europe to America. There are, however, no good grounds for such conclusions. We believe that future discoveries will

[1] Prof. DeHass's "Paper read before Am. Assoc., 1882.

[2] See chapter, "Cave-men," p. 113. Note.

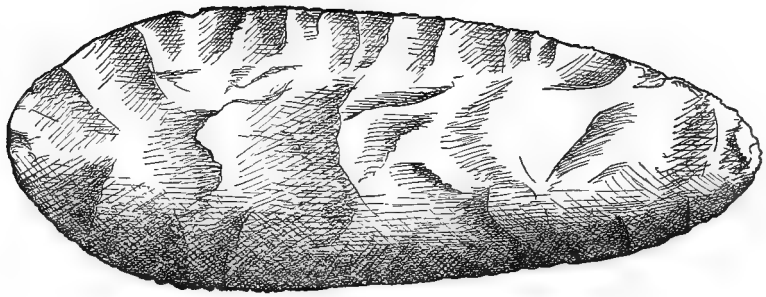
show that in America also Paleolithic man was living in Glacial and preglacial times.[1]

We feel that we have done but scant justice to this subject, but we assure our readers that this question has been but little studied in this country. Referring all relics of stone to the Indians, our scholars have been slow to recognize traces of an earlier race in America. Our sources of information are as yet but few, and much remains to be done in this field. In Europe as in America, scholars are still hard at work on the Paleolithic Age, and we are to hold ourselves in readiness to modify our opinions, or to reject them entirely and adopt new ones as our knowledge increases.

There is one thought that occurs to us. From the combined investigations of both European and American scholars, the Eskimo is seen to be one of the oldest (if not the oldest) races of men now living. They afford a striking illustration of the fact that a race may early reach a limit of culture beyond which, as a race, they can not pass. Should the American discoveries establish the fact that the River Drift tribes are also Eskimos, then we are fairly entitled to consider them the remnant of a people who once held possession of all the globe, but who have been driven to the inhospitable regions of the North by the pressure of later people. What changes have come over the earth since that early time? In the long lapse of years that have gone by newer races, advancing by slow degrees, have at last achieved civilization. The fiat of Omnipotent power could have created the world in a perfected form for the use of man, but instead of so doing, Infinite Wisdom allowed slow-acting causes, working through infinite years, to develop the globe from a nebulous mass. Man could, indeed, have been created a civilized being,

[1] See remarks of Prof. Boyd Dawkins quoted on page 97.

but instead of this, his starting-point was certainly very low. He was granted capacities in virtue of which he has risen. We are not to say what the end shall be, but we think it yet far off.



Stone Implement.

# CHAPTER X.

## THE MOUND BUILDERS.[1]

MEANING of "Mound Builders"—Location of Mound Building tribes—All Mounds not the work of men—Altar Mounds—Objects found on the Altars—Altar Mounds possibly burial Mounds—Burial Mounds—Mounds not the only Cemeteries of these tribes—Terraced Mounds—Cahokia Mound—Historical notice of a group of Mounds—The Etowah group—Signal Mounds—Effigy Mounds—How they represented different animals—Explanation of the Effigy Mounds—Effigy Mounds in other localities—Inclosures of the Scioto Valley—At Newark, Ohio—At Marietta, Ohio—Graded Ways—Fortified Inclosures—Ft. Ancient, Ohio—Inclosures of Northern Ohio—Works of unknown import—Ancient Canals in Missouri—Implements and Weapons of Stone—Their knowledge of Copper—Ancient mining—Ornamental pipes—Their knowledge of pottery—Of Agriculture—Government and Religion—Hard to distinguish them from the Indians.

THE PAST of our race is irradiated here and there by the light of science sufficiently to enable us to form quite vivid conceptions of vanished peoples. As the naturalist, from the inspection of a single bone, is enabled to determine the animal from which it was derived, though there be no longer a living representative, so the archæologist, by the aid of fragmentary remains, is able to tell us of manners and times now long since removed. In the words of another: "The scientist to-day passes up and down the valleys, and among the relics and bones of vanished people, and as he

[1] The manuscript of this chapter was submitted to Prof. F. W. Putnam, curator of the Peabody Museum of Archæology and Ethnology, Harvard University, for criticism.

touches them with the magic wand of scientific induction, these ancient men stand upon their feet, revivified, rehabilitated, and proclaim with solemn voice the story of their nameless tribe or race, the contemporaneous animals, and physical appearance of the earth during those prehistoric ages."

We have already learned that the world is full of mysteries, and though, by the exertion of scholars, we begin to have a clearer idea of some topics, yet our information is after all but vague and shadowy. The amount of positive knowledge in regard to the mysterious tribes of the older Stone Age, or the barbarians of the Neolithic period, or the struggling civilization of the early Metallic Ages, is lament ably deficient. On our Western Continent we have the mysterious remains in the gold-bearing gravels of the Pacific coast, the significance of which is yet in dispute. We have the Paleolithic Age of Europe, represented by the remains found in the gravels of the Delaware at Trenton, New Jersey. When deposited there, and by what people used, is, perhaps, still enshrouded in doubt.

Leaving now the past, expressed by geological terms, or by periods of thousands of years, we draw near to our own tribes, near, at least, comparatively speaking, and behold, here, also, we discern evidence that an ancient culture, as marked as that which built its cities along the fertile watercourses of the Old World, had its seat on the banks of our great rivers; that here flourished in full vigor for an unknown length of time a people whose origin and fate are yet in doubt, though, thanks to the combined efforts of many able men, we begin to have clearer ideas of their social organization. We know them only by reason of their remains, and as these principally are mounds, we call them the "Mound Builders."

[1] Conant's "Footprints of Vanished Races," p. 122.

The name is not a distinguishing one in every sense, since mankind, the world over, have been mound and pyramid builders. The pyramids of Egypt and the mound-dotted surface of Europe and Asia bear testimony to this saying, yet nowhere else in the world are they more plainly divided into classes, or marked with design than here. In some places fortified hills and eminences suggest the citadel of a tribe or people. Again, embankments of earth, mostly circular or square, separate and in combination, generally inclosing one or more mounds, excite our curiosity, but fail to satisfy it. Are these fading embankments the boundaries of sacred inclosures, or the fortification of a camp, or the foundations on which to build communal houses? Here graded ways, there parallel embankments raise questions, but suggest no positive answer. We are equally in doubt as to the purposes for which many of the mounds were built. Some seem to have been used as places of sepulcher, some for religious rites, and others as foundation site of buildings. Some may have been used as signal mounds, from which warning columns of smoke, or flaming fires, gave notice of an enemy's approach.

Before coming to details let us, at a glance, examine the picture as a whole. This country of ours, with its wide plains, its flowing rivers and great lakes, is said by scholars to have been the home of a people well advanced in the arts of barbarian life. What connection, if any, existed between them and the Indians, is yet unsettled. We are certain that many years before the Spanish discovery of America they made their settlements here, developed their religious ideas, and erected their singular monuments. That they were not unacquainted with war, is shown by their numerous fortified inclosures. They possessed the elements of agriculture, and we doubt not were happy and contented in their homes. We

are certain they held possession of the fairer portions of this country for many years.

We must now seek to gather more particular knowledge of them, and of the remains of their industry. We must not forget that these are the antiquities of our own country; that the broken archæological fragments we pick up will, when put together, give us a knowledge of tribes that lived here when civilization was struggling into being in the East. It should be to us far more interesting than the history of the land of the Pharaohs, or of storied Greece. Yet, strange to say, the facts we have just mentioned are unknown to the mass of our people. Accustomed to regard this as the New World, they have turned their attention to Europe and the East when they would learn of prehistoric times. In a general way, we have regarded the Indians as a late arrival from Asia, and cared but little for their early history. It is only recently that we have become convinced of an extended past in the history of this country, and it is only of late that able writers have brought to our attention the wonders of an ancient culture, and shown us the foot-prints of a vanished people

We must first try and locate the territory occupied by the remains of the mound builders. They are not to be found broadcast over the whole country. We recall, in this connection, that the early civilization of the East arose in fertile river valleys. This is found to be everywhere the case, so we are not surprised to learn that the broad and fertile valley of the Mississippi, with its numerous tributaries, was the territory where these mysterious people reared their monuments and developed their barbarian culture. Throughout the greater portion of this area we find numerous evidences of a prolonged occupation of the country. We are amazed at the number and magnitude of the remains. Though this sec-

tion has been under cultivation for many years, and the plow has been remorselessly driven over the ancient embankments, yet enough remain to excite our curiosity and to amply repay investigation.

This portion of the United States seems to have been the home, the seat of the mound building tribes. We can not expect to find one type of remains scattered over this entire section of country. Indeed, to judge from the difference of the remains, they must have been the work of different people or tribes, who were doubtless possessed of different degrees of culture.[1] We will notice in our examination how these remains vary in different sections of the country. But it is noticeable that these remains become scarce and finally disappear as we go north, east, and west from the great valley. Although they are numerous in the Gulf States, yet they are not to be found, except in a few cases, in States bordering on the Atlantic.[2] Some wandering bands, perhaps colonies from the main body of the people, established works on the Wateree River, in South Carolina.[3] In the mountainous regions of North Carolina occur mines of mica, which article was much prized by the mound builders; and here also are to be found traces of their early presence.[4] We do not know of any authentic remains in New England States. In Western New York there exists a class of remains which, though once supposed to be the work of these people, are now generally considered as the remains of works erected by the Indians,[5] and of a similar origin

[1] Force: "Some Considerations on the Mound Builders," p. 64; "Am. Antiquarian," March, 1884, pp. 93–4; "10th Annual Report, Peabody Museum," p. 11.

[2] Short's "North Americans of Antiquity," p. 28.

[3] Squier and Davis's "Ancient Monuments," p. 105.

[4] Foster's "Prehistoric Races," p. 148.

[5] Squier's "Aboriginal Monuments of New York," Smithsonia Contribution No. 11, p. 83.

appears to have been the singular fortification near Lake Winnipiseogee, in New Hampshire.[1]

We have no record of their presence north of the great lakes. Passing now to the western part of the valley, we do not find definite traces of their presence in Texas. On this point, however, some authors state the contrary, apparently basing their views on a class of mounds mentioned by Prof. Forshey.[2] But the very description given of these mounds, and the statements as to the immense number of them,[3] seem to show they are not the work of men.[4] We do not think the West, and especially the North-west, has been carefully enough explored to state where they begin. It is certain that the head waters of the Mississippi and the Missouri were thickly settled with tribes of this people, and some writers think that they spread over the country by way of the Missouri Valley from the North-west. Mr. Bancroft quotes from the writings of Mr. Dean, to show the existence of mounds and inclosures on Vancouver Island, and in British Columbia. And the statement is made that a hundred miles north of Victoria there is a group of mounds ranging from five to fifty yards in circumference, and from a few feet to fifty feet in height.[5]

The inclosures, however, are described as being very similar to those in Western New York, and are probably simply fortified sites, common among rude people the world over, and such as were often erected by Indians. The remains on the upper Missouri and its tributaries are very numerous, and to judge from the brief description given us

[1] Squier's "Aboriginal Monuments of New York," Smithsonia Contribution No. 11, p. 87.

[2] Foster's "Prehistoric Races," p. 121.

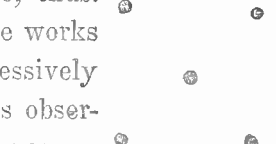
[3] "They are numbered by millions." Ibid.

[4] Prof. Forshey could frame no satisfactory hypothesis of their origin. Ibid, p. 122.

[5] "Native Races," Vol. IV, pp. 739 and 740.

of them, they must be very interesting.[1] This section has, however, been too little explored to speak with confidence of these works.

As showing how much care should be exercised in this matter, we refer to the account given by Capt. Wilkes in his journal of the United States exploring expedition. Speaking of the mounds on the gravelly plains between the Columbia River and Puget Sound, he tells us that the Butte Prairies are covered with small mounds at regular distances asunder. Some of them are thirty feet in diameter, six or seven feet above the level of the ground, and many thousands in number. He opened some of them and found a pavement of round stones, and he thought he could detect an arrangement of the mounds in groups of five, thus. It was his impression that they were the works of men, and had been constructed successively and at intervals of several years.[2] This observation of Capt. Wilkes is referred to by many as evidence of the former existence of Mound Builders in this section.



More careful research in recent times has established the fact that these mounds were certainly not erected by human hands, and no one else has been able to discover the supposed arrangement in groups of five. The pavement of round stones is common to the whole prairie.

But the greatest objection is the number of the mounds. A population larger than could have found a living in the country must have been required to erect them, unless we assume that a great length of time was consumed in this work. Some other explanation must be given for these mounds, as well as for those mysterious ones mentioned by

[1] Smithsonian Rep., 1870, p. 406.

[2] Narrative of U. S. exploring expedition during the year 1838–42, Vol. IV, p. 334.

Prof. Forshey. This cut gives us a fair idea of the scenery of this section and the mounds.[1]

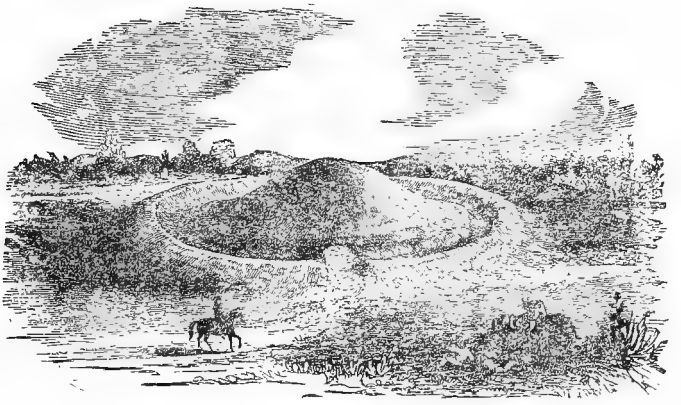
Within the area we have thus defined are located the works of the people we call the Mound Builders. What

Mound Prairie.

we wish to do is to learn all about these vanished people. A great many scholars have written about them, and large collections of the remains of their handiwork have been made. There is, however, a great diversity of opinion respecting the Mound Builders and their culture. So we see we have a difficult subject to treat of. In order to gain a clear understanding of it, we must describe the remains more closely. About all we can learn of these people is from a study of their monuments. We can not call

[1] Prof. Gibbs in Frank Leslie's Monthly, August, 1883.

to our aid history or tradition, or rock-carved inscription, but must resort to crumbling mounds, broken down embankments; study their location, and observe their forms. To the studies in the field we must add those in the cabinet, and examine the many objects found in and above the mounds and earth-works, as well as the skeletons of the builders of the works. Rightly used, we can draw from these sources much valuable information of a people whose council-fires



Mound and Circle.

blazed all along the beautiful valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers in times far removed from us.

We will first speak of the simplest form of these works, the ordinary conical mound. This is the one form found all over the extensive area designated. They exist in great numbers on the banks of the upper Missouri, as well as the river bottoms of the South. This cut represents a very fine specimen of a mound, in this instance surrounded by a circular embankment. We must not forget that mounds are found all over the world. "They are scattered over India, they dot the steppes of Siberia and the vast region north of the Black Sea; they line the shores of the Bosphorus and

the Mediterranean; they are found in old Scandinavia, and are singularly numerous in the British Islands."[1]

The principle in human nature which leads to the erection of mounds is living and active to-day. The shaft which surmounts Bunker Hill is but a modern way of memorizing an event which in earlier ages would have led to the erection of a mound, and the polished monument which marks the resting place of some distinguished man was raised for the same purpose as the mounds heaped over the chiefs and warriors of another age. The feeling which moves us to crown with steeples or spires our houses of worship is evidently akin to that which induced older races to erect a mound on which to place their temples, their idols, and altars of sacrifice.

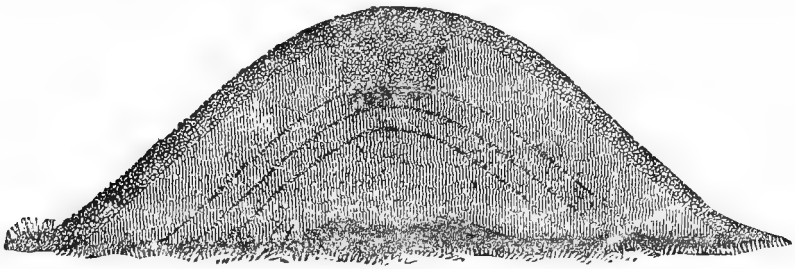
If mounds were the only works remaining of these ancient people, we would not take so great an interest in them, and, as it is, we are not to suppose that all the mounds are the works of those people we call the Mound Builders. Recent investigation and historical evidence unite in showing that some comparatively recent Indian tribes formed and used mound structures. Early explorers have left abundant testimony to show that in many cases the Indians resorted to mound-burial. Thus, it seems that it was the custom of the Iroquois, every eighth or tenth year, or whenever about to abandon a locality, to gather together the bones of their dead and rear over them a mound. To this custom, which was not confined to the Iroquois, are doubtless to be ascribed the barrows and bone mounds which have been found in such numbers in various parts of the country.[2] Although it is well to bear these facts in mind, yet it is not doubted that the larger number, and especially the more massive ones, were erected

[1] "Ancient Monuments," p. 139.

[2] Jones's "Explorations in Tennessee," p. 15.

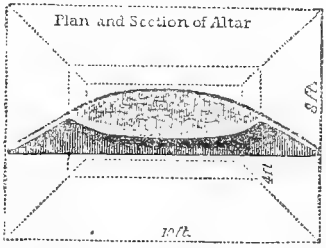
by the same people who built the other mysterious works, and so it is necessary that they be carefully studied.

In the valley of the Ohio there have been found a class of mounds known as Altar Mounds. These, it should be stated, nearly always occur in or near inclosures. This cut gives us a good idea of mounds of this kind. Near the top



Altar Mound.

is seen an instance of what is called "intrusive" burial. After the mound was completed it had been dug into and a body buried near the surface. This burial was evidently later in time, and had no connection with the purpose for which the mound was originally built. We also notice in this mound the different layers of which it was composed. These layers are of gravel, earth, and sand, the latter being only a few inches thick. Mounds made in this manner are called stratified mounds, and all altar mounds are probably of this kind. The lines of stratification have been described as curving so as to correspond with the shape of the mound, and such we are told is the general rule.[1]




The peculiar feature, however, is the altar at the bottom of the mound, directly above the natural surface of the

[1] "Ancient Monuments," p. 143. Explorers for Bureau of Ethnology so report it in the South. Prof. Putnam, who has certainly had great experience, says he has always found the layers to be horizontal.

ground. The small cut gives us a clear idea of the altar, the light lines running around it showing the plan. These altars are almost always composed of clay, though some of stone have been discovered. They are of various shapes and sizes. We notice the dish-shaped depression on the top of the altar. The clay of which they are composed seems to have been moulded into shape directly over the surface of the ground. Sometimes a layer of sand was put down as a foundation. They are nearly always thoroughly burned, the clay being baked hard, sometimes to the depth of fifteen or twenty inches. This must have required intense and long continued heat.

We are at once curious to know the object of this altar. Within the basin-shaped depression are generally found all manner of remains. Sometimes portions of bones, or fragments of wood, arranged in regular order; pieces of pottery vessels, and implements of copper and stone; spear-heads, arrow-heads, and fragments of quartz and crystals of garnet. Pipes are a common find, carved in miniature figures of animals, birds, and reptiles. Two altar-mounds but recently examined near Cincinnati had altars about four feet square that were loaded down with ornaments.

One especially contained quantities of ornaments of stone, copper, mica, shells, the canine-teeth of bears and other animals, and thousands of pearls. They were nearly all perforated, as if for suspension. Several of the copper ornaments were covered with native silver which had been hammered out into thin sheets and folded over the copper. One small copper pendant seems to have been covered with a thin sheet of hammered gold, as a small piece was still clinging to it. This is the first example of finding native gold in the mounds.[1] On this altar were also found masses

[1] "Sixteenth Annual Report Peabody Museum," p. 171. An ornament shaped to resemble the head of a wood-pecker, made of gold, derived from

of meteoric iron, and ornaments of the same material. One piece of mica showed the profile of a face.[1]

In all cases the articles found on the altars show the action of fire. We seem justified, then, in supposing that after the altar was formed, fires were lit on them, and into this fire were thrown the various articles just enumerated. But what was all this for? This will probably never be very clear to us, beyond the fact that it was a religious rite. Portions of the human skeleton have been found on these altars, and it has been suggested that human victims were at times part of the sacrifice; but as it is known that this people practiced cremation, it may be that the altars were sometimes used for that purpose, the remains being afterwards gathered and buried elsewhere.

After the offerings had been flung into the fire, while it was yet glowing on the altar, earth or sand was heaped over them for a few inches, then successive layers of earth and sand, or ashes, clay, or gravel. Sometimes the altars were used several different times, in which case a layer of clay several inches thick was laid over the old altar. In one case three layers had been burned in before the final addition of earth and sand were heaped over it. These strange monuments of a by-gone people hint to us of mysterious rites. We wish we had more positive knowledge of the ceremonies they commemorated; but at present we must rest satisfied with conjecture.

The next class of mounds are known as burial mounds, some of which are stratified, and resemble the so-called altar

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some Spanish source, was found in a mound in Florida. This particular mound must have been erected after the discovery of America. ("Smithsonian Report," 1877, p. 298, *et seq.*)

[1] "Sixteenth and Seventeenth Report Peabody Museum." These ornaments were made of hammered iron. This is the first time that native iron has been found in the mounds. (Putnam.)

mounds. A mound explored in Butler County, Ohio, had in the center a layer of clay an inch thick, which had been burned until it was red. Underneath this was another layer of clay, beneath which was found charcoal, burnt cloth, and charred bones. Mr. Foster thinks that in this mound the body was placed on a rude altar, fires were lit, and that while yet burning, clay was thrown over it all, and that then fires were built all over the mound, sufficient to burn the clay for an inch in thickness.[1] We have also a description of a group of mounds explored near the Mississippi River, in which there were evident signs of cremation. At least in several mounds fires had been built close above the bodies. But in cremation other victims may have been burned to accompany the departed chiefs or warriors. In one mound evidence of such a custom was observed.

In another mound the center was found to be a mass of burned clay interspersed with calcined human bones. No less than ten or fifteen bodies had been burned here. "They must have worshiped some fierce ideal deity, and the ceremony must have been considered of great importance to have required so many victims." This may have been, however, nothing more than simple cremation.[2]

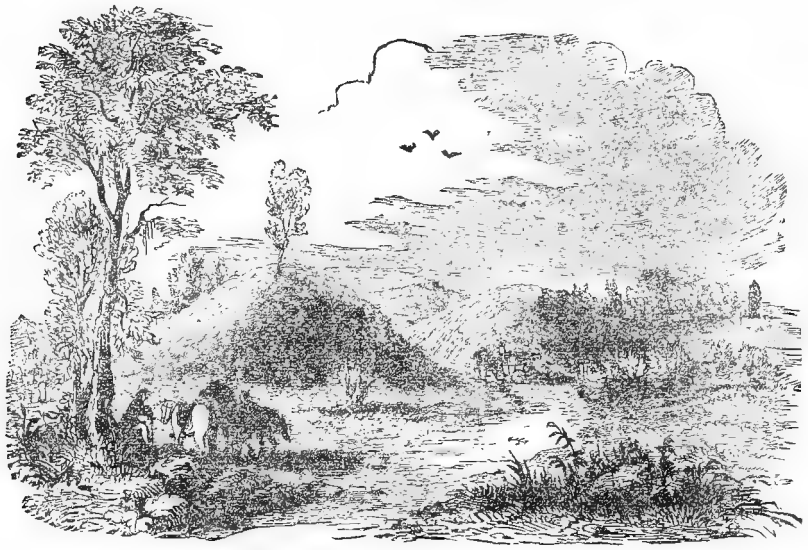
Pidgeon has described mounds in Minnesota, in many respects like the altar mounds. In one case he mentions there was an altar or pavement of stone on the original surface of the ground, a few feet above which was a layer of clay, showing the action of fierce and long-continued fires. We furthermore are told that cremation, especially of chiefs, was more or less common among the Village Indians of North America, that similar usage was observed among many of

[1] "Prehistoric Races," p. 178.

[2] J. E. Stevens's Paper, read before the Muscatine Academy of Science, Dec., 1878.

the tribes of Mexico, and that the Mayas, of Yucatan, burnt the bodies of their lords, and built temples over their remains. So it may be that the altar mounds are but varieties of funeral mounds, the remains of the bodies burned here being buried elsewhere.[1]

The nations that celebrated their mysteries around these mounds have long since departed; the altar fires long since burned low. We are not sure that we understand their



Burial Mounds.

purport, but we are certain they were regarded as of great importance, and we can readily imagine that when the fires were lit on the altars, gathering crowds stood round, and participated in the religious observance, throwing into the fire their most valued ornaments, in this manner paying their last respects to the departed chiefs and great men of their tribe.

The true burial mounds are very numerous, and com-

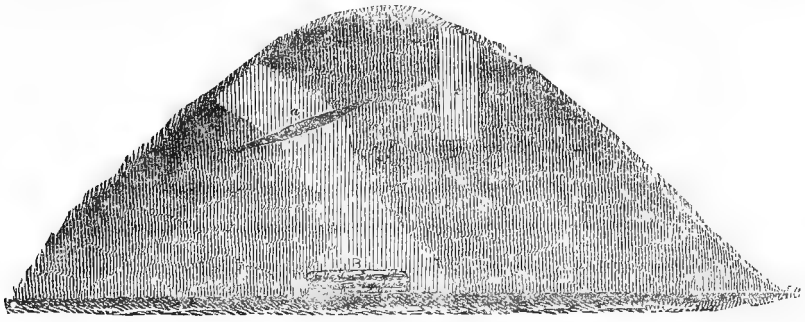
[1] That this was at any rate sometimes the case See "Ancient Monuments," p. 159.

prise by far the larger number of mounds. They are to be found all over the Mound Builder's territory, and are about the only class of remains found in the prairie regions of the West. From the upper waters of the Missouri and the great lakes on the north to the Gulf States on the south, and from west of the Mississippi to the Alleghenies of the East, in all this vast region they are the prevailing class of remains, and occur by hundreds, and even thousands, along the valleys. The mounds themselves are often not very conspicuous; as a rule they are simply heaps of dirt raised above the surface and rounded over, and from two or three to fifteen or twenty feet high, although many are of much larger size. They are seldom found on the lower or recent river terrace, but are common on the upper terrace, and are often built upon the high bluffs bordering the streams, where a wide stretch of country is exposed to view. Black-bird, an Omaha chief, who died about the year 1800, desired to be buried on a high bluff overlooking the Missouri, so that he might see the boats passing up and down the river. Perhaps from a similar superstitious wish the Mound Builders sometimes chose the sites of their burial mounds where they could watch over their country; or it may be that the monuments over the dead were placed in such conspicuous positions that they might be readily seen by the people.

The next cut represents an ordinary burial mound, which was explored by tunneling in from one side. We notice there are no different layers or stratifications in this case. In some cases, at least, the building of such a mound occupied several years. We can see where the dirt was thrown down in small quantities, averaging about a peck, as if from a basket. In one case grass had started to grow on the unfinished surface of the mound, to be covered up by fresh dirt.[1]

[1] "Peabody Museum Reports," Vol. II, p. 58.

In the majority of cases the mounds contain the remains of but one individual, with various relics of a rude and barbarous people. Where but one body was buried, the usual mode of procedure seems to have been to first clear a space on the surface of the ground; the body was then placed in the center of this prepared place, and often a rude framework of timber was placed around it, sometimes a stone



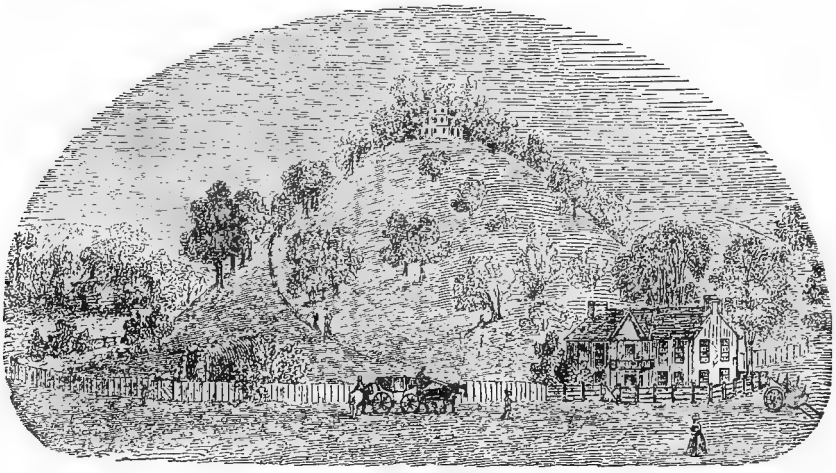
Burial Mounds.

chamber was built up. Over this the mound was erected to the desired height. This description would apply to nearly all of the many thousands of burial mounds in the country.

In the cut a layer of charcoal is noticed near the top. Naerly all mounds show evidence of the existence of fire during some period of their construction. In some cases these fires were fierce and long continued, as if the object had been to cremate the body. It may have been a part of their religious belief that it was necessary to keep fires blazing on the mound for a short length of time to keep off evil spirits, or to comfort the soul of the departed. Such at any rate was the custom among some Indian tribes. We are told that among the Iroquois, a "fire was built upon the grave at night to enable the spirit to prepare its food."[1]

[1] Jones's "Explorations in Tennessee," p. 15. See also "First An. Rep. Bureau of Ethnology," p. 198.

In some cases, many individuals were buried in the same mound. These may be communal burials, such as we have already referred to. Mounds of this kind have been examined near Nashville, Tennessee. One mound alone was the burial place of over two hundred persons. Pidgeon describes some triangular burial mounds in Minnesota, differing in shape only from the ordinary circular mounds that belong to this division. In general, burial mounds are not very high, yet there are exceptions to this rule.



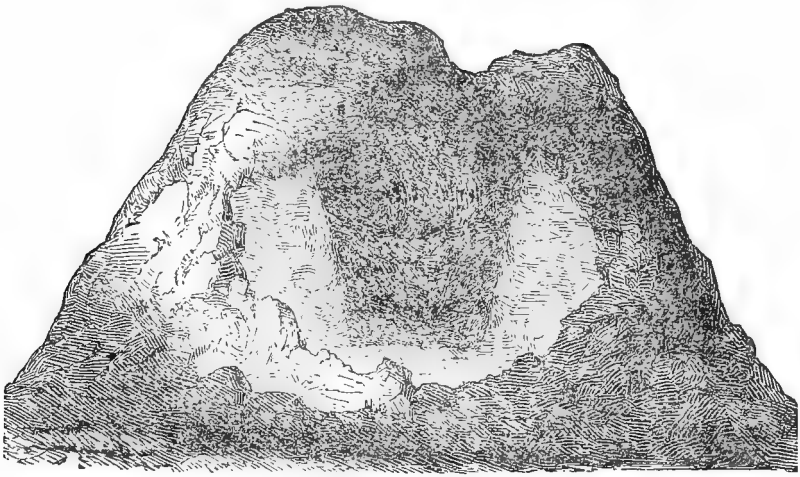
Grave Creek Mound.

This cut represents one of the largest of these mounds. It is situated at the junction of Grave Creek and the Ohio River, twelve miles below Wheeling, in West Virginia. It measures seventy feet in height, and its base is nearly one thousand feet in circumference. An excavation made from the top downward, and from one side of the base to the center, disclosed the fact that the mound contained two sepulchral chambers, one at the base and one near the center of the mound. These chambers had been constructed of logs, and covered with stone. The lower chamber contained two skeletons, one of which is supposed to have been a female.

The upper chamber contained but one skeleton. In addition to these, there were found a great number of shell beads, ornaments of mica, and bracelets of copper.[1]

A moment's thought will show us what a great work such a mound must have been for a people destitute of metallic tools and domestic animals. The earth for its construction was probably scraped up from the surface and brought thither in baskets. A people capable of erecting such a monument as this, with only such scanty means at their command, must have possessed those qualities which would sooner or later have brought them civilization.

Another very interesting mound of this class once stood in the city of St. Louis. The rapidly growing city de-



Cross-section St. Louis Mound.

manded its removal in 1869. It was an oblong mound, one hundred and fifty feet long by thirty in height. In its removal it was shown that it contained a burial chamber seventy-five feet long, from eight to twelve feet wide, and from eight to ten feet high, in which about thirty burials had

[1] "Ancient Monuments," p. 169. See also note on same page for another account of a larger number of skeletons.

taken place. The surface of the ground had first been leveled, then the walls raised to the desired height, made firm and solid, and plastered with clay. Timbers formed the roof, over which the mound had been raised to the desired height.

In process of time the roof decayed and fell in, thus giving a sunken appearance to the top of the mound. This view is a cross section of the mound as it was revealed by the workmen. We notice where the roof has fallen in, and the outline of the interior chamber. This burial chamber was perhaps an exact model of the cabins in which the people lived. Can it be that this mound was the final resting place of some renowned chief, and that the other bodies were those of his attendants sent to accompany him to the other world? This is perhaps as reasonable a conjecture as any. Certain it is that this tumulus and that at Grave Creek were fit pyramids for the Pharaohs of the New World.

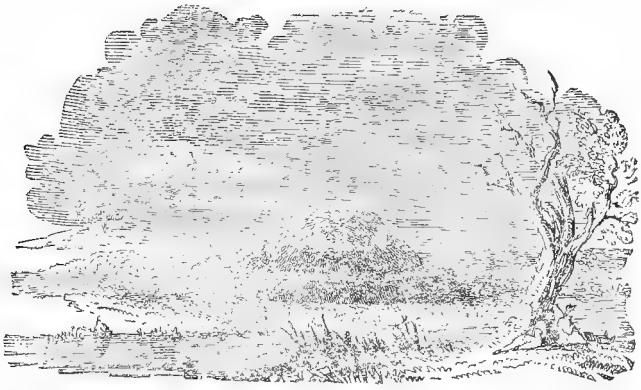
It is not to be supposed that the mounds were the sole cemeteries of the people who built them. Like the barrows of Europe, they were probably erected only over the bodies of the chiefs and priests, the wise men, and warriors of the tribe. The amount of work required for the erection of a mound was too great to provide one for every person. The greater number of the dead were deposited elsewhere than in mounds, but it is doubtful whether we can always distinguish the prehistoric burial places from those of the later Indians. An ancient cemetery, discovered near Madisonville, Ohio, proved to be a most interesting find, as it was thought to be a burial place of the Mound Builders,[1] but it seems there is strong doubt on this point. One writer thinks this was a cemetery of the Erie tribe of Indians, and not very ancient in date.[2]

[1] Short's "North Americans of Antiquity," App. A.

[2] James's "Popular Science," File 1883, p. 445.

In Tennessee are to be found numerous burial places known as the stone-grave cemeteries. Stone graves of a similar character are found in Kentucky, Ohio, and Missouri. These are as yet but few facts which can be used as indicating that all the stone graves are of one people. Many of these cemeteries are of great antiquity, while similar stone graves are of quite recent date. In some places the cemeteries cover very large areas.

We have now to describe a class of mounds that are



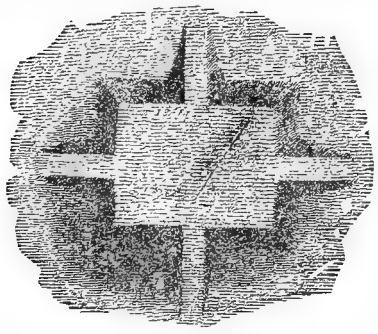
Terraced Mound.

always regarded with great interest, as a number of our scholars think they see in them the connecting link between the remains in this country and those of Mexico and the South. These are generally known as "temple mounds," from the common impression that they were sites of temples or public buildings. In general terms, mounds of this class are distinguished by their large size and regularity of form, and they always have a flat or level top. On one side there is generally a graded way leading up to the summit, in some instances several such methods of approach. Sometimes the sides of the mound are terraced off into separate stages.[1]

[1] "Ancient Monuments," p. 173.

We have already noticed that different sections of country are distinguished by different classes of mound remains. In the present State of Ohio are found many altar mounds and inclosures. In the West are large numbers of burial mounds, but the so-called temple mounds are most numerous in the South. At one place in Wisconsin is found a low embankment inclosing four low mounds with leveled tops. But the resemblance between these and the regular temple mounds is certainly slight. Only a few instances of these flat-topped mounds are found in Ohio. Of these the still existing "elevated squares" at Marietta are good examples.

This cut represents the mound preserved in the park at Marietta. It is ten feet high, one hundred and eighty-eight feet long, by one hundred and thirty-two feet wide. The platform on the top has an area of about half an acre. Graded ways lead up on each of the four sides. These grades are twenty-five feet wide, and sixty feet long.[1]



Elevated Square, Marietta.

As we approach the Gulf States, these platform mounds increase in number. The best representative of this class, the most stupendous example of mound builder's work in this country, is situated in Illinois, not far from St. Louis. The mound and its surroundings are so interesting that they deserve special mention. One of the most fertile sections of Illinois is that extending along the Mississippi from the Kaskaskia to the Cahokia river, about eighty miles in length, and five in breadth. Well watered, and not often overflowed by the Mississippi, it is such a fertile and valuable

[1] "Ancient Monuments," p. 74.

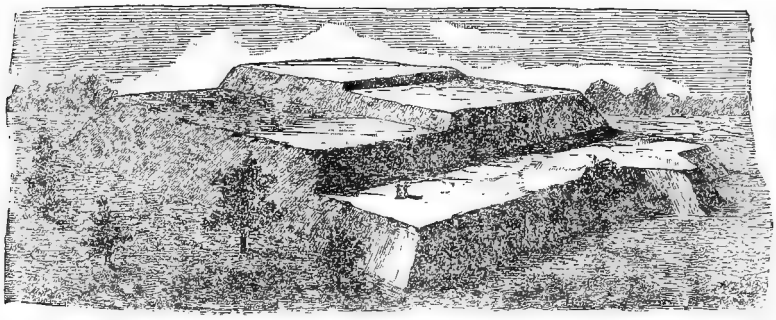
tract that it has received the name of the "Great American Bottom." It is well known that the Mound Builders chose the most fertile spots for their settlements, and it is therefore not surprising to find the evidence that this was a thickly settled portion of their territory. Mr. Breckenridge, writing in 1811, says: "The great number of mounds, and the astonishing quantity of human bones everywhere dug up or found on the surface of the ground, with a thousand other appearances, announces that this valley was at one time filled with habitations and villages. The whole face of the bluff, or hill, which bounds it on the east, appears to have been a continuous burying ground."[1]

Mounds are numerous in this section. We learn that there are two groups of mounds or pyramids, one about ten miles above the Cahokia, and the other about the same distance below it, more than one hundred and fifty in all. Speaking of the group above the Cahokia, Mr. Breckenridge says: "I found myself in the midst of a group of mounds mostly of a circular shape, and, at a distance, resembling enormous hay-stacks scattered through a meadow. One of the largest which I ascended was about two hundred paces in circumference at the bottom, the form nearly square, though it had evidently undergone considerable alteration from the washing of rains. The top was level, with an area sufficient to contain several hundred men." He represents the view from the top of the mound to be a very extensive and beautiful one. From this elevation he counted forty-five mounds or pyramids, besides a great number of small artificial elevations. This group was arranged in the form of a semicircle, about a mile in extent, the open space being on the river.

Three miles above occurs the group in which is found

[1] "Views of Louisiana."

the famous big mound.[1] This cut gives us a good idea of the mound as it was in its perfect state. All accounts given of this mound vary. From a cut of the model, as prepared by Dr. Patrick, the area of the base is a trifle over fifteen acres.[2] The ascent was probably on the south side of the mound, where the little projection is seen. The first platform is reached at the height of about fifty feet. This platform has an area of not far from two and four-fifth acres. Large enough for quite a number of houses, if such was the purpose for which this mound was erected. The second platform is reached at about the height of seventy-five feet,



Cahokia Mound.

and contains about one and three-fourth acres. The third platform is elevated ninety-six or ninety-seven feet, while the last one is not far from one hundred feet above the plain. The area of the last two is about three-fourths of an acre each. The areas of all the platforms are not far from six acres. We require to dwell on these facts a moment before we realize what a stupendous piece of work this is. The base is larger than that of the Great Pyramid,[3] and we

[1] This cut represents the mound as it probably was before the outlines were destroyed by cultivation. It is based on a model prepared by Dr. Patrick for the Peabody Museum.

[2] "Peabody Museum Report," Vol. II, p. 473. As this may include some of the wash from the mound, perhaps it would be better to give the real area of the base as over twelve acres.

[3] That is, if we follow the plan.

must not lose sight of the fact that the earth for its construction was scraped up and brought thither without the aid of metallic tools or beasts of burden, and yet the earth was obtained somewhere and piled up over an area of fifteen acres in one place to a height of one hundred feet, and even the lowest platform is fifty feet above the plain. Some have suggested that it might be partly a natural elevation. There seems to be, however, no good reason for such suggestions.

What motive induced the people to expend so much labor on this mound? It is not probable that this was a burial mound, though it may ultimately prove to be so. The most probable supposition is that the mound was erected so as to secure an elevated site, perhaps for purpose of defense, as on these platforms there was abundant room for a large village, and an elevation or height has always been an important factor in defenses. In this connection, Prof. Putnam has called our attention to a fact which indicates that a very long time was occupied in the construction of the mound, and further, that a numerous population had utilized its platforms as house sites—that is, that "everywhere in the gullies, and over the broken surface of the mounds, mixed with the earth of which it is composed, are quantities of broken vessels of clay, flint chips, arrow-heads, charcoal, bones of animals, etc., apparently the refuse of a numerous people." The majority of writers, however, think that this elevated site, obtained as the result of so much labor, was utilized for important public buildings, presumedly the temple of their gods, and no one can help noticing the similarity between this structure and those raised by the ancient Mexicans for both religious purposes and town sites.

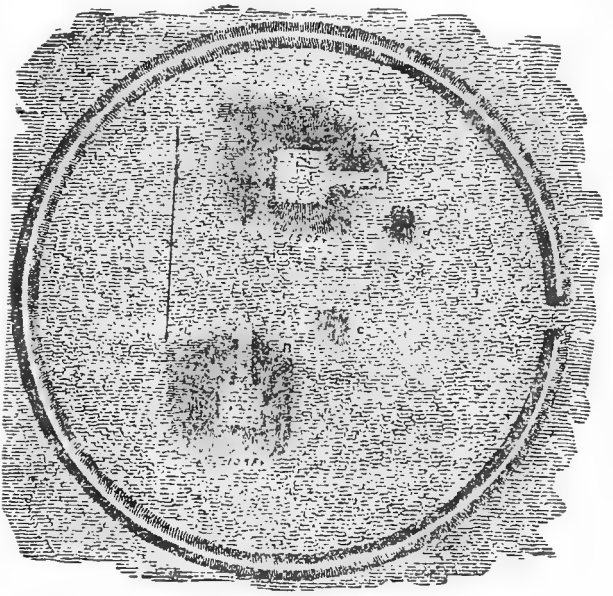
Mr. Foster thinks that "upon this platform was reared

a capacious temple, within whose walls the high-priests gathered from different quarters at stated seasons, celebrated their mystic rites, while the swarming multitudes below looked up with mute adoration.[1] Mr. Breckenridge, whose writings we have already referred to, at the time of his first visit, "everywhere observed a great number of small elevations of earth, to the height of a few feet, at regular distances apart, which appeared to observe some order: near them pieces of flint and fragments of earthen vessels." From this he concludes that here was a populous town, and that this mound was a temple site. It is doubtful whether we shall ever pierce the veil that lies between us and this aboriginal structure. The pyramids of the Old World have yielded up their secret, and we behold in them the tombs of Egypt's kings. But this earthen pyramid on the western prairie is more involved in mystery, and we do not know even its builders. If the result of religious zeal, we may be sure that a religion which exacted from its votaries the erection of such a stupendous piece of work was one of great power.

As before remarked, "temple mounds" increase in numbers and importance as we go south. "In Kentucky they are more frequent than in the States north of the Ohio River, and in Tennessee and Mississippi they are still more abundant.[2] We also learn that they are often surrounded, or nearly so, with moats or ditches, as if to fortify their location. Our noxt cut illustrates such an arrangement—a circular wall of earth four feet high and two thousand three hundred feet in circumference, incloses four mounds, two of which are temple mounds. According to the late Prof. Forshey, temple mounds abound in Louisiana. He described a group situated in Catahoola County, in which the principal

[1] "Prehistoric Races," p. 107. [2] "Ancient Monuments," p. 174.

mound has a base of more than an acre, a height of forty-two feet, and the upper platform an area of nearly one-third of an acre. The smaller mounds are arranged around this larger one. This group is defended by an embankment. From this point for a distance of twenty miles along the



Temple Mounds Inclosed in a Circle.

river, are scattered similar groups of mounds; in all cases the smaller ones arranged around the larger one, which is presumably the site of a temple.

A digression right here may not be devoid of interest. We are not sure but that the dim, uncertain light of history falls on the origin of this group of mounds. When the French first commenced their settlement in the lower Mississippi Valley, the Natchez Indians was the most powerful tribe in all that section. In the course of time, wars ensued between them and the French, and in the year 1730 they fled into Upper Louisiana, and settled at the place where these mounds are now found. But the French fol-

lowed them a year or so afterwards, and nearly exterminated them. Some of our scholars think that they erected these mounds.[1] The historian of that epoch simply says they had "built a fort there." It is however questioned whether they had time to build works of such magnitude. But they were both a mound-building and a mound-using people, and we are not prepared to say how long it would take them to do the work, until we know the number engaged, methods employed, and other considerations.[2] If they did not build these works, they doubtless cleared them of trees and utilized them; and this place was therefore the scene of the final downfall of the Natchez—a people we have every reason to regard as intimately connected with the prehistoric mound-building tribes.

The largest temple mound in the South is near Seltzertown, Mississippi. Its base covers about six acres, and it rises forty feet. This slope was ascended by means of a graded way. The summit platform has an extent of nearly four acres. On this platform three other mounds had been reared—one at each end, and a third in the center. Recent investigation by the Bureau of Ethnology have shown that the base of this mound is a natural formation. Lumps of sun-dried, or partially burnt clay, used as plastering on the houses of the Mound Builders, gave rise to a sensational account of a wall of sun-dried bricks two feet thick, supporting the mound on the northern side.[3] The famous Messier Mound, in Georgia, is said to reach a height of ninety-five feet. But a large part of this elevation is a natural eminence; the artificial part is only a little over fifty feet.

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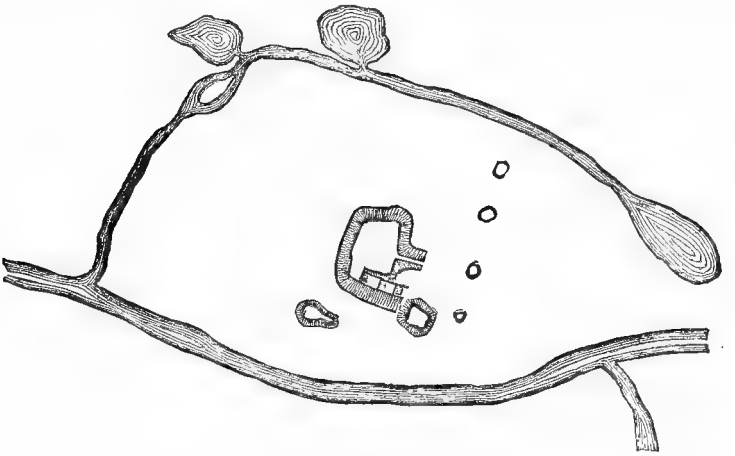
[1] Pickett's "History of Alabama," Vol. I., p. 301.

[2] Carr's "Mounds of the Mississippi Valley," pp. 91, 92; note, 103.

[3] "Ancient Monuments," p. 117. Note.—For the statement made in this text we are under obligation to Prof. Thomas, of the Bureau of Ethnology, who, in answer to a letter of inquiry, kindly furnished the information.

A work of unusual interest occurs on the Etowah River, Georgia. This cut gives us a plan of the work. We notice, first of all, the moat or ditch by which they fortified their position. The ditch is still from five to



Etowah Mound, Georgia.

twenty-five feet deep, and from twenty to seventy-five feet wide. It connects directly with the river at one end, but stops short at the other. It surrounds nearly fifty acres of land. At two points we notice reservoirs, each about an acre in size, and an average depth of not less than twenty feet. At its upper end is an artificial pond. This ditch, with its reservoirs and pond, is no slight work. The large mound seen in the center of the space is one of the largest of the temple mounds. Its shape is sufficiently shown in the cut. The height of the mound is sixty-five feet. We call especial attention to the series of terraces leading up the south side of the mound. Graded ways afford means of access from one terrace to the other. A pathway is also seen on the eastern side.

To this group of works an interest attaches similar to that of the group of works mentioned in Louisiana. We

are not certain but that we catch a glimpse of it while it was yet an inhabited Indian town. This is contained in the brief accounts we have of the wanderings of the unfortunate De Soto and his command. One of the chroniclers of this expedition, La Vega, describes one of the towns where the weary Spaniards rested, and which we are sure was somewhere in Northern Georgia, in such terms, mentioning the graded way leading to the top, that Prof. Thomas, who has spent some time in this investigation, thinks his description can apply only to the mound under consideration.[1] Whether this conclusion will be allowed to stand, remains to be seen. But, if true, then the darkness which rests upon this aboriginal structure lifts for a moment and we see around it a populous Indian town, able to send five hundred warriors to battle. The Spaniards marched on to sufferings and death, and darkness again closed around the Etowah Mound. When the Europeans next beheld it around it was the silent wilderness; the warriors had departed; the trees of the forest overspread it.

We have now described the principal mound structures, and shown the different classes into which they are divided. But a large class of mounds are found scattered all through the Mound Builders' territory that were probably used as signal mounds. Burial mounds were also often used for this purpose.[2] This was because their location was always very favorable for signal purposes. Signaling by fire is a very ancient custom. The Indians on our western plains convey intelligence by this means at the present day. Some tribes

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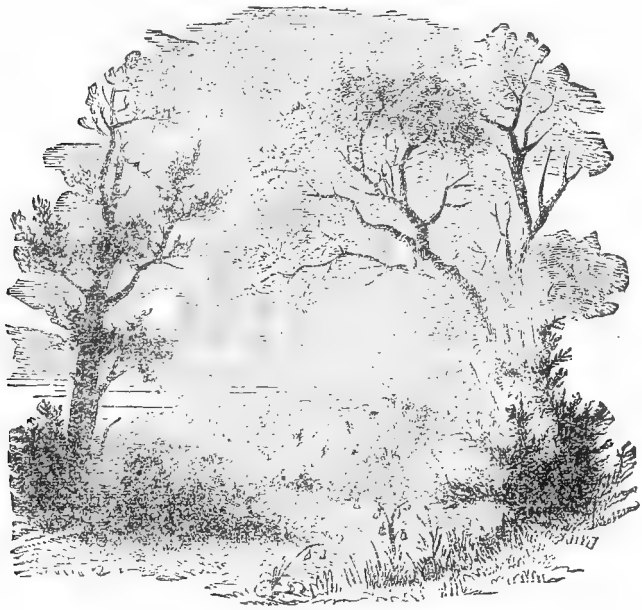
[1] "*Am. Antiquarian*," March, 1884, p. 99.

[2] It may be that no mounds were built for signaling purposes alone. The work of erecting mounds was so great that it is quite likely they were always erected for some other purpose, and used only secondarily for signal purposes. Such is shown to be the case with many of the signal mounds in Ohio. Such is the opinion of Mr. MacLean, who has made extensive researches.

use such materials as will cause different shades of smoke, using dried grass for the lightest, pine leaves for the darkest, and a mixture for intermediate purposes. They also vary the signal by letting the smoke rise in an unbroken column, or cover the fire with a blanket, so as to cause puffs of smoke. The evidence gathered from the position of the

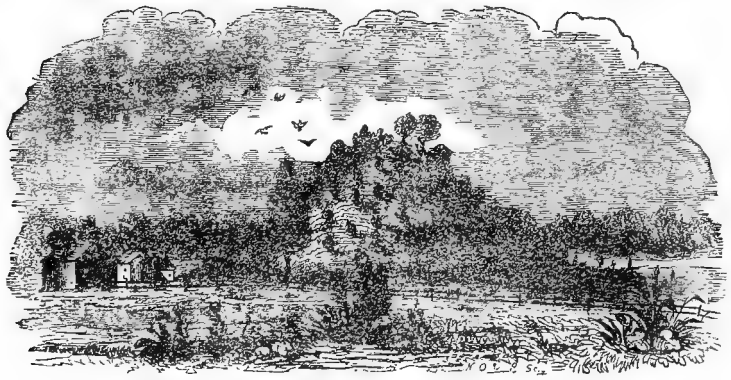


Hill Mounds.

mounds, and traces of fire on their summit, is that the Mound Builders had a very extensive system of signal mounds.

To illustrate this system, we would state that the city of Newark, Ohio, was the site of a very extensive settlement of the Mound Builders. This settlement was in a valley, but on all the surrounding hills were located signal mounds. And it is further stated that lines of signal mounds can be traced from here as a center to other and more distant points. The large mound at Mt. Vernon, twenty miles

to the north, was part of this system. As the settlements of the Mound Builders were mostly in river valleys, we would expect to find all along on the bluffs fronting these valleys traces of signal mounds. In the Scioto Valley, from Columbus to Chillicothe, a distance of about forty miles, twenty mounds "may be selected, so placed in respect to each other that it is believed, if the country was cleared of forests, signals of fire might be transmitted in a few minutes along the whole line." Some think the chain is much more extensive than this, and that the whole Scioto Valley,



Miamisburg Mound.

from Delaware County to Portsmouth, was so provided with mounds that signals could be sent in a very few minutes the whole distance.[1]

The valley of the Miami River was equally well provided with signal mounds. This great mound, at Miamisburg, Ohio, rising to the height of sixty-eight feet, was one of the chain by which signals were transmitted along the valley. Not only was each river valley thus provided, but there is evidence that communication was established between different river systems, so we can easily see how quickly the invasion of their country by an enemy from any quarter

[1] Force's "Some Consideration of the Mound Builders," p. 65.

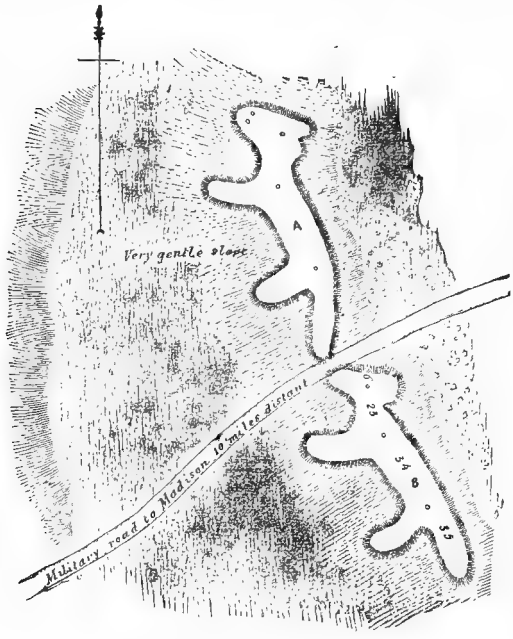
would become known in widely scattered sections. Immediately across the river from Chillicothe, Ohio, on a hill nearly six hundred feet high, was located a signal mound. A fire built upon it would be visible twenty miles up the valley, and an equal distance down. It would be also visible far down the valley of Paint Creek. Some think that such a system of lofty observatories extended across the whole State of Ohio, of Indiana, and Illinois, the Grave Creek mound, on the east, the great mound at Cahokia, on the west, and the works in Ohio filling up the line. We do not believe, however, it is safe to draw such conclusions. It is doubtful whether there was any very close connection between the tribes in these several sections.

In the State of Wisconsin are found some of the most interesting remains of the Mound Builders. They are so different from the ordinary remains found elsewhere that we must admit that the people who built them differed greatly from the tribes who built the great temple mounds of the South, or the earthworks of Ohio. The remains in Wisconsin are distinguished not by their great size or height, but by their singular forms. Here the mound building instincts of the people were expressed by heaping up the earth in the shape of animals. What strange fancy it was that led them to mould the figures on the bluffy banks of the rivers and the high lands about the lakes of their country, we shall perhaps never know. That they had some design in this matter is, of course, evident, and if we would try and learn their secret, we must address ourselves to a study of the remains.

Effigy mounds are almost exclusively confined to the State of Wisconsin. We, indeed, find effigy mounds in other sections, but they are of rare occurrence.[1] They, however,

[1] Similar effigy mounds have been recently observed in Minnesota, but they have not yet been described. (Putnam.)

show that the same reasons, religious, or otherwise, exists in other localities, while in the area covered by the southern portion of the State of Wisconsin it found its greatest expression. This cut affords us a fair idea of effigy mounds.



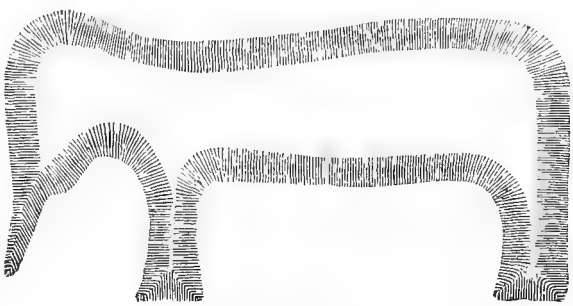

Effigy Mounds.

Here are seen two animals, one behind the other. On paper we can readily see the resemblance. Stretched out on the ground, and of gigantic proportions, the resemblance is not so marked, and some might fail to notice it at first sight. Either of those figures is over one hundred feet long, and about fifteen feet wide. With few exceptions, effigy mounds are inconsiderable in height, varying from one to four feet. These mounds have been carefully studied of late years, and there is no doubt that in many instances we can distinguish the animals represented.

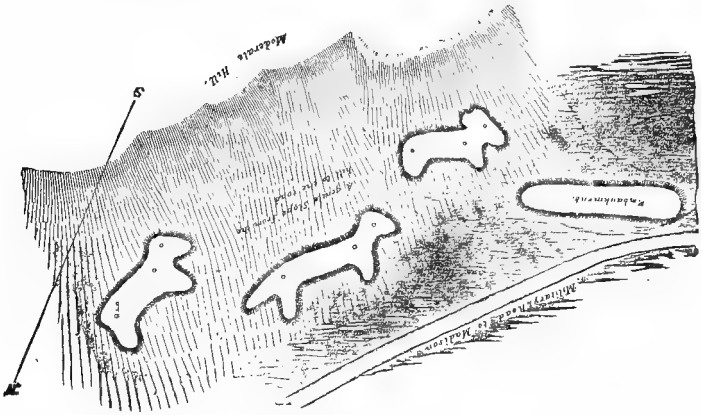
We learn, then, that tribes formerly living in Wisconsin had the custom of heaping up the earth in the shape of the various animals peculiar to that section.. But no effigies are found of animals that have since become extinct, or of animals that are to be found only in other lands.

Our next cut represents the famous elephant mound of Wisconsin, on the strength of which a number of fair theories

have been given relating to the knowledge of the mastodon by the builders of the mound, and its consequent antiquity. It now bears some resemblance to an elephant, but we learn that the trunk was probably produced by the washing of the banks, and, from the same cause, a projection above the head, supposed to represent horns, has disappeared. Taking these facts into consideration, it is quite as likely that it represented a buffalo.[1] One writer even thinks he found a representation of a



Elephant Mound.



Emblematic Mounds.

camel, but the fact is, the more these effigy mounds are studied, the more certain are we that they are representations of animals formerly common in that region.

The manner in which they represented the various ani-

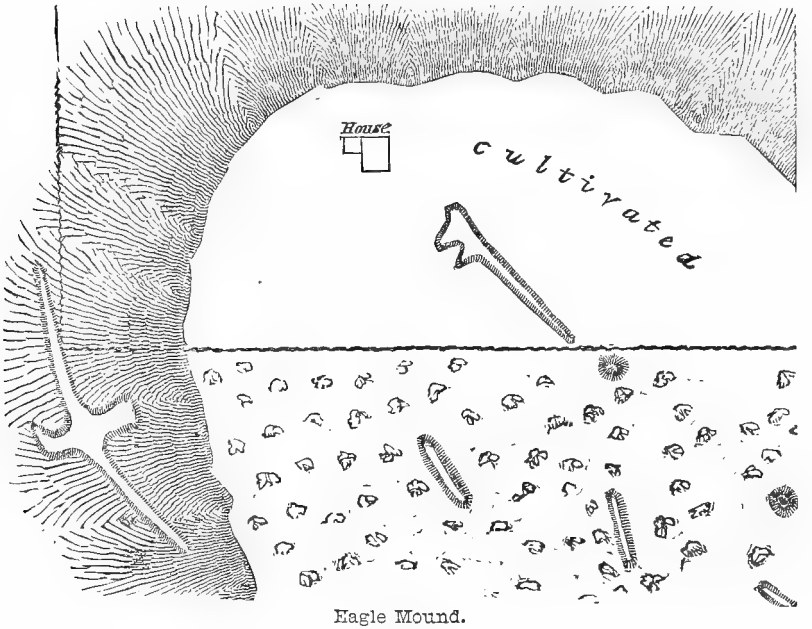
[1] Peet's *American Antiquarian*, May, 1884, p, 184.

mals is full of interest to us. It has been discovered that they worked on a system. The last cut represents a group of three animals discovered a few miles from the Blue Mounds in Dane County. We notice at once a difference between the central animal, with a tail, and the other two. It will also be observed that the animals are represented in profile, with only two projections for legs. They are never separated so that we can distinguish the two front and the two hind feet. Animals so figured are the bear, fox, wolf, panther, and others. Grazing animals, such as the buffalo, elk, and deer, are represented with a projection for horns. In the last cut the other two animals are buffaloes. In various ways the particular kind of animal can nearly always be distinguished.[1]

Grazing Elks. Fox in the Distance.

[1] Peet's *American Antiquarian*, January, 1884. We are indebted to the writings of Mr. Peet in this periodical for the months of January, May, and

The preceding cut represents two elks grazing, and a fox in the distance. The long embankments of earth at one side are considered by Mr. Peet as in the nature of game drives. But we call attention to the expressiveness with which these figures are delineated. What could be more natural than the quietly grazing elks, with the suspic-

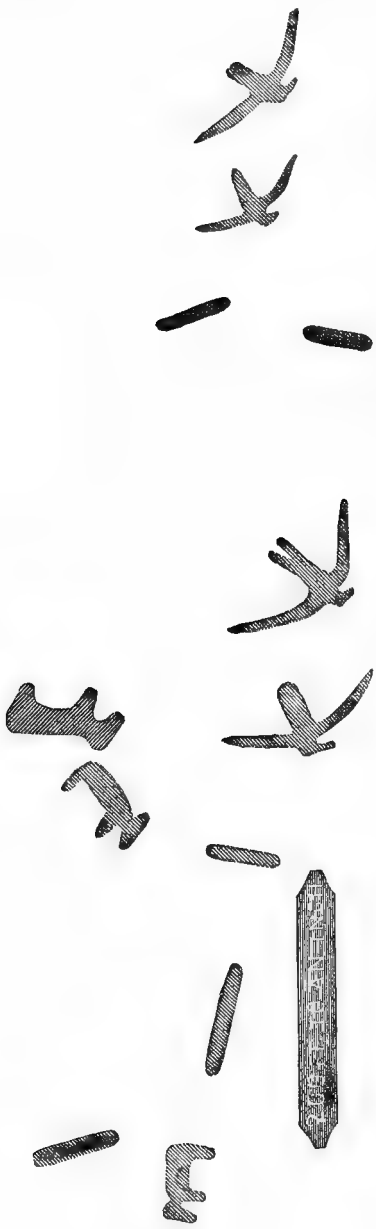



Eagle Mound.

ious prowling fox in the distance. In the cut we also see two cross-shaped figures. This was their method of representing birds, a projection on each side of a central body denoting wings. These figures are often very expressive.

In this cut we have no difficulty in recognizing an eagle It is represented as soaring high in the air. On the bluffs above it is a wolf effigy, and several conical and long mounds. In the cut preceding this the eagle and the hawk are hov-

July, 1884, for many interesting facts in reference to the effigy mounds. He has studied them more than any other person, and his conclusions are consequently of great value.



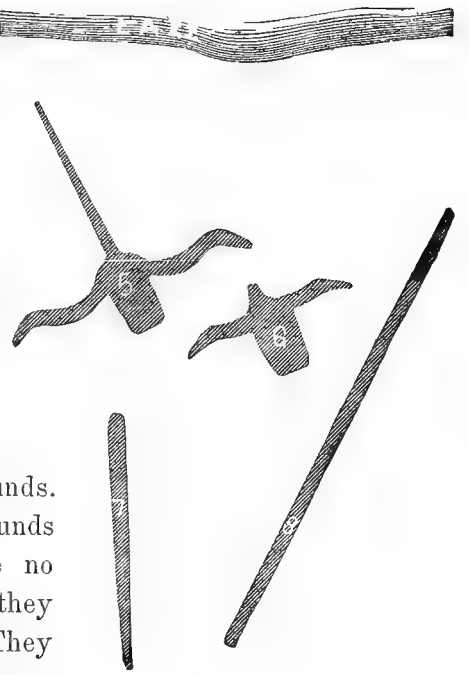
Hawks and Buffaloes.

ering over the feeding elks, while in this cut a flock of hawks are watching some buffaloes feeding in the distance. This group of effigies was found on the banks of the Kickapoo River Our next cut represents a wild goose with a long neck and beak followed by a duck with a short neck, flying towards the lake.

Water-loving animals, such as salamanders and turtles, are represented. in still another way, two projections on each side of a central figure. The next following cut represents a turtle. The tail was not always added. The salamander closely resembles the turtle, but notice the difference in the body, and still different is the cut of the musk-rat (page 346). Fishes are figured as a straight embankment of earth tapering to a point.

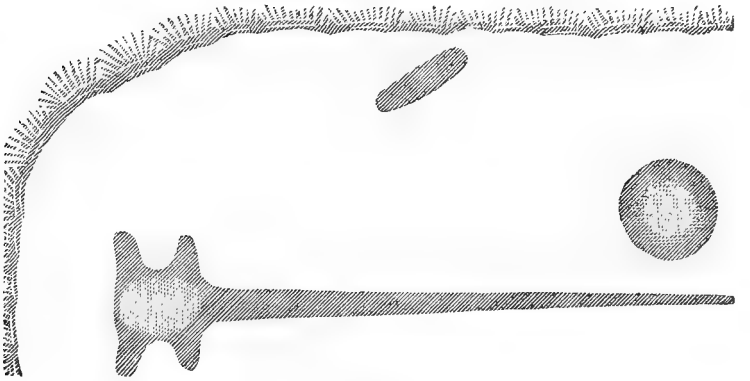
The same system that was observed in the location of signal mounds is to be noticed in the arrangements of these groups of effigy mounds. They are not alone. One group answers to another on a distant hill, or is in plain view of

another group in the valley below. Distant groups were so related, each commanding a wide extent of country, and thus group answers to group, and mound to mound, for miles away, making a complete system throughout the region.



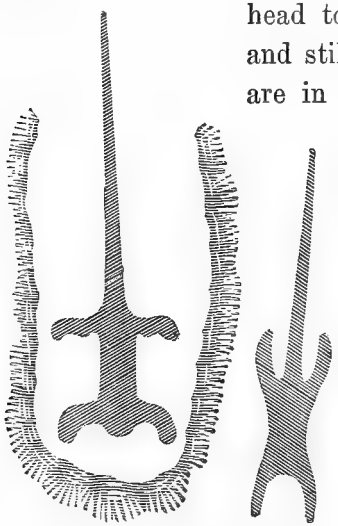
Goose and Duck.

We notice this as to the location of the mounds. When we examine the mounds themselves, we observe no little skill in the way they represent the animals. They often impressed on them something more than mere animal resemblances. "There are groups where the attitudes are expressive of a varied action. Certain animals, like the weasel or mink, being seen with a



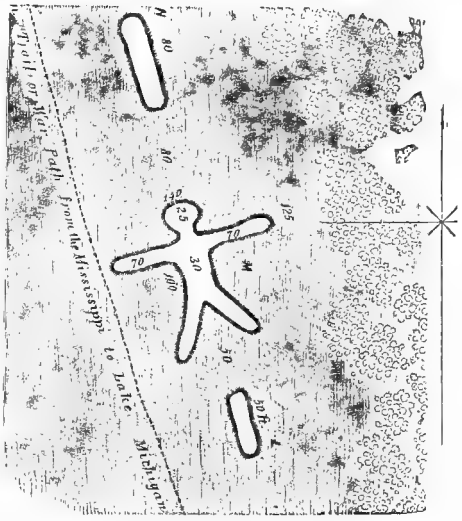
Turtle.

bird so near that, apparently, it might be caught by a single spring; and still others, like the wolf or wild-cat, are arranged head to head, as if prepared for combat; and still others, like the squirrel or coon, are in the more playful attitudes, sometimes apparently chasing one another over hill or valley; and again situated alone, as if they had just leaped from some tree, or drawn themselves out of some den or hole."[1]



Salamander and Musk-rat.

Nor is the effigy of the human form wanting. It is found in several localities throughout the State. This cut shows us one such effigy. This was the beginning of a long train of animal mounds, presumably representing bears, found near the Blue Mounds, Wisconsin.[2] We can not observe that any more importance was ascribed to the effigy of a human being than to that of an animal.

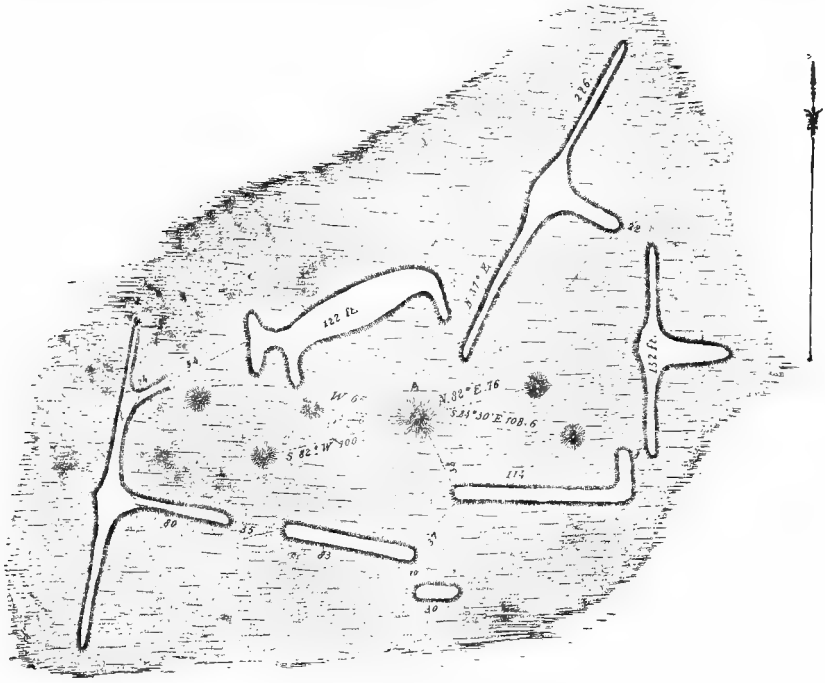



Man-shaped Mound.

In casting about for a suitable explanation for the erection of these animal mounds, we find ourselves lost in conjecture as to the motive which

[1] Peet's: "Emblematic Mounds and Totem System of the Indian Tribes."
[2] "Ancient Monuments," p. 40.

induced these people to prepare these earthen effigies. We may be sure that it was for some other reason than for amusement, or to give exercise to an artistic feeling. Only in very few instances do we detect any arrangements which would imply that they were in the nature of defenses. In some cases the effigies are so arranged as to form a sort of inclosure, some portion of the figure being prolonged to an unusual extent, and thus inclosing a space that may have been utilized for a vil-




Emblematic Mound Inclosure.

lage site. This group on the Wisconsin River illustrates this point. Here the area thus partially inclosed, is about an acre. It is a singular fact that these inclosures are almost always triangular in shape.[1] But it is manifest that

[1] *American Antiquarian*, January, 1883.

a simple earth wall would serve for defense much better than these forms. They probably were not burial mounds, as few contain human remains, and it is not yet certain that these remains were not intrusive burials.[1] It seems, therefore that they must have been in some manner connected with the religious life of the people.

If we examine the various groups scattered throughout the State, this belief is strengthened. It is found, for instance, in nearly every group, that some one effigy is the principal one, and is placed in a commanding position, about which the other forms are arranged. It is also thought that the same effigy is the principal or ruling effigy over a wide district. In illustration of this, it can be stated that in the south-eastern part of the State the turtle is always the ruling effigy. In any group of effigies it is the principal one. It seems to watch over and protect the others. In subordination to it are such forms as the lizard, hawk, and pigeon. Passing to the North, the turtle is no longer the important figure. It is replaced by the wolf, or wild-cat. This is now the principal form, and if the turtle is sometimes present, it is of less importance.

So marked is the fact we have just stated that Mr. Peet says, "that sometimes this division assumes almost the character of a river system, and thus we might trace what seems to be the beginning in this country of that which prevailed on classic soil and in Oriental regions—namely, river gods and tutelar divinities of certain regions, each tribal divinity having its own province, over which it ruled and on which it left its own form or figure as the seal of its power and the emblem of its worship."[2]

Looking for some explanation of this, we may find a

[1] Putnam, in "Proceedings of American Antiquarian Society," 1884.

[2] Peet's "Emblematic Mounds and Totem System of the Indian Tribes."

key in the known customs of various Indian tribes, and the lower races of men. It is known that a tribe of Indians is divided into smaller bands, which are called gens or clans. A gens may consist of several hundred persons, but it is the unit of organization. It takes the place of a family among civilized people. These various bands are generally named after some animal. In the beginning these names may have been of no special significance, but in course of time each band would come to regard themselves as descendants of the animal whose name they bore. Hence the animal itself would be considered sacred in their eyes, and its life would seldom be taken by members of that gens.

The animal thus honored by the gens was, in the Indian dialect, the totem of the clan. This organization and custom we find running all through the Indian tribes. In many tribes the Indians were wont to carve a figure of their totem on a piece of slate, or even to carve a stone in the shape of the totem, which carved or sculptured stone they wore as an ornament, or carried as a charm to ward off evil and bring them good luck.[1] We need only suppose that this system was very fully developed among the Mound Builders of Wisconsin, to see what important bearing it has on these effigy mounds.

A tribe located on one of the fertile river valleys of Wisconsin was composed of various gens or clans. On some common point in proximity to their villages, or some spot which commanded a wide view of the surrounding country, each gens would rear an effigy of its totem, the animal sacred to them. In every tribe some gens would be the most powerful, or for some cause the most respected, and its totem would be given in the largest effigy, and would be placed in the most commanding position. In a different lo-

[1] Abbott's "Primitive Industry," p. 383.

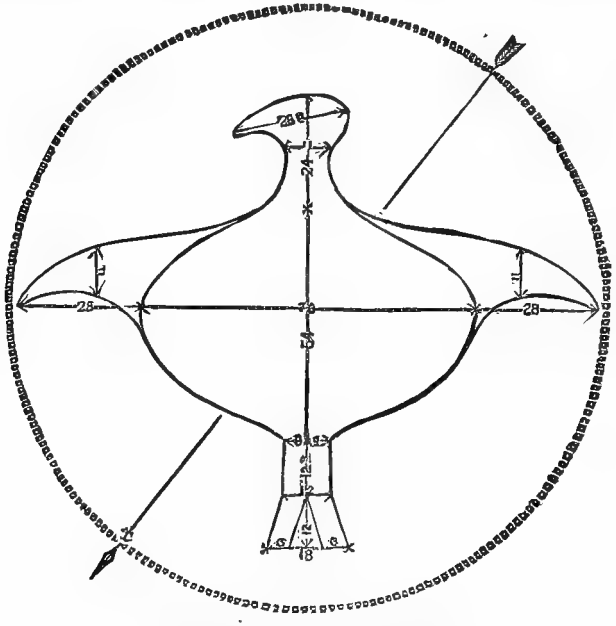
cality some other tribe would be located, and some other totem would be regarded as of the most importance.

In this light effigy-mounds are not mere representatives of animal forms. They are picture-writings on a gigantic scale, and are the source of much true history. They tell us of different tribes, the clans which composed them, the religious beliefs, and the ruling gens of the tribe. Contemplating them, we seem to live again in the far-off past. The white man disappears; waving forests claim their ancient domain, and the rivers, with a more powerful current, roll in their olden channels. The animals whose forms are imaged here, go trooping through the forest or over the fertile bottom lands. The busy scenes of civilization give place to the placid quiet of primeval times, and we seem to see peaceful tribes of Mound Builders paying a rude veneration to their effigy-gods, where now are churches of a more soul-satisfying religion.

But there is still another point to be learned from an examination of these ancient mounds. Not only are they totems of the tribes, but they were looked on in some sense as being guardian divinities, with power to protect the homes of the tribe. This is learned by studying the location in which they are placed. They occupy all points of observation. In other parts of the Mound Builders' country, wherever we find signal-mounds we find corresponding positions in Wisconsin occupied by groups of effigy-mounds, or if one only is present, it is always the one which, from the considerations we have stated, was regarded as the ruling effigy of that section. It is as if their builders placed them as sentinels to guard the approaches to their homes, to give warning of the arrival of hostile bands. This is further borne out by finding that mounds placed in such positions frequently show evidence of the action of intense fire,

and so we conclude they were used as signal stations also. So we need not doubt but that the region thus watched over by these effigy-mounds, group answering to group along the river banks, or in the valleys below, was at times lit up by the signal fires at night; or the warning column of smoke by day betokening the presence of danger.[1]

Before leaving the subject of effigy-mounds, we must refer to some instances of their presence in other localities.



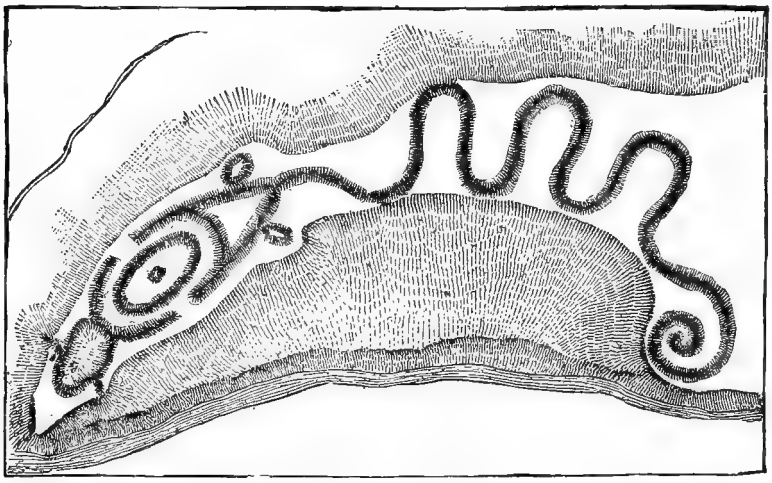

Bird Mound, Surrounded by a Stone Circle.

This cut is an eagle effigy discovered in Georgia. Only one other instance, also occurring in Georgia, is known of effigy-mounds in the South. Measured from tip to tip of the wings, the bird, in this case, is one hundred and thirty-two feet. This structure is composed of stones, and a singular feature is the surrounding circle of stone.[2]

[1] Peet's "Military Architecture of the Emblematic Mound Builders."

[2] "Smithsonian Report," 1877, p. 278, *et seq.*

Several examples of effigy-mounds are found in Ohio. The most notable one is that known as the Great Serpent Mound, in Adams County. We give an illustration of it. The entire surrounding country is hilly. The effigy itself is situated on a tongue of land formed by the junction of a ravine with the main branch of Brush Creek, and rising to a height of about one hundred feet above the creek. Its form is irregular on its surface, being crescent-shaped, with the point resting to the north-west. We give in a note



Big Serpent Mound.

some of the dimensions. The figure we give of this important effigy is different from any heretofore presented. We are indebted for the plan from which the drawing was made to Rev. J. P. MacLean, of Hamilton, Ohio. Mr. MacLean is a well-known writer on these topics. During the Summer of 1884, while in the employ of the Bureau of Ethnology, he visited the place, taking with him a thoroughly competent surveyor, and made a very careful plan of the work for the Bureau. All the other figures published represent the oval as the end of the works. Prof. Putnam,

who visited the locality in 1883, noticed, between the oval figure and the edge of the ledge, a slightly raised, circular ridge of earth, from either side of which a curved ridge extended towards the sides of the oval figure. Mr. MacLean's researches and measurements have shown that the ridges last spoken of are but part of what is either a distinct figure or a very important portion of the original figure. As figured, it certainly bears a very close resemblance to a frog, and such Mr. MacLean concludes it to be.

There is both a similarity and a difference between this work and those of Wisconsin. The fact that it occurs isolated, the other effigies in Ohio being many miles away, shows that some special purpose must have been subserved by it. There the great numbers gave us a hint as to their purpose. In this case, however, nearly all observers conclude that it was a religious work. Mr. MacLean, after describing these three figures, propounds this query: "Does the frog represent the creative, the egg the passive, and the serpent the destructive power of nature?" Not a few writers, though not acquainted with the presence of the frog-shaped figure, have been struck with the combination of the egg and the serpent, that plays such an important part in the mythology of the Old World. We are told that the serpent, separate or in combination with the circle, egg, or globe, has been a predominant symbol among many primitive nations. "It prevailed in Egypt, Greece, and Assyria, and entered widely into the superstitions of the Celts, the Hindoos, and the Chinese." "Wherever native religions have had their scope, this symbol is sure to appear."[1]

Even the Indians have made use of this symbol. On Big Medicine Butte, in Dakota Territory, near Pierre, is a train of stones arranged in the form of a serpent, which is

[1] "Ancient Monuments," p. 97; *American Antiquarian*, January, 1883, p. 77.

probably the work of the Sioux Indians. Around about on the hill is the burying-ground of their chiefs. This was to them sacred ground, and no whites were allowed near. The stones are about the size of a man's head, and are laid in two rows, from one to six feet apart. The length in all is three hundred and fifty feet, and at the tail, stones, to represent rattles, are rudely carved. The eyes are formed by two big red bowlders. No grass was allowed to grow between the two rows of stone.[1]

It seems reasonable to suppose that the few isolated effigy mounds we have outside of Wisconsin were built to subserve a different purpose than those in that State. Mr. Peet has made some remarks on their probable use that seem to us to cover the ground, and to do away with any necessity of supposing on the part of its builders an acquaintance with Old World mythologies. Nature worship is one of the earliest forms of worship. The prominent features of a landscape would be regarded as objects of worship. Thus, for example, the island of Mackinâc resembles in its outline the shape of a turtle; so the island was regarded as sacred to the turtle, and offerings were made to it. A bluff on the same island at a distance resembles a rabbit; accordingly, it was called by that name, and offerings were made to it. It is quite natural that the effigy-mound builders should seek to perpetuate by effigy some of these early traditions.

In the case of the Big Serpent mound this point is worth considering. The ridge on which it stands is not only in the midst of a wild, rough region, but is so situated that it commands a wide extent of country. In shape this tongue of

[1] This information is communicated by Mr. L. N. Tower, a gentleman in the employ of C. & N. W. R. R., at Tracy, Minn., who, at the request of the writer visited this locality, made measurements, etc.

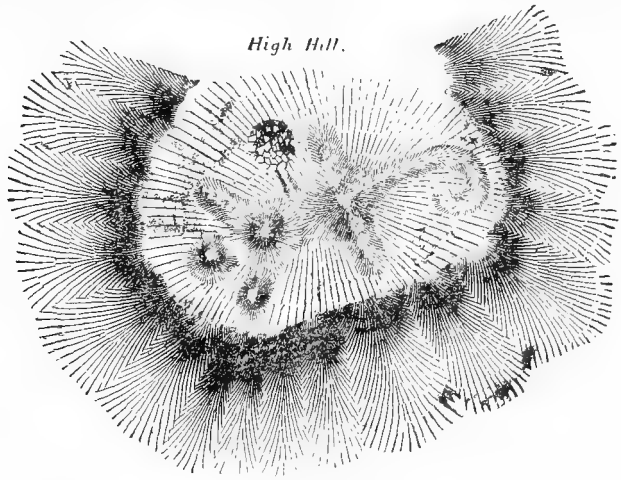
land is also peculiar. It is a narrow, projecting headland, and would easily suggest the idea of a serpent or a lizard. "This, with the inaccessibility of the spot, would produce a peculiar feeling of awe, as if it were a great Manitou which resided there; and so a sentiment of wonder and worship would gather around the locality. This would naturally give rise to a tradition, or would lead the people to revive some familiar tradition and localize it."[1] The final step would be to make an effigy.

It seems to us very hazardous to draw any conclusions as to the religious beliefs of the Mound Builders from this effigy or combinations of effigies. It also seems to us reasonable to suppose that but one figure was intended to be represented. A very slight prolongation of the serpent's jaws and the limbs of the frog would connect them, in which case we would have some amphibious creature with an unduly extended tail, or perhaps a lizard. We must remember that the whole figure has been plowed over once or twice, so that we are not sure of the original outlines. We can not tell why they should represent a portion of the body as hollow, but neither can we tell why the head of the supposed serpent should be represented as hollow. We do not find any important earth-works near here. The hill on which it is placed commands a very extensive view of the surrounding country. Within the oval a pile of stones showed evidence of a long-continued fire, which would indicate that this was also a signal-mound. Prof. Putnam thinks it probable that there was a burial place between it and the large conical mound not far away.[2]

[1] *American Antiquarian*, November, 1884, p. 403.

[2] The dimensions of this figure vary. Mr. MacLean's survey makes the entire length of the serpent part eleven hundred and sixteen feet; the distance between the extended jaws, one hundred feet. The oval figure is one hundred and thirteen feet long by fifty feet wide. The frog or head portion

In the vicinity of Newark, Ohio, are two examples of effigy mounds. This cut represents what is called the alligator mound, but it is probably the effigy of a lizard. The position which this mound occupies is significant. It is on the very brow of a hill about two hundred feet high, which projects out into a beautiful valley. The valley is not very




Alligator Mound.

wide. Directly across was a fortified camp, in the valley below it was a circular work, and a short distance below on another projecting headland was a strongly fortified hill. The great works at Newark were six miles down the valley, but were probably in plain view. That it was perhaps a signal station, is shown by the presence of traces of fire.

The length of this effigy is two hundred and five feet,

is fifty-five feet. Mr. Squier says, "The entire length, if extended, would be not less than one thousand feet." Mr. Putnam's measurements make it fourteen hundred and fifteen feet. The writer would state that he visited this effigy in the summer of 1884. Though there but a very short time, and not prepared to make careful measurements, he did notice some points in which the illustrations, previously given, are certainly wrong. The oval is not at the very extremity of the cliff. The little projections generally called ears of the serpent are not at right angles to the body, but incline backwards. The convolutions of the serpent's body bend back and forth quite across the surface of the ridge.

the breadth of the body at its widest part, twenty feet, average height about four feet.[1] The effigy mounds of Wisconsin, and the other few examples mentioned, are among the most interesting objects of aboriginal work. Except in a few favored instances, they are rapidly disappearing. To the leveling influence of time is added the assistance of man, and our knowledge of them will soon be confined to existing descriptions, unless something is at once done to preserve them from destruction. Interesting mementos of a vanished race, we turn from their contemplation with a sigh of regret that, in spite of our efforts, they are still so enwrapped in doubt.

Mounds and effigies by no means complete the description of Mound Builders' remains. One of the most interesting and mysterious class of works is now to be described. Early travelers in Ohio came here and there upon embankments, which were found to inclose tracts of land of various sizes. It was noticed that the embankments were often of the form of perfect circles, or squares, or sometimes octagons, and very often combinations of these figures. It was further evident that the builders sought level, fertile lands, along the various river courses. They very seldom built them on undulating or broken ground. Often have the very places where civilized man has laid the foundation of his towns proved to be the sites of these ancient works of the Mound Builders, and thus it has happened that many of the most interesting works of antiquity have been ruthlessly removed to make way for the crowded streets and busy marts of our own times.

The larger number of inclosures are circular, often of a small size. Where they occur separately they either have no gateway, or but one. Sometimes the circles are of very large size, surrounding many acres. Sometimes, though not very often, a ditch was also dug inside the embankment. This

[1] Schmuckers.

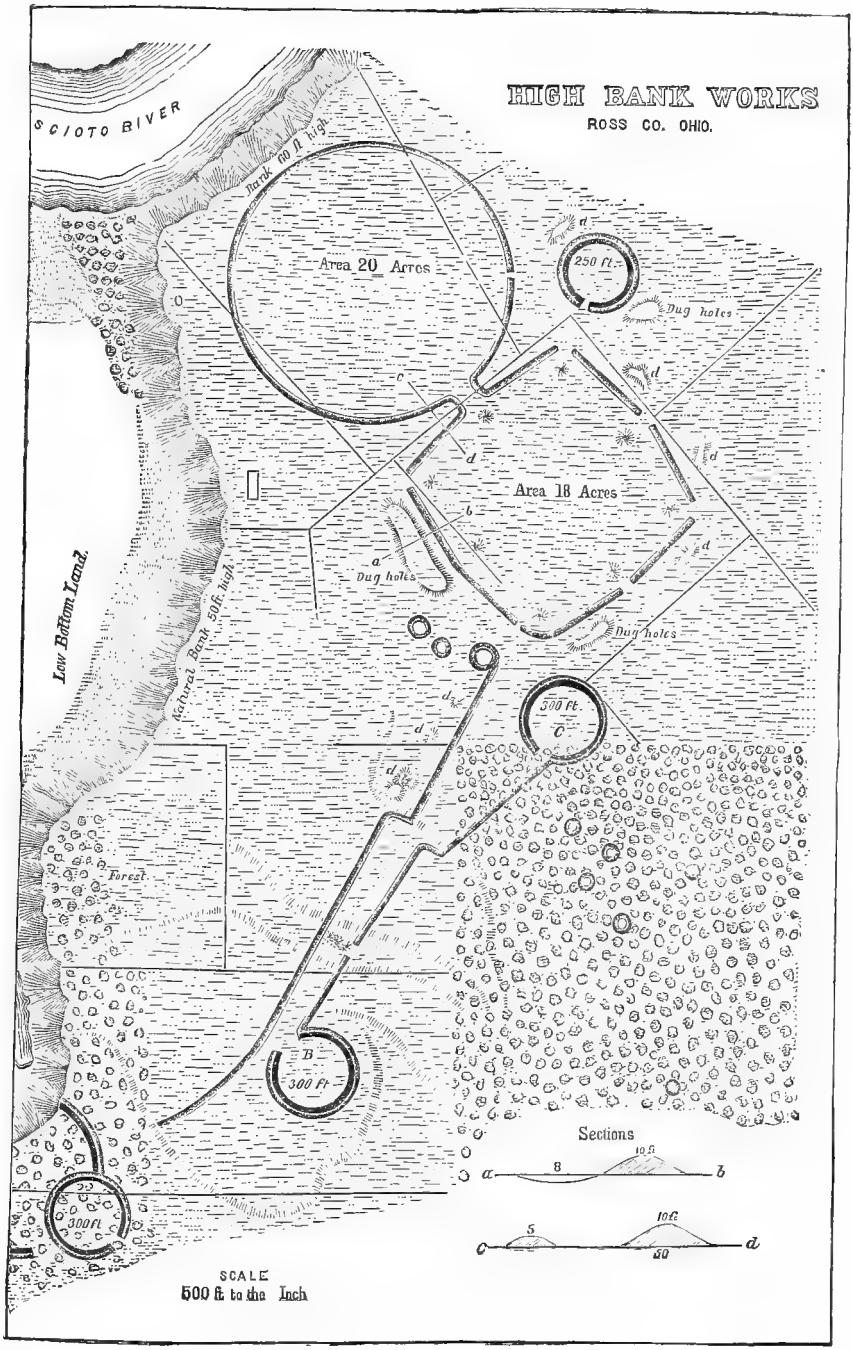
last circumstance is by many regarded as a strong proof that the primary object of these circles was not for defense.[1] But an inclosure of this kind, even with the ditch on the inside, if surmounted by a row of pickets or palisades, would prove a strong position against Indian foes armed with bow and arrow. The Mandans constructed defenses of this kind around their villages.[2] As to the original height of the walls, in the majority of cases it was not very great, generally from three to seven feet.

It is estimated that in Ohio alone there are fifteen hundred inclosures, but a large number of them have nothing especially worthy of mention. Some, however, are on such a large scale that they call from all more than a passing glance. In contemplating them, we feel ourselves confronted by a mystery that we can not explain. The ruins of the old world excite in us the liveliest feeling of interest, but we know their object, their builders, and their probable antiquity. The mazy ruins at Newark, and other places in Ohio, also fill the mind with astonishment, but in this case we are not certain of their antiquity, their builders are unknown, and we can not conjecture with any degree of certainty as to their use. Before so many uncertainties imagination runs riot, and we are inclined to picture to ourselves a scene of barbaric power and magnificence.

One beautiful specimen of this work is found in this cut. It occurs on the right bank of the Scioto river, five miles below Chillicothe. Here we notice a combination of the octagon and the circle. The areas of each are marked. The octagon is nine hundred and fifty feet in diameter, and nearly regular in shape. In 1846 its walls were eleven or twelve feet high, by about fifty feet base. It will be noticed that

[1] "Ancient Monuments," p. 47.

[2] Foster's "Prehistoric Races," p. 175.


HIGH BANK WORKS
ROSS CO. OHIO.
SCIOTO RIVER
Bank 60 ft high
Area 20 Acres
250 ft.
Dug holes
Area 18 Acres
Dug holes
Dug holes
Low Bottom Land.
Natural Bank 50 ft. high
300 ft.
C
Forest
B
300 ft
300 ft
Sections
a
8
10 ft
b
c
5
10 ft
50
d
SCALE
500 ft to the Inch

there is a gate at or near each angle of the octagon except one, and in front of that angle was a pit, from which some of the earth to form the walls was taken. Facing each gateway a mound was placed, as if to guard the entrance.

The circle connected with the octagon is perfect in shape, and is ten hundred and fifty feet in diameter. Its walls were only about half the height of the octagon. We notice some other small circular works in connection with the main work. In this case the parallels are not very regular, and seem to be connected with one or more circular works. In a work situated but a few miles from the one here portrayed, the parallels extend in one direction nearly half a mile, only one hundred and fifty feet apart. They terminate on the edge of a terrace. The object of such parallels is as yet unknown. In some cases, after extending some distance, they simply inclosed a mound.

It is easy enough to describe this work and give its dimensions, but who will tell us the object its builders had in mind? The walls themselves would afford but slight protection, and if they were for defense, must have been surmounted with palisades. Works that were undoubtedly in the nature of fortified camps, are found in this same section, and one of the strongest was located not more than twelve miles away; but such defensive works differ very greatly in design from regular structures such as we are now describing. A very eminent scholar, Mr. Morgan, has advanced the theory that the walls were the foundations on which communal houses, like the Pueblos of the West, were erected.[1] But this is mere theory. All traces of such habitations (if they ever existed) are gone, the usual *débris* which would be sure to

[1] "Contributions North American Ethnology," Vol. IV, p. 210. A cut of this "restored" pueblo is there given.

accumulate around house-sites, is wanting, and the walls themselves seem unfit for such purpose.[1]

They may have been embankments surrounding towns and cultivated fields, but little has yet been found which can be cited as proofs of residence within the area so inclosed. We should not be surprised, however, if such would ultimately prove to be the case, since we now know that the Mound Builders of Tennessee did fortify their villages by means of embankments and ditches.[2] A number of writers think that these regular inclosures were in some way connected with the superstitions of the people. In other words, that they were religious in character. Mr. Squier remarks, "We have reason to believe that the religious system of the Mound Builders, like that of the Aztecs, exercised among them a great, if not a controlling, influence. Their government may have been, for aught we know, a government of the priesthood—one in which the priestly and civil functions were jointly exercised, and one sufficiently powerful to have secured in the Mississippi Valley, as it did in Mexico, the erection of many of those vast monuments, which for ages will continue to challenge the wonder of men. There may have been certain superstitious ceremonies, having no connection with the purpose of the mound, carried on in inclosures especially dedicated to them."[3] Another late writer to whom we have several times referred, tells us there is no doubt but what a "religious view" was the controlling influence in the erection of these works, and that they express a "complicated system of symbolism," that we see in them evidence of a most powerful and wonderful religious system.[4] Still such assertions are easier made than proven, and until we know somewhat the purpose

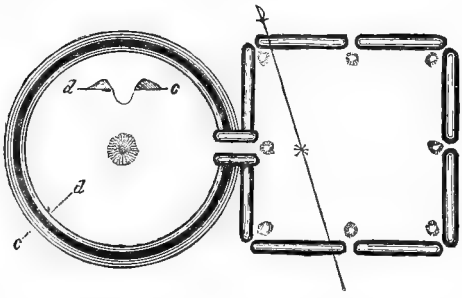
[1] See discussion of this subject in "Proceedings of Am. Antiq. Society," Oct., 1883. [2] "Peabody Museum Reports," Vol. II, p. 205.
[3] "Ancient Monuments," p. 47. [4] Peet: "The Mound Builders."

for which they were used, how are we to know whether they were sacred or not?

Casting conjectures, for the moment, aside, let us learn what we can from the works themselves. From their large extent they could only be reared by the expenditure of great labor. This implies some form of government sufficiently centralized and powerful to control the labors of large bodies of men. Moreover, they were sufficiently advanced to have some standard of measurement and some way of measuring angles. The circle, it will be remembered, is a true circle, and of a dimension requiring considerable skill to lay out. The sides of the octagon are equal, and the alternate angles coincident.

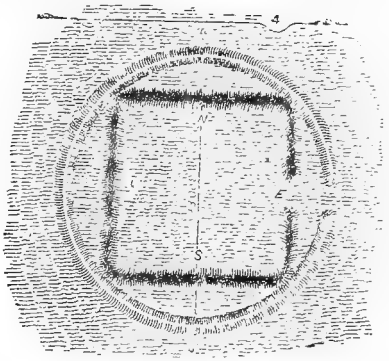
Every year the plow sinks deeper into these crumbling embankments, and the leveling forces of cultivation are continually at work, and the time is not far distant when the curious traveler will with difficulty trace the ruins of what was once, to the Mound Builders, a place of great importance.

The more usual combination was that of a square and a circle. An example is given in this cut, which is a plan on a very small scale, of works which formerly existed in Circleville. One peculiar feature about this work was that a double wall formed the circle, with a ditch between the two walls. In the next cut we notice a peculiar combination of these two figures. The square is inclosed within the circle. Whatever we may ultimately decide as to the larger works, it would seem as if this could only be explained as in the nature



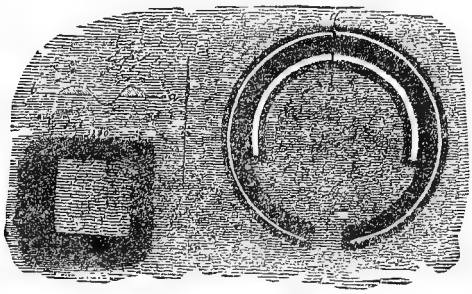

Square and Circle Embankment.

of a religious work. We can see no reason for constructing a defensive work, or inclosing a village, or erecting foundations for houses of such a shape as this. They must have been in some way connected with the superstitions of the people.



Square Inscribed in a Circle.

A peculiar feature is also noticed in reference to some of the smaller circles in this section. The cut below illustrates it. The circle has a ditch interior to the embankment, and also a broad embankment of about the same height with the outer wall, interior to the ditch, running about half-way around the circle. A short distance from the circle was one of those elevated squares, one hundred and twenty feet square at the base, and nine feet high.[1] It may be that this square was the foundation on which stood a temple, in which case the circle might have been dedicated to religious purposes also.



Circle and Ditch.

The great geometrical inclosures are especially numerous in the Scioto Valley. All the works we have described were in the near neighborhood of Chillicothe, and works as important as these are scattered all up and down the valley. We must also recall how well provided this valley was with signal mounds. All indications point to the fact that here

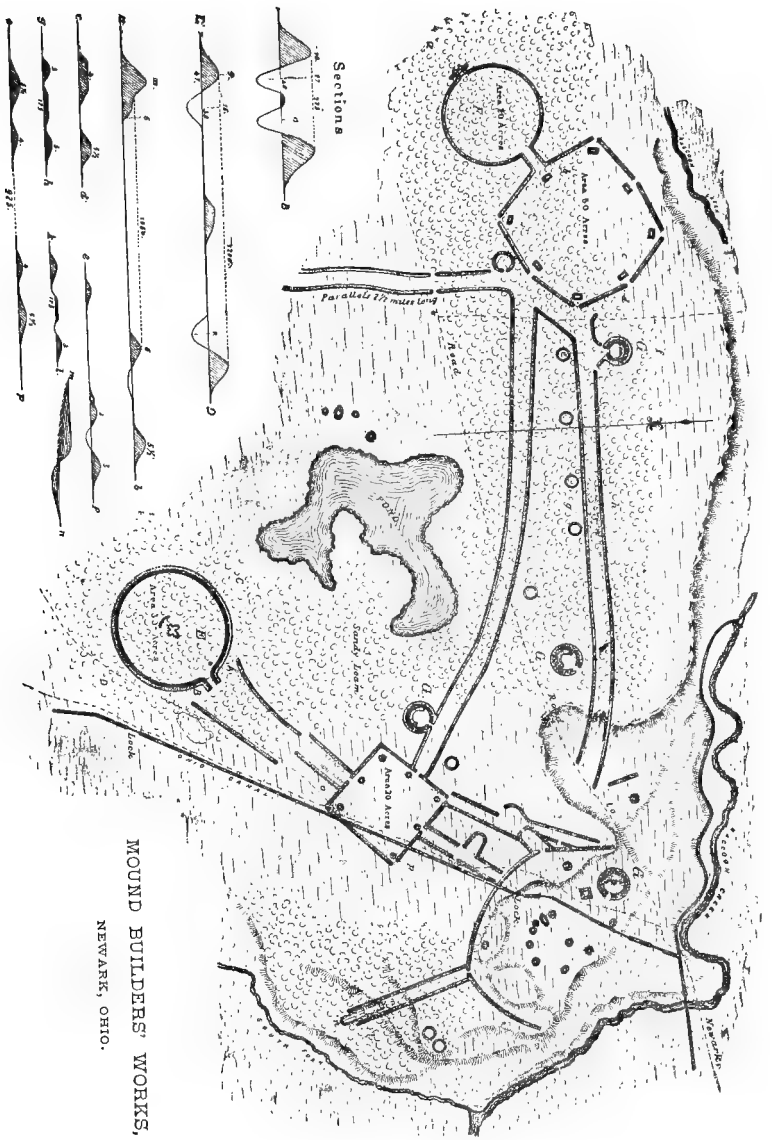
[1] "Ancient Monuments," p. 53.

was the location of a numerous people, ready to defend their homes whenever the warning fires were lit. Although Mound Builders' works are numerous in the valley of the two Miami Rivers, Cincinnati being the site of an extensive settlement, yet they were not such massive structures as those in the Scioto. This would seem to indicate that these valleys were the seats of separate tribes.[1] But this Eastern tribe must have occupied an extensive territory, since works of the most complicated kind are found at Newark.

All indications point to the fact that near this latter place was a very important settlement of the Mound Builders. Several fortified works exist a few miles up the valley; signal-mounds are to be seen on all heights, commanding a wide view, and the famous alligator mound is placed, as if with the design of guarding the entrance to the valley. No verbal description will give an idea of the works, so we refer at once to the plan. This will give us a good idea of the works as they were when the first white settlers gazed upon them. They have nearly all been swept away by modern improvements, excepting the two circular works and the octagon. Here and there fragments of the other works can still be traced.

Two forks of the Licking River unite near Newark; the bottom between these rivers comprising several square miles, was occupied by these ancient earth-works. By reference to the plan, we see the works consisted of mounds of various sizes, parallel walls, generally of a low elevation, small and low embankments, in the form of small circles and half-circles. There are also several large works consisting of a circle and octagon combined, one large circle, and a parallelogram. "The circular structure at 'E,' is undoubtedly one of the best preserved and most imposing in

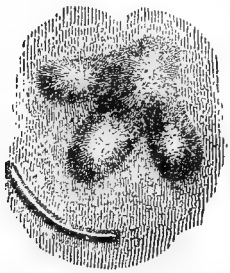
[1] Force: "Some Considerations on the Mound Builders," p. 64.




MOUND BUILDERS' WORKS,
NEWARK, OHIO.

the State. There are many inclosing larger areas, but none more clearly defined. As this is now included in the fair-grounds of Licking County, it is preserved from destruction,

and will remain a monument of aboriginal work long after all traces of the others have disappeared. "At the entrance, which is towards the east, the ends of the walls curve outwards for a distance of a hundred feet, leaving a passage way eighty feet wide between the deep ditches on either hand." From this point the work, even now, presents an impressive appearance. The walls are twelve feet in perpendicular height, and about fifty feet base. There is a ditch close around it on the inside, seven feet deep by thirty-five feet wide. The area inclosed is about thirty acres.



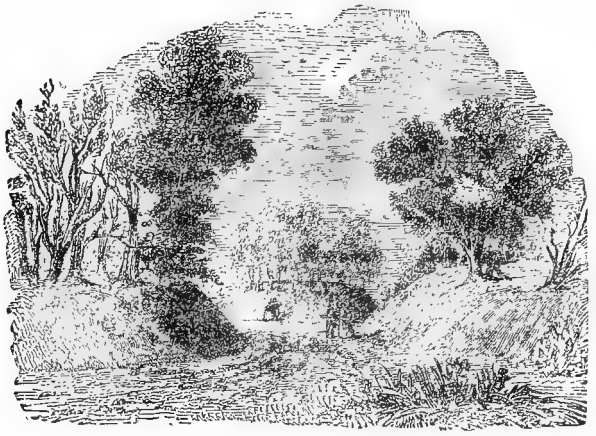
Eagle Mound.

In the center is an effigy-mound, represented by this cut. It represents a bird on the wing, and is called the Eagle Mound. The long mound in the body of the bird has been opened, and it was found to contain an altar, such as has been already described. Was this a place of sacrifice, and did this wall inclose a sacred area? Our question remains unanswered. We can dig in the mounds, and wander over the embankments, but the secret of the builders eludes us.

A mile to the north-west of the part of the work just described are the Octagon and works in connection with it. The Octagon is not quite regular, but the sides are very nearly equal. At each angle is a gateway, interior and opposite to which is a mound, as if to guard the opening. The cut gives a view of the Octagon, looking in through one of these gateways. At present, however, but a small portion is in the forest. Most of it is under cultivation, but the work can still be easily traced, and is one of the best preserved in the State. A portion of it, still in the forest, presents the same appearance to-day as it did to the

first explorer. When a stranger for the first time wanders along the embankment and ascends the mounds, he can not fail to experience sensations akin to those of the traveler when he comes upon the ruins of some Old World city. We wish that for a brief space of time the curtain of the past would up-roll, and let us view these works while yet their builders flourished here.

Connected with the Octagon by parallel walls three hundred feet long and placed sixty feet apart, is the smaller

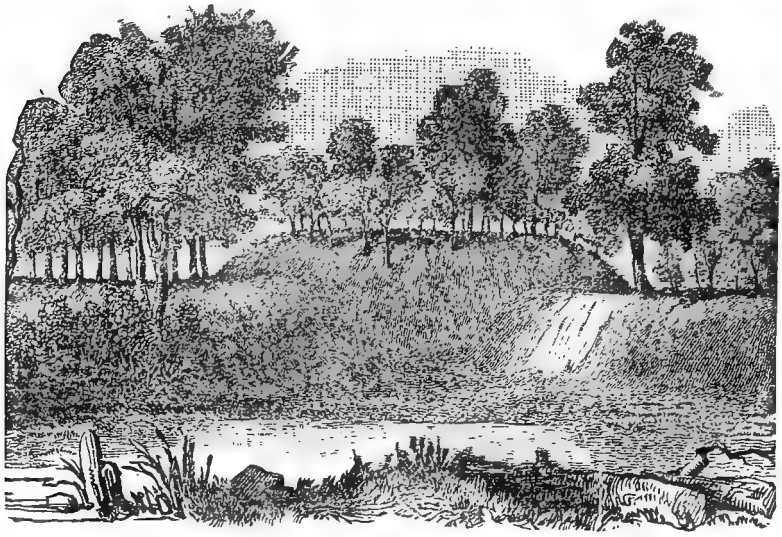


Gateway of Octagon.

circle, "F." This is a true circle, and is upwards of half a mile in circumference. A portion of it lying in the woods, still retains its primitive form, but the larger part is now under cultivation. There is no difficulty, however, in tracing its entire length. The most interesting feature in connection with this part of the work is immediately opposite the point of entrance from the octagon, and is represented in our next cut. At this point it seems as if the builders had started to make parallel walls, but afterwards changed their design and threw across the opening a large mound. From this mound a view of the entire embankment could be

obtained. It is called the Observatory Mound. It has been so often dug into that it is now really in ruins, but is still too steep to be plowed over.

It is scarcely necessary to describe the works further, except to state that three lines of parallel embankments lead away from the octagon. Those extending south have been



Observatory Mound, Newark Works.

traced for upwards of two miles, and are gradually lost in the plain. It was the opinion of Mr. Atwater, one of the earliest investigators, that these lines connected with other works thirty miles away, in the vicinity of Lancaster.[1] Small circles are numerous in connection with these works. It has been suggested by several that they mark the sites of circular dwellings. The larger ones, indicated by the letter "G," are more pretentious. They have the ditch and embankment, which we have already described. Many interesting coincidents in dimensions will be perceived between

[1] "Archæologia Americana," Vol I, p. 129.

portions of this work and those described in the Scioto Valley.[1]

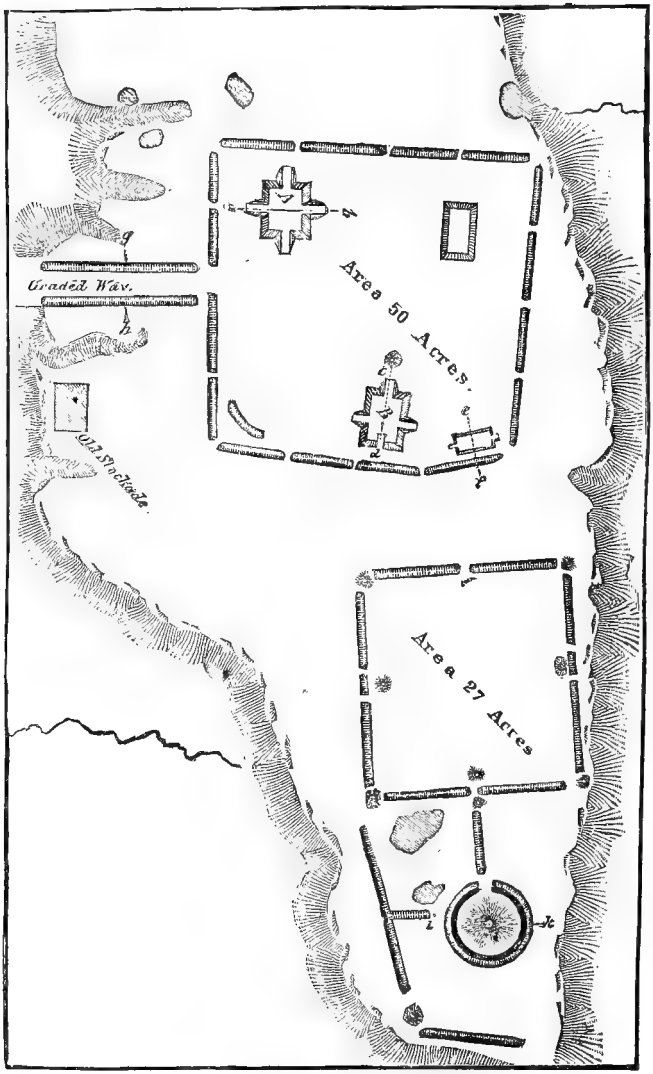
Although we have devoted considerable space to this branch of the Mound Builders' work, we must still find space to describe the works at Marietta, which possessed some singular features. This cut gives us a correct plan of the works as they were when in 1788 the first settlers arrived at the mouth of the Muskingum to lay out their town. The growth of the beautiful town of Marietta has completely destroyed these works, except the elevated squares, A and B, the large mound and inclosing circle at K, with a portion of the adjoining embankments, and a small fragment of the parallel walls forming what has been called the "Graded Way." The elevated squares are the finest examples of "temple" mounds remaining in the Ohio Valley. The circle and ditch with the conical mound inclosed is also a fine example of that class of works. From the summit of the mound an extensive view is to be had both up and down the Ohio.

The gateways of the smaller square were guarded by mounds, which were wanting in the larger one. We would call especial attention to the two embankments which led from the larger square towards the river. They were six hundred and eighty feet long, and one hundred and fifty feet apart.[2] Some have supposed these walls were designed to furnish a covered way to the river. But as Mr. Squier remarks, we would hardly expect the people to go to the trouble of making such a wide avenue for this purpose, nor one with such a regular grade. Besides, the walls did not reach the river. The work seems to be simply a passage way, lead-

[1] For words at Newark, consult "Ancient Monuments," p. 67, *et seq.* "*American Antiquarian*," July, 1882.

[2] Ancient Monuments, p. 74.

ing from one terrace to the other, but why the builders should have made such a massive work, we can not ex-

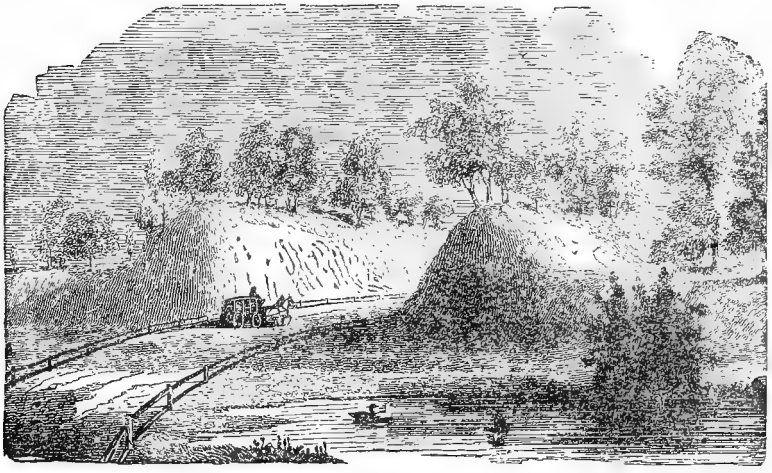



Works at Marietta, Ohio.

plain. It has been called the "Sacred Way," and this name may possibly be applicable, but it is only conjectural. Some

twenty years ago these two massive and beautiful embankments were still preserved, thanks to the care of the early settlers, who planned a street to pass between them, which was named the *Via Sacra*. These words still remain on a corner sign-board; but alas for sentiment! the banks, so long revered, have been utilized for brick-working.

Several instances of these graded streets or ways have been found in connection with the Mound Builders' works. Sometimes they lead from one terrace to another, sometimes directly to the water. One of the latter kind formerly ex-



Graded Way, Piketon, Ohio.

isted near Piqua, Ohio.[1] This cut is a view of a graded way near Piketon, Ohio. In this case, though the difference in level between the second and third terrace is but seventeen feet, these ancient people laid out a graded ascent some ten hundred and eighty feet long, by two hundred and ten feet average width. The earth was thrown out on either side, forming embankments. From the left hand embankments, passing up to the third terrace, there could formerly

[1] "Ancient Monuments," p. 88.

be traced a low embankment running for fifteen hundred feet, and connected with mounds and other walls at its extremity.

Some have supposed that formerly the river flowed at the extremity of this graded way, and a passage way to the water was thus furnished. Squier says, in this connection: "It is sufficient to observe that the river now flows half a mile to the left, and that two terraces, each twenty feet in height, intervene between the present and the supposed ancient level of the stream. To assent to this suggestion, would be to admit an almost immeasurable antiquity to the structure under consideration." The casual observer would say that it was intended to afford an ascent from one terrace to the other. But as the height was only seventeen feet, we can not see why it was so necessary to have a long passage way of easy grade from one terrace to the other. It was evidently built in connection with the obliterated works on the third terrace. This interesting remain is now utilized as a turnpike, and the passing traveler but little recks he is going over one of the most ancient causeways in the land. It may be that ceremonious processions, with stately tread, utilized this causeway in years long since elapsed. Speculation, always an unsafe guide to follow, is especially so in this case, and so we leave this memento of a vanished people as much an enigma to us as to its first explorers.

We have described but a few of the sacred inclosures of Ohio, but enough have been given to give us a fair idea of all. We wish now to call attention to another class of remains. We have seen how the works we have been describing are lacking in defensive qualities. This becomes more marked, when we learn there are works, beyond a doubt, defensive in character, in which advantage is taken of all circumstances which would render the chosen retreat more

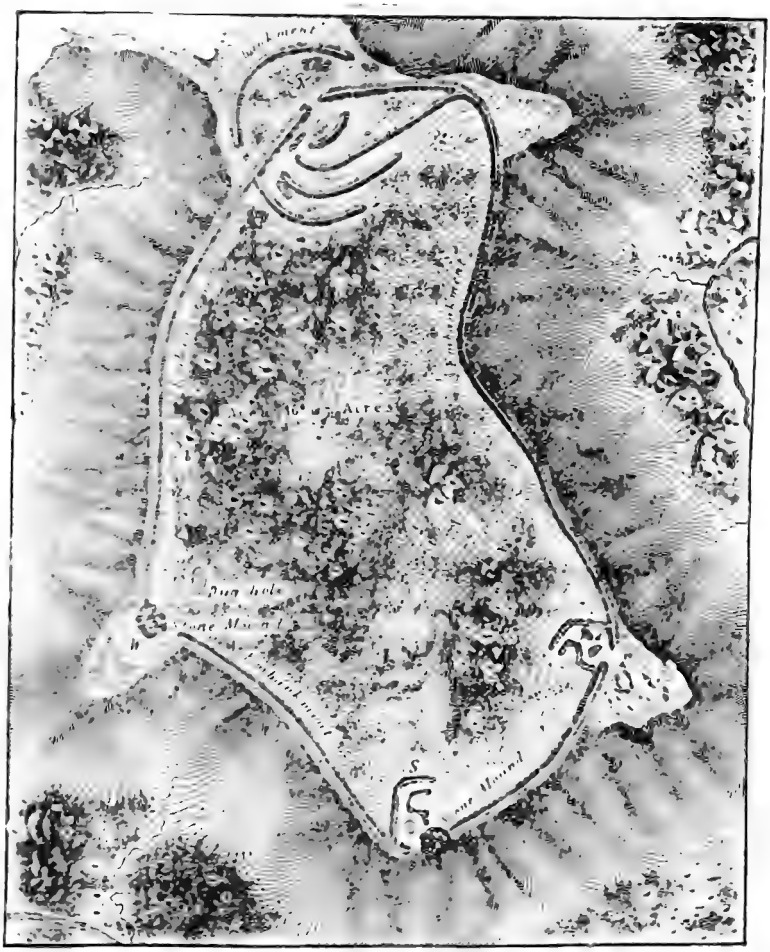
secure. In the first place, strong natural positions were selected. They chose for their purpose bluffy headlands leading out into the river plain. A people surrounded by enemies, or pressed by invaders, would naturally turn their attention to such heights as places susceptible of defense. Accordingly, it does not surprise us to find many heights occupied by strong and complicated works. Generally the approaches to them were rugged and steep on all but one or two sides, and there they are guarded by walls of earth or stone.

A fine example of a fortified hill was discovered in Butler County, Ohio, a few miles below the town of Hamilton. This hill is the highest one in the immediate vicinity. By reference to the figure, we see that on all sides, except towards the north, the approach was steep and precipitous, almost inaccessible.

The wall is not of regular shape. It runs around on the very brow of the hill, except in one or two places, where it cuts across a ridge. In 1843 this wall was still about five feet high and thirty-five feet base. The earth and stone of which the wall is made were evidently gathered up from the surface of the hill. In some places holes had been excavated, probably for the double purpose of securing materials for the wall, and providing reservoirs for water against a time of need. There are but four openings in the wall, and each is very carefully guarded. The complicated walls guarding the main entrance to the north are especially noticeable. There are no less than four inner walls besides the crescent shaped embankment on the outside. The signal mound was about five hundred feet to the north of the main opening. The stones on the surface of the mound all show the action of fire.

If we were uncertain of the uses of the other class of inclosures, which have been named Sacred Inclosures, we have

no need to hesitate as to the character of this work. Every thing in reference to it betokens that it was a defensive work. The valley of the Big Miami, in which it occurs,



Fortified Hill, Hamilton, Ohio.

was a favorite resort of the Mound Builders. On the opposite side of the river, to the south, was a square and an ellipse combined, and several other large works were ranged along the river in the course of a few miles. We need

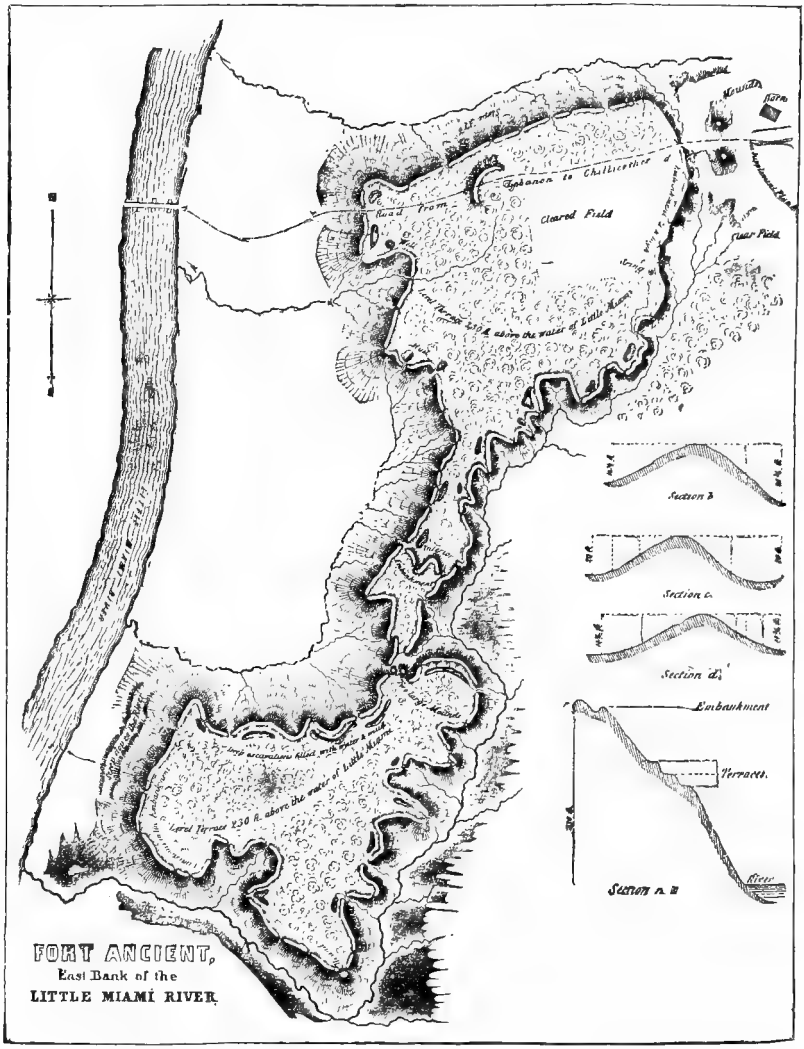
scarcely doubt that this was a citadel in times of need, and that when warning columns of smoke or flaming fires showed the approach of an enemy, the old and the sick, the women and the children, fled hither for protection, while the warriors went forth to battle for their homes.

We will call attention to but one more of these fortified hills, but this is on a magnificent scale. It is known as Fort Ancient, and is situated on the Little Miami River, about forty miles east of Cincinnati. It was not only a fort, but was also a fortified village site, and has some features about it which are regarded as of a religious nature. The hill on which it stands is in most places very steep towards the river. A ravine starts from near the upper end on the eastern side, gradually deepening towards the south, and finally turns abruptly towards the west to the river. By this means nearly the whole work occupies the summit of a detached hill, having in most places very steep sides. To this naturally strong position fortifications were added, consisting of an embankment of earth of unusual height, which follows close around the very brow of the hill. This embankment is still in a fine state of preservation, but is now annually exposed to cultivation and the inroads of cattle, so that it will not be long before it will be greatly changed if no effort be made to preserve it.

This wall is, of course, the highest in just those places where the sides of the hill are less steep than usual. In some places it still has a height of twenty feet. We notice the wall has numerous breaks in it. Some of these are where it crosses the ravines, leading down the sides of the hill. In a few cases the embankment may still be traced to within a few feet of a rivulet.

Considerable discussion has ensued as to the origin and use of these numerous gateways. Mr. Squier thinks that

these openings were occupied by timber work in the nature of block-houses, which have long since decayed. Others, however, think that the wall was originally entire except in




a few instances, and that the breaks now apparent were formed by natural causes, such as water gathering in pools, and musk-rats burrowing through the walls, and we are told

that such an opening was seen forming in the year 1847.[1] No regular ditch exists inside the wall, the material apparently being obtained from numerous dug holes.

It will be seen that the works could be naturally divided into two parts, connected by the isthmus. More than one observer has pointed out the resemblance in general outline of this work to a map of North and South America, but of course the resemblance, if any, is entirely accidental. Mr. Peet has called attention to the resemblance which the walls of the lower inclosure bear to two serpents, their heads being the mounds, which are separated from the body by the opening which resembles a ring around the neck. Their bodies are the walls, which, as they bend in and out, and rise and fall, much resembles, he thinks, two massive green serpents rolling along the summit of this high hill. If any such resemblance occurs, we think it purely accidental. In relation to the wall across the isthmus, it has been thought to have been the means of defending one part of the work should an enemy gain entrance to the other. It has also been supposed that at first the fort was only built to the cross wall on the isthmus, and afterwards the rest of the inclosure was added to the work.

The total length of the embankment is about five miles, the area enclosed about one hundred acres. For most of this distance the grading of the walls resembles the heavy grading of a railroad track. Only one who has personally examined the walls can realize the amount of labor they represent for a people destitute of metallic tools, beasts of burden, and other facilities to construct it.

[1] Mr. Putnam visited the work a few years since, and came to the conclusion that the larger and old openings were part of the original design, and that they were places where it was easier to put up log structures than earthen walls. Just such openings occur in the massive stone wall around Fort Hill, in Highland County. A few of the openings at Fort Ancient he thinks are unquestionably of recent origin, in order to drain the holes inside the embankments.

Now, what was the object of this work? We think it was not simply a fort, but rather a fortified village. That it must have required the work of a numerous body of people, is undoubted, and if they lived elsewhere, where are the works denoting such a fact? We would further suggest that, if this was the seat of a tribe, each of the two divisions might have been the location of a phratry of the tribe, by a phratry, meaning the subdivision of a tribe. We would call especial attention to the two mounds seen just outside of the walls at the upper end. From these mounds two low parallel walls extended in a north-easterly direction some thirteen hundred and fifty feet, their distant ends joining around a small mound. As this mound was not well situated for signal purposes, inasmuch as it did not command a very extensive view, and as the embankments would afford very little protection, unless provided with palisades, it seems as if the most satisfactory explanation we have is that it was in the nature of a religious work.

Mr. Hosea thinks he has found satisfactory evidence that between these walls there was a paved street, as he discovered in one place, about two feet below the present surface, a pavement of flat stones.[1] From this, as a hint, he eloquently says: "Imagination was not slow to conjure up the scene which was once doubtless familiar to the dwellers at Fort Ancient. A train of worshipers, led by priests clad in their sacred robes, and bearing aloft the holy utensils, pass in the early morning, ere yet the mists have risen in the valley below, along the gently swelling ridge on which the ancient roadway lies. They near the mound, and a solemn stillness succeeds their chanting songs; the priests ascend the hill of sacrifice and prepare the sacred fire. Now the first beams of the rising sun shoot up athwart the ruddy sky, gilding the

[1] *Cincinnati Quart. Journal Science*, 1874, p. 294.

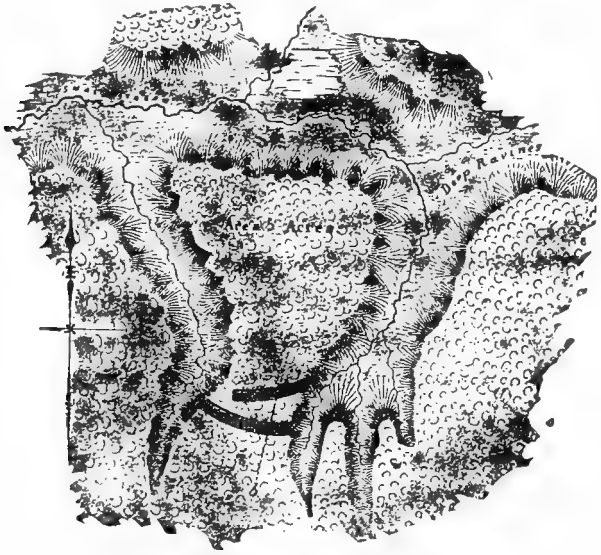
topmost boughs of the trees. The holy flame is kindled, a curling wreath of smoke arises to greet the coming god; the tremulous hush which was upon all nature breaks into vocal joy, and songs of gladness bursts from the throats of the waiting multitude as the glorious luminary arises in majesty and beams upon his adoring people. A promise of renewed life and happiness. Vain promise, since even his rays can not penetrate the utter darkness which for ages has settled over this people." Thus imagination suggests, and enthusiasm paints a scene, but, from positive knowledge, we can neither affirm nor deny its truth.

Most of the works of the Mound Builders are noticeable for their solidity and massiveness. We see this illustrated in the great walls of Fort Ancient. Some of our scholars think this is a distinguishing feature of the Mound Builders' work.[1] It seems to us that it is difficult to make this a distinguishing feature, as we have no means of knowing how much "massiveness" is required in a work to entitle it to be considered a work of the Mound Builders. Should this distinction be established, however, we have to notice that while in the western part of the State of Ohio the Mound Builders' inclosures are more often of the defensive sort, the type changes to the eastward, where, as in the Scioto Valley, we find the so-called sacred inclosures in larger numbers. In the State of Ohio, then, there were at least two well defined types of works by the Mound Builders. But if we split the Mound Builders up into tribes, where shall we draw the line between them and our later Indians?

Scattered through Ohio, but especially abundant in the northern part of the State, is a class of works which has excited considerable comment. This cut illustrates a work of this kind. It was located near where Cleveland now

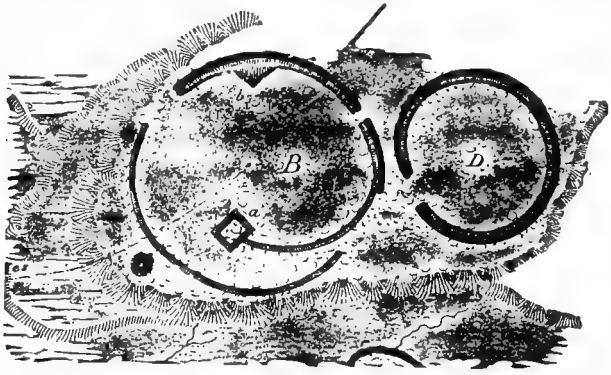
[1] Peet: "The Mound Builders."

stands. The defense consists mainly in the location. The wall seems to have been rather of a secondary affair. The



Fortified Headland, Northern Ohio.

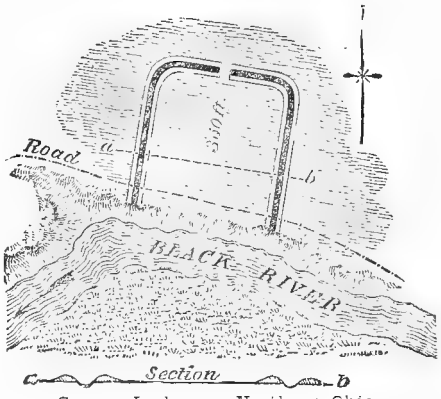
hill was too steep to admit approach to it except from the rear, where the double wall was placed. With both of




Inclosures, Northern Ohio.

these works a ditch was dug outside the wall. These works did not always consist simply of fortified headlands. This cut is of a portion of the works formerly existing near Nor-

walk, Ohio. The circular work, D, is shaped much like the sacred inclosures, though not on so large a scale. In the larger work, at B, we notice a truncated mound. The ditch is on the outside of the circles. This cut is of a work formerly on the banks of the Black River. Here we have a square inclosure, defended by two embankments and a ditch.



Square Inclosure, Northern Ohio.

This class of works was formerly common not only in Ohio and Western New York, but they were also to be observed in other sections of the country. They existed alike in the valley of the two Miami Rivers, and in that of the Scioto. They were also found throughout the South. Even Wisconsin, the home of the effigy Mound Builders, is not destitute of this class of remains. The peculiar interest attaching to them arises from the fact that in some places, at least, we have good reason to assign their construction to Indian tribes. Those of Western New York were very thoroughly studied by Mr. Squier. When he commenced his investigations, he was under the impression that he was dealing with the remains of a people very similar, at least, to those who built the massive works in the Ohio Valley and elsewhere, but he was led to the conviction that they were the works of the Iroquois Indians, and as further proof that such was the case, we are told that since the palisades that once inclosed places known to be villages of the Iroquois have disappeared, there is no difference to be observed between the appearance of the ruins of such a village site and any of

the earthworks in Western New York. But we have just stated that the remains last mentioned are identical with those found in Northern Ohio, and indeed over a wide extent of country. The conclusion seems to be, then, that one large class of works, in many points resembling Mound Builders' works, found widely distributed throughout the Mississippi Valley, were really the works of Indians.[1] But we are approaching a subject we do not wish to discuss just yet. We simply point out that not all the remains of prehistoric people in the Mississippi Valley are referable to the Mound Builders.

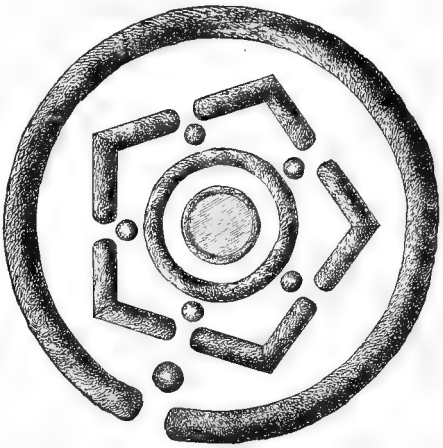
We have tried to point out the more important works that are ascribed to them. It must of necessity occur in a work of this nature that the review should be very brief, yet we have touched on the different classes of their works. But before leaving this part of our field we must mention some anomalous works, and refer to others which, if they can be relied on as works of the same people, certainly imply a great advance on their part.

Our next cut is named by Mr. Pidgeon the "Sacrificial Pentagon." Writing in 1850, he states, "This remarkable group . . . has probably elicited more numerous conjectures as to its original use than any other earth-work yet discovered in the valley of the Mississippi. . . . It is situated on the west highlands of the Kickapoo River, in Wisconsin."[2] Mr. Pidgeon claims to have discovered two of these pentagons. We are not aware that any one else has verified these discoveries, and it is difficult to decide what value

[1] Peet's "Mound Builders:" "If the reader will compare some of these last cuts with that of the fortified camp at Cissbury, Eng., p. 183, he will see how similar this last work is to those just mentioned. Perhaps the real lesson to be learned is that rude people, whether Indians, Mound Builders, or Celts, resorted to about the same method of defense."

[2] "Antiquarian Research," p. 89.

to give to his writings. He claims to have made extensive researches around the head-waters of the Mississippi as early as 1840, and there to have met an aged Indian—the last of his tribe—who gave him many traditions as to the mounds in that locality. Most of our scholars think his writings of no account whatever, and yet Mr. Conant says, "He seems to have been a thoroughly conscientious and careful observer, faithfully noting what he saw and heard."[1]



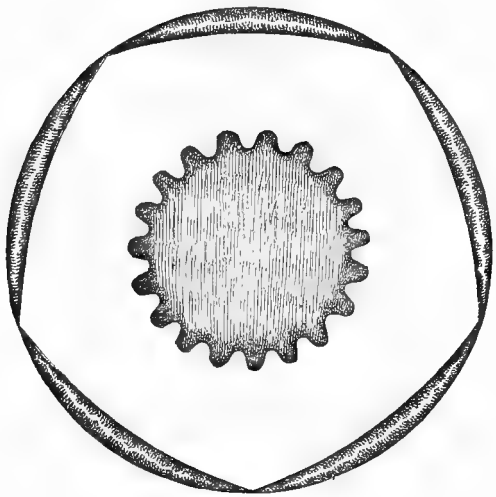
Sacrificial Pentagon.

We will briefly describe a few of the earth-works he mentions, notice their singular form, and give an outline of the traditions in regard to them, leaving the reader to draw his own conclusions. Of this work the outer circle is said to have been twelve hundred feet in circumference, the walls being from three to five feet in height; width on the ground from twelve to sixteen feet. The walls of the pentagon were from four to six feet high. The inner circle was of very slight elevation. The central mound was thirty-six feet in diameter. This singular arrangement of circle, pentagon, and mounds, is traditionally represented to have been a sacred national altar—the most holy one known to tradition—and no foot, save that of a priest, might pass within the sacred walls of the pentagon after its completion. The

[1] Conant's "Footprints of Vanished Races," p. 15, *et seq.* Mr. Conant refers to Mr. Pidgeon's work in such a way as to give the impression that he was convinced of the genuineness of his account.

sacrifice offered on this altar was that of human life. Twice each year the offering was made.[1]

The work represented in the figure below is stated to have been in the near neighborhood of the former, and to have been intimately connected with it. Mr. Pidgeon claims to have found five of these circles and two pentagons. So far as we know, he is the only authority for their occurrence, no one else having been so fortunate as to have found them. This is surely a singular work, and we can not fail to recognize in it a representation of the sun and the moon. In excavating in the central mound, we are assured that small pieces of mica were found abundantly mixed with the soil. "Had the surface-soil been removed with care, and the stratum beneath been washed by a few heavy showers of rain, so thoroughly studded was it with small particles of mica, that under the sun's rays it certainly would have presented no unapt symbolic representation of that luminary."[2]

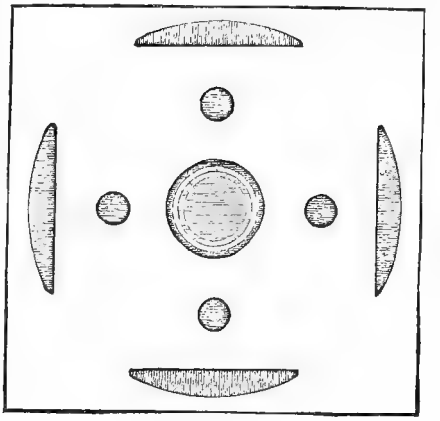


Festival Circle.

Our next figure is another singular arrangement of crescent-shaped works and mounds. Lapham says that crescent-shaped works are found in Wisconsin. Pidgeon says that crescent works are found in Illinois, but works arranged as shown in this wood-cut he found in but four places in Wis-

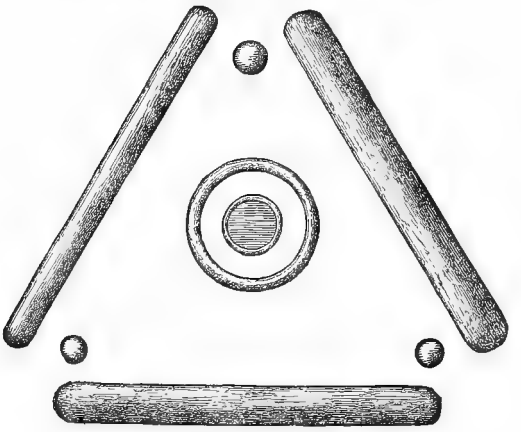
[1] "Traditions of Decodah," p. 89, *et seq.* [2] "Antiquarian Research," p. 190.

consin. Could we verify this author's statements, this illustration and the preceding one would be very good evidence of the prevalence of sun-worship among the effigy Mound Builders of Wisconsin. This would be nothing singular, since the Indian race almost universally reverenced the sun.[1]



Crescent Works.

The figure below represents a group of works which, we are told, were of a class formerly abundant in Missouri and Iowa. The embankments are stated to be of varying heights, but all of the same length. They do not quite meet, but a mound defends the opening. Sometimes a square is so represented, and sometimes but two walls.



Triangular Works.

A singular statement is made in reference to a nice proportion said to be observed between the heights of the embankments and walls. In this case, for instance, the heights of the embankments are, three, four, and five feet; the sum of these, twelve feet, was the exact

[1] "The American Indian, so far as known, without the exception of a single tribe, worshiped the sun." Carr's "Mounds of the Mississippi Valley," p. 56.

height of the central mound. Furthermore, the square of the sum of the heights of three embankments gives us one hundred and forty-four feet, which is the length of the embankments. We are gravely assured that this same nice proportion is always observed in works of this kind. The embankments being always of equal length, but of varying heights, still the sum of these heights, whether three or four sides, being always equal to the height of the central mound.[1] We do not know of any specimen of this class of works now existing. If this early explorer's account be reliable, then we have in works of this class very good evidence that some of their inclosures were in the nature of sacred inclosures. The trouble is to verify Mr. Pidgeon's account. There is a good deal that is strange and marvelous in reference to the Mound Builders, and we must use judgment as to what is told us, unless we are sure there is no mistake, or unless the reports are vouched for by many observers.

We wish to call attention to some singular works in Missouri, which would imply that the Mound Builders were possessed of no little engineering skill. We have every indication that near New Madrid was a very extensive settlement. The works consist of inclosures, large and small mounds in great numbers, and countless residence sites. One of fifty acres was noticed, which had evidently been inclosed by earthen walls. In some places in the forest, where this wall had been preserved, its height was found to be from three to five feet, and its base width fifteen feet.[2] But the suggestive features about these works are noticed along the edge of the swamp near which they stood. This swamp in 1811 was a lake, with a clear, sandy bottom. It

[1] Conant's "Footprints of Vanished Races," p. 60.

[2] Ibid., p. 32. If the explorers are really satisfied this was a walled town, it ought to throw some light on the inclosures in the Ohio Valley.

is not at all doubted but that it was at one time the bed of the Mississippi River, and probably this town stood on its banks. The river is now some eighteen miles away. It must suddenly have changed its course, leaving behind it a lake, which, in course of time, became a swamp.

But along the shores of this ancient lake, "in front of the inclosure, small tongues of land have been carried out into the water, from fifteen to thirty feet in length, by ten or fifteen in width, with open spaces between, which, small as they are, forcibly remind one of the wharfs of a seaport town. The cypress trees grew very thickly in all the little bays thus formed, and the irregular, yet methodical, outlines of the forest, winding in and out close to the shore of these tongues of land, is so marked as to remove all doubt as to their artificial origin.[1] The suggestion is made in view of these wharfs, that the Mound Builders must have had some sort of boats to navigate the waters of the lake.

And the singular part is, that right in this neighborhood are many evidences of a system of canals. A glance at the map will show that the portion of Missouri around New Madrid, and to the south of it, is dotted with swampy lakes and sluggish bayous. The evidence is to the effect that the ancient inhabitants connected these bayous and lakes with artificial canals, so as to form quite an extended system of inland water-ways. Right east of the town of Gayoso, we are told that a canal had been dug that now connects the Mississippi with a lake called Big Lake. A bayou running into this lake was joined by a canal with Cushion Lake.

From this last lake, by means of bayous and lakes, a clear course could be pursued for some miles north, where finally another canal was cut to join with the Mississippi a

[1] Conant's "Footprints of Vanished Races," p. 35.

few miles below New Madrid. The entire length of this water way was some seventy miles, but we are not told how much of it was artificial, neither are the dimensions given. Prof. Swallow speaks of a canal "fifty feet wide, and twelve feet deep." Whether this was one of this series or not, we do not know.[1] This is indeed a singular piece of work. It would be more satisfactory if we had more definite information in regard to the same.

With our present knowledge of the state of society among the Mound Builders, as made evident by the remains of their implements and ornaments, we are not justified in believing this part of a system of internal navigation. We have already seen that further south they sometimes surrounded their village sites with a wide and deep moat or ditch, as was observed around the inclosure containing the great mound on the Etowah. We are inclined to believe that a more careful survey would greatly modify the accounts we have of these canals, if it did not, in fact, show that they were the works of nature. According to a writer in the *American Antiquarian*,[2] the whole lower part of the Mississippi Valley was abundantly supplied with canals, irrigating ditches, and evidences of a high intelligence. He speaks of observing the presence of an extensive canal a little north of the section we have described. He asserts they were dug to convey the surplus waters of the Mississippi in times of flood to the White and St. Francis Rivers, thus preventing disastrous overflows. It is needless to caution the reader against such conclusions. Our information in regard to those canals is far too limited to support the views advanced.

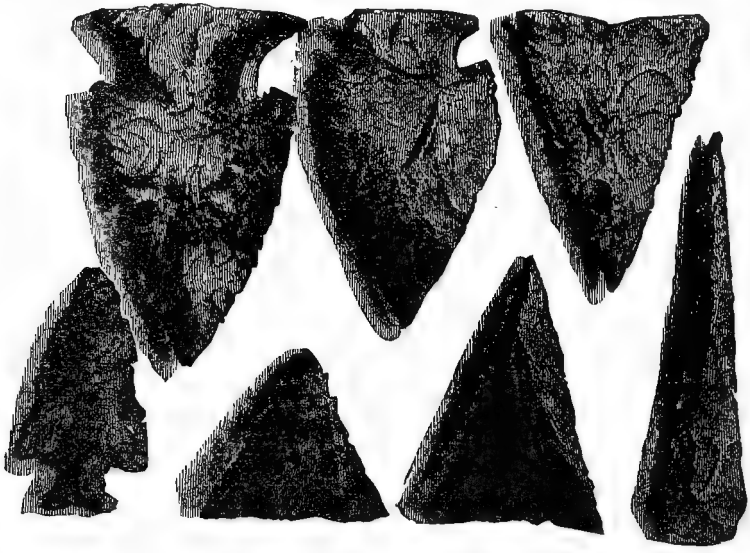
This finishes our examination of the works of the Mound

[1] Conant's "Footprints of Vanished Races," p. 77.
[2] Vol. III, p. 290, *et seq.*

Builders. Except in the case of the more massive works, they have become obliterated, but here and there are left traces of the former presence of these now vanished people. The antiquary muses over the remains of their inclosures, their fortified places, their effigies and mounds. By the combined efforts of scholars in many departments, we may yet hope that the darkness now enshrouding this race may be dissipated, but at present our positive knowledge is very limited indeed. It is as if we were asked to reconstruct a picture which had faded in the lapse of time so that only traces here and there are visible. Here, perhaps, a hand is seen; there a piece of foliage; in one place something we think representing water, in another a patch of sky, or a mountain peak. Until a key is found which shall show us how to connect these scattered parts, our efforts are useless, since many pictures could be formed, but we have no surety we are right. So we may form mental conceptions of the Mound Builders, but they are almost as varied as the individual explorers. Science may yet discover the key which will enable us to form a clear mental conception of the race which flourished here many years ago, and left their crumbling memorials to excite the curiosity of a later people.

We must now turn our attention to another branch of inquiry and learn what we can of the culture of the Mound Builders. This is to be determined by an investigation of the remains of their implements, weapons, and ornaments. When we know the skill with which they manufactured these articles, and gain an insight into some of their probable customs, we shall know where to place them in the scale of civilization. What we have learned of their works has already convinced us that we are dealing with a people considerably above the scale of Savagery. The nice proportion between the parts, the exact circles and coincident angles show con-

siderable advance in mechanical skill. The character of the works indicates that the people had permanent places of abode, and were not subject to the vicissitudes of a hunter's state of life for subsistence. This implies that we are dealing with a people living in village communities, practicing agriculture and many other arts, and therefore entitled to rank in the middle status of Barbarism corresponding to the Neolithic inhabitants of Europe.[1] We will now see how far



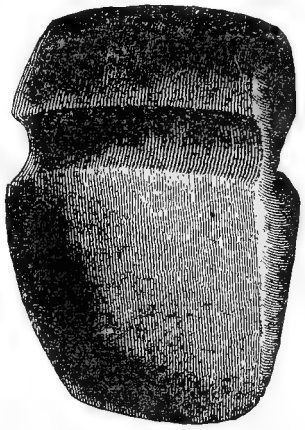
Arrow Points.

this conclusion is sustained by an examination of the remains of the handiwork of the people.

Implements of stone are of course abundant. But men, when in the culture of the Stone Age, having a common material to work upon, and under the pressure of common needs, have everywhere provided similar forms. For this reason it is hard to find distinctive points of difference between implements of stone of Mound Builders' work and a series of similar implements the work of Indians. We are

[1] Morgan's "Ancient Society," p. 11.

assured, however, that when examining a series of each, those of the Mound Builders display a superior finish.[1] The preceding wood-cut represents a collection of arrow-points found in the mounds, but they are not particularly so distinguishable from specimens found on the surface. Great numbers of arrow-points are occasionally found on altars. Here we have a view of one of the stone axes fashioned by the hands that heaped the mounds. It is certainly a very fine specimen.



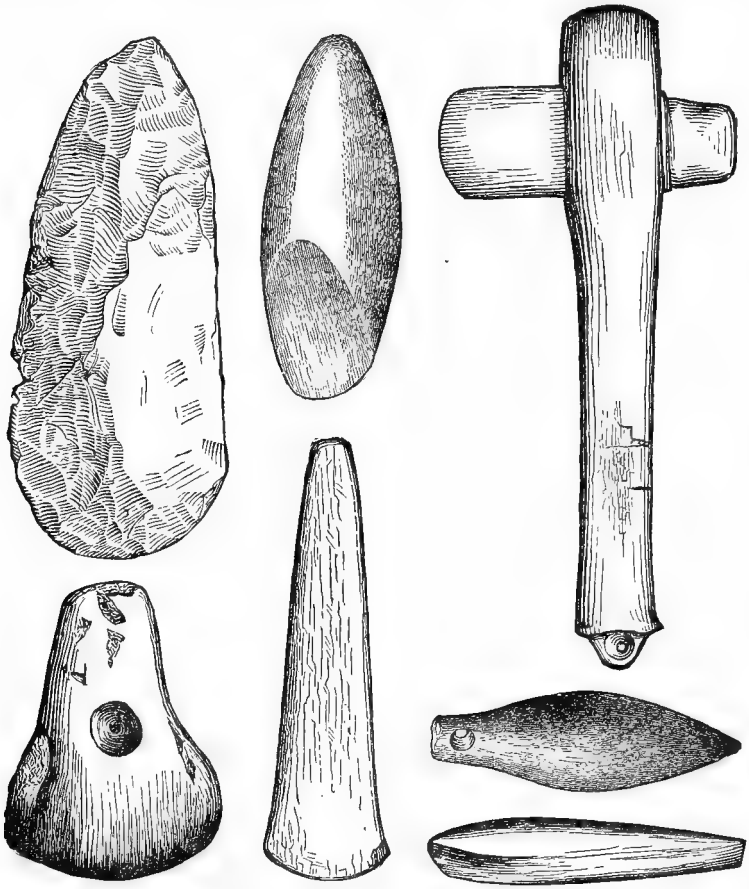
Ax found in a Mound.

The Mound Builders must have had all the varieties of stone implements common to people in their stage of culture, such as axes, fleshers, and chisels. They also must have possessed mortars and pestles for grinding corn, and some implements did duty as hoes and spades. We represent in a group a collection of weapons and implements from the mounds and stone graves of Tennessee. All these articles are finely finished. One of the axes has a hole bored through it. One of them is further provided with a stone handle, and is characterized as being the "most beautiful and perfect stone implement ever exhumed from the aboriginal remains within the limits of the United States."

People in the culture of the Stone Age make but very rare use of metal, as metals are to them simply varieties of stone, much less useful for their purpose than the different kinds of flints, except for ornaments. From the altar mounds, near Cincinnati, were taken ornaments of silver, copper,

[1] "Ancient Monuments," p. 210; also Peet: "The Mound Builders." "Their relics are marked by a peculiar finish."

iron, and traces of gold, all of which had been worked into their present shape by simply hammering. The iron, it should be remarked, was meteoric iron, which can be hammered as easily

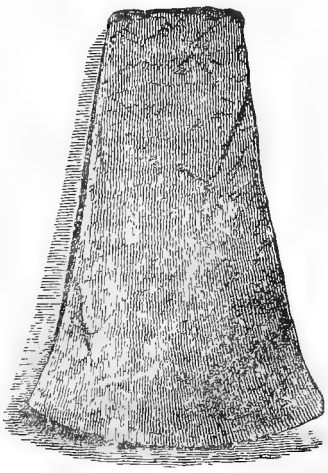


Weapons of Stone from Tennessee. (Smith Inst,)

as native copper. We have already remarked that about the only native iron is obtained from such sources. Copper was utilized for a great variety of purposes.

We give a cut of a copper ax found in one of the Ohio mounds. Copper axes have lately been found quite frequently in mounds near Davenport, Iowa, and in most cases

before being deposited in the mounds, they had been wrapped in cloth. Copper ornaments are a more common find. Bracelets, beads, and ear ornaments are numerous. Our next cut represents some very fine bracelets found in a mound near Chillicothe, Ohio. Copper tools and weapons have been found quite frequently on the surface, but we are not sure in this case whether they are not the work of recent Indians. The early explorers noticed the presence of copper ornaments among the Indians. "When Henry Hudson discovered, in 1609, the magnificent river that bears his name, he noticed among the Indians of that region pipes and ornaments of copper." The account says: "They had red copper tobacco pipes, and other things of copper they did wear about their necks."[1] De Soto also noticed among the Southern Indians axes of copper. Other accounts could be quoted showing that the Indians were well acquainted with copper.[2] The fact is, in this matter also, it is impossible to draw a dividing line between relics of the Mound Building tribes and the Indians. However, the Mound Builders were certainly acquainted with copper, but to their minds it was only a singular stone, one that they could hammer into a desired shape.



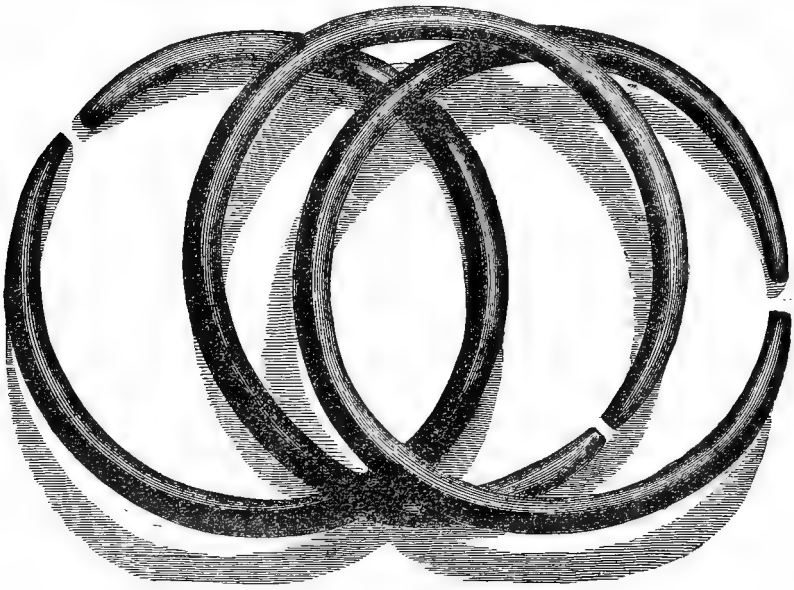
Copper Ax.

Where did they obtain their copper? We are all aware that in this country great supplies of pure copper exist near the southern shore of Lake Superior, and there is a pe-

[1] Rau's "Anthropological Research."

[2] "Proceedings Am. Antiq. Society," April, 1877, p. 61.

culiarity about the copper found there, that is, the presence of small pieces of silver with the copper. This is a very singular mixture, and we are not aware of its occurrence elsewhere It would trouble the best chemists to explain it. From this fact we are enabled to identify articles of copper derived from that source, and to that region we can trace the copper from which are formed most of the copper implements and ornaments found in this country. It is also



Copper Bracelets.

noticeable that the nearer we get to this region the more numerous are the finds of articles of copper. More are reported from Wisconsin than the rest of the United States put together.

This leads us to a very interesting subject. In 1848 Mr. S. O. Knapp, agent of the Minnesota Mining Company on the northern peninsula of Michigan, discovered that the modern miners were but following in the footsteps of some ancient people who had mined for copper there some time

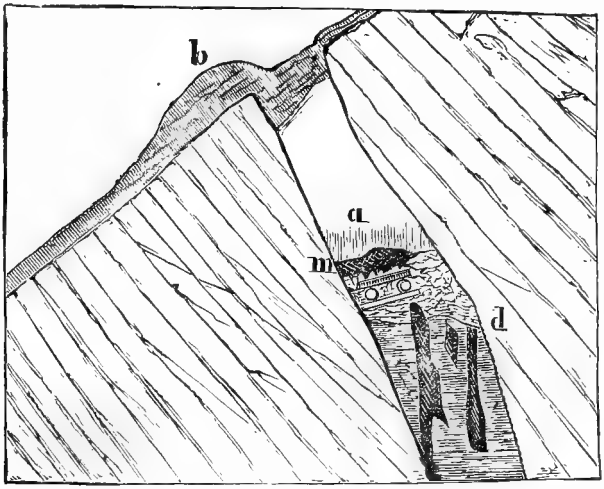
now far past. The general conclusion is that these old miners were Mound Builders, but here the evidence of their presence is not found in the existence of mounds and earthworks, but of pits and excavations, which, by the slow accumulation of years, had become filled to near the surface with *debris* of various kinds. Many had noticed these little pits and depressions without suspecting they had aught to do with the presence of man. The hollows made by large trees, overturned by the wind, frequently left as well marked depressions as these excavations.

We have abundant proof that these old miners were practical workmen. They evidently did not neglect the most trifling indication of metals. They made thorough research and discovered the principal lodes. Our present day miners have long since learned to regard the presence of these ancient pits as excellent guides in this matter. With modern appliances they penetrate far beyond the power of the old workmen. At the Waterbury mine there is in the face of the vertical bluff an artificial opening, which is twenty-five feet wide, fifteen feet high, and twelve feet deep. The materials thrown out in digging had accumulated in front, and on this forest trees common to that region were growing of full size. Some of the blocks of stone which were removed from this recess would probably weigh two or three tons, and must have required the use of levers to move them. Beneath the surface rubbish was discovered the remains of a cedar trough, by which the water from the mines was conducted away. Wooden bowls were found, which were probably used to dip the water from the mine into this trough.

Near the bottom of the pit, shovels, made of cedar, were found, shaped much like a canoe paddle, but showing by their wear that they were used as shovels. Although they appeared solid while in water, yet, on drying, they shrunk

up, and were with difficulty preserved. A birch tree, two feet in diameter, was observed growing directly over one of these shovels. No marks of metallic tools were observed anywhere about this large pit.

In this case they constructed a sort of a cave, but in many cases they mined open to the air, that is, they simply




Ancient Mine, Michigan.

dug trenches or pits. A row of these ancient pits, now slight depressions, indicate a vein. What they seem to have especially sought after was lumps of copper that they could easily manage and fashion by hammering. They had not discovered the art of melting. When they found an unusually large piece, they broke off what they could by vigorous hammering. In one case they found a mass weighing about six tons of pure copper. They made an attempt to master this piece. By means of wedges they had got it upon a cob-work of round logs or skids, six or eight inches in diameter, but the mass was finally abandoned for some unknown reason after breaking off such pieces as they could until the upper surface was smooth. This mass rested on

the framework of logs while the years came and went, until, after the lapse of unknown time, the white men once more opened the old mine.

On the rubbish in front of this mine was standing the stump of a pine tree ten feet in circumference. These ancient mines are found not only on the main-land, but on the islands off the coast as well. The only helps they seem to have employed was fire, traces of which are found everywhere, and stone mauls and axes. The mauls consist of oblong water-worn bowlders of hard tough rock, nature having done every thing in fashioning them except to form the groove, which was chiseled out around the middle. Some copper implements were also found.

Col. Whittlesey, from whose writings we have drawn the foregoing, concludes that these mines were worked by the Mound Builders. As he finds no traces of graves or houses, or other evidence of a protracted stay, he thinks they were worked only through the Summer season of the year by bands of workmen from the south.

As to what caused the abandonment of the works we do not know. It might have been an impulse of their race hurrying them on to some distant migration; or, more probably, pressed by foes from without, they were compelled to abandon their ancient homes. Whatever the cause was, nature resumed her sway. Forest trees crept up to and grew around the mouths of the deserted mines. Col. Whittlesey concludes from the group of trees growing on the top of the rubbish heap that at least five hundred years passed away before the white man came from the south to resume the work of his ancient predecessor.[1]

It is not, however, proven that the Mound Builders were the sole workers of these ancient mines. It

[1] "Smithsonian Contribution to Knowledge," Vol. XIII.

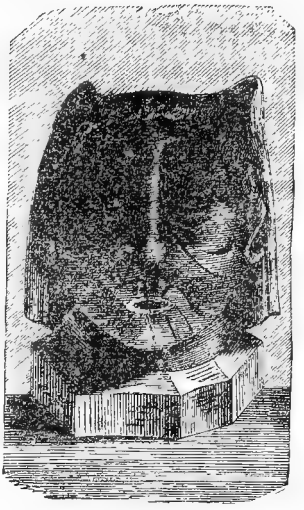
is known that the Indians mined for flint. Some of the excavations for this purpose, in what is known as Flint Ridge, in Muskingum County, Ohio, are as marked as the traces of ancient mining in Michigan. Similar appearances are recorded in Missouri. As copper was in demand among the Indians, and as it is probable that they obtained much of it from the North, they may have continued to work the ancient copper mines until comparatively recent times. Mr. Lapham believes that the progenitors of the Indian tribes found dwelling in the regions near these mines, carried on mining operations there. Dr. Rau thinks it probable that small bands of various Northern tribes made periodical excursions to the locality, returning to their homes when they had supplied themselves with sufficient quantities of the much-desired metal. The fact that many of the modern Indian tribes knew nothing about these mines is not of much weight, when we reflect how easily a barbarian people forget events, even those of a striking nature.

We are apt to judge the culture of a people by the skill they display in works of arts. The article on which the Mound Builder lavished most of his skill was the pipe. This would show that with them, as with the modern Indians, the use of the pipe was largely interwoven with their civil and religious observances. In making war and in concluding peace, it probably played a very important part. "To know the whole history of tobacco, of the custom of smoking, and of the origin of the pipe, would be to solve many of the most interesting problems of American ethnology."[1]

The general decoration consisted in carving the bowl of the pipe into the shape of some animal or bird. In some instances we have carved representations of the human

[1] Abbott's "Primitive Industry," p. 315.

head. Such as these are of particular interest and value, as they are probably faithful representations of the features of the Mound Builders. This is a fine specimen found in one of the altar mounds in Ohio. The method of wearing the hair is worthy of notice. The holes placed in a row encircling the forehead and coming down as low as the ears, were once filled with pearls. In some they still remained when found, though they had been burned in the fire. The lines upon the face obviously imitate the custom of tattooing the countenance.

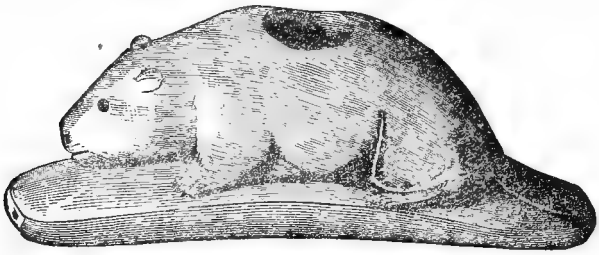


Sculptured Face.

Scholars have called attention to the fact that Humboldt discovered in Mexico a small statue which he supposed represented an Aztec priestess. This statue had sculptured upon its forehead a row of pearls, worn in the same manner as is represented in this pipe. This is another pipe of great interest, and is supposed to represent the head of a woman. The countenance is expressive, the eyes prominent, and the lips full and rounded. We must notice again the head-dress. While the faces are of Indian type, the method of wearing the hair is different from that of the typical Indian of the North.

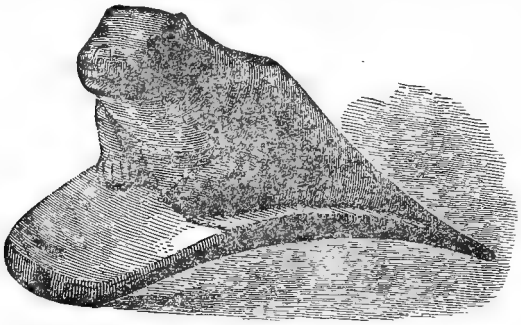
Face of a Female.

The animal forms into which the pipe-bowls are carved, are also full of interest. This is not so much on account of animal forms themselves as the insight we gain as to



Beaver.

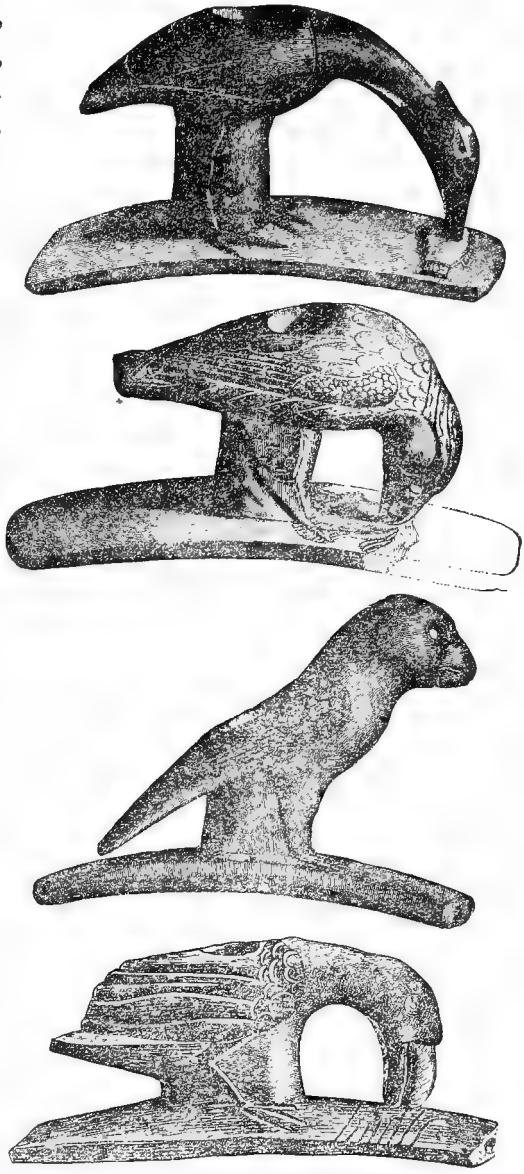
the artistic skill of the people who fashioned the pipes, and in various ways learn of bits of customs and manners peculiar to them. Here we have figured a pipe, the bowl of which is carved to represent a beaver. No one need hesitate as to the animal which the carver had in mind. It is represented in a characteristic attitude, and has the broad, flat tail of its species. It must have required no little skill and patient labor to work a rough stone into this finished pipe, especially when we remember that the maker had no edged tools with which to work.



Otter.

We can not always determine the animal which the artist had in mind. In this illustration we have figured such a pipe. Considerable discussion has arisen as to the animal represented. Some cases of this nature have been thought to show either migration from a distant country on the part of the maker or else an extended system of trade.

Squier and Davis, who first figured it, supposed it to represent a manatee, or sea-cow. This animal is essentially a tropical species, the only known place where it was found in the United States being Florida. From the presence of this carved specimen, found a thousand miles to the north, some interesting queries, as the origin of the mound-building tribes, and the state of life among them, were raised. It is almost certain, however, that the animal intended to be represented was the otter.[1] The most general form of sculpture was that of birds, and we find specimens of almost all the common varieties. In this group we recognize



Birds on Pipes.

[1] "Annual Report of Bureau of Ethnology," 1880–1, p. 123, *et seq.*

the tufted heron striking a fish; the eagle, or hawk, tearing a smaller bird; the swallow, apparently just ready to fly; and in the last figure, one that has given rise to a good deal of discussion. Some think from the circumstance of its having a very large bill, toes pointing behind as well as before, that it represents a toucan, which, if true, would make it a most interesting specimen. But cautious scholars conclude that the "figure is not of sufficient distinctness to identify the original that was before the artist's mind." And therefore it is not wise to make this specimen the subject of a far-reaching speculation.[1]

It may be of interest to inquire whether the Indians made pipes as tastefully ornamented as those we have described. We should notice that all the pipes here described are from one very limited locality in Ohio, and that is the valley of the Scioto, the same section of country where were found the great inclosures of a mathematical shape. We have no reason for supposing that the Mound Builders generally throughout the Mississippi Valley had this artistic skill. We have seen nowhere any thing to show a superiority for them in this respect. Whatever conclusion can be drawn from those pipes, applies only to the tribe in the Scioto Valley. It is believed they do constitute a peculiar class by themselves. As works of arts, there are but few aboriginal relics of North American origin their equal.[2]

We would also refer to the fact that most of these speci-

[1] In the "Annual Report of Bureau of Ethnology," for 1880–1, Mr. Henshaw has very fully discussed these mound-pipes, and shown that Messrs. Squier and Davis were mistaken in a number of their identifications of the animal forms. He concludes there "are no representations of birds or animals not indigenous to the Mississippi Valley."

[2] The recent discoveries by Putnam and Metz, in the Altar-mounds in the Little Miami Valley, have brought to light many interesting and important sculptures in stone and terra-cotta, which, as works of art, are in some respects superior to those from the Scioto Valley, but as they have not yet been figured, we can only refer to them here in this brief note.

mens were obtained from one altar-mound.[1] We do not know what ceremonies were performed around this altar, but if it were a place of burial or cremation, they might have been the obsequies of some distinguished maker of pipes. That such a person would be the recipient of honor, is not singular, for "the manufacture of stone pipes, necessarily a painful and tedious labor, may have formed a branch of aboriginal industry, and the skillful pipe carver probably occupied among the former Indians a rank equal to that of the experienced sculptor in our times." Among the Ojibway Indians, we are told, are persons who possess peculiar skill in the carving of pipes, and make it their profession, or at least the means of gaining, in part, their livelihood. One "inlaid his pipes very tastefully with figures of stars, and flowers of black and white stones. But his work proceeded very slowly, and he sold his pipes at high prices."[2] So we see how cautious we must be about drawing inferences from this peculiar class of pipes found in one limited locality.

The knowledge of how to manufacture pottery is justly regarded as a turning point in the advance of primitive man along the weary road that brings him at last to civilization. At this point he ceases to be a savage, and enters the confines of Barbarism.[3] The skill shown in using this knowledge is one of the many things we have to take into consideration in determining the rank of a people in the scale of enlightenment. The Mound Builders were evidently quite well along in the potter's art; and as they have left behind them many examples of their work, we must try and acquaint ourselves with some of the more important varieties.

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[1] "Number Eight," Mound City, near Chillicothe, Ohio. "Ancient Monuments," p. 152. [2] Rau: "Anthropological Subjects," p. 130.

[3] Morgan's "Ancient Society," p. 12.

This illustration is of a group of clay vessels of the bowl pattern, found in mounds in different parts of the Mississippi Valley. In one of these we see a good example of

Group of Clay Vessels.

the style of ornamentation by means of incised lines. In the duck-headed vessel we have a representation of a class of vessels common in Missouri and Tennessee. Not unfrequently one or both of the handles of vessels of this class is in the form of a human head instead of that of an animal. Our next illustrations represent a group of such specimens. Judging from the skill with which they imitated animals, it is not unreasonable to believe that in these faces we have rude likenesses of the people who made them.

The two bottle-shaped vessels here figured, are from

mounds in Louisiana. As will be noticed, the ornamentation is quite artistic. The ware is of a good quality, and they are good examples of the Mound Builders' art. The form with a long neck is perhaps a water-cooler. When filled with water, and allowed to stand, some of the water passes through the pores, and evaporating, keeps the surface of the vessel cool.

Bowls with Human Faces.

They also made some vessels of large size to serve for cooking purposes. On some of the larger vessels the imprint of woven weeds and willows of a basket on the outer surface leads to the belief that such vessels were formed or moulded within baskets. Many large pots and urns, however, were made without this aid. Some large urns were used for burial purposes. In a Michigan mound an urn about three feet in height had been so used. It was standing upright,

Bottle-shaped Vessels. (Smith. Inst.)

and into it the whole skeleton of a man had been compressed, and a closely-fitting lid covered the top.[1] Very large, shallow vessels were used to manufacture salt—that is, they were filled from some salt-spring, and then the water was evaporated, leaving the salt. In localities near salt-springs, thick fragments of rude earthenware have been found that must have come from vessels as large as barrels.

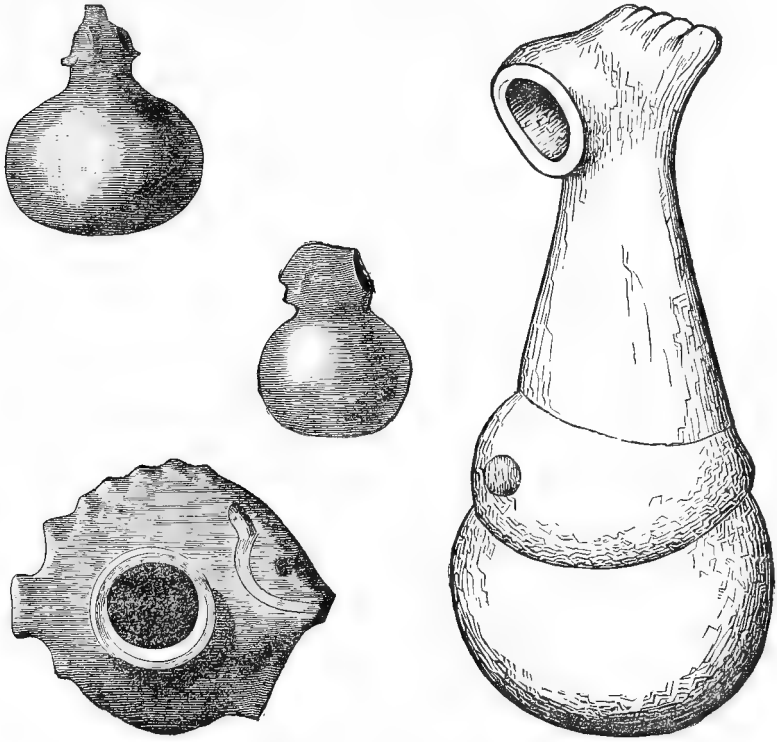
Water Cooler.

In the next group we have representations of a singular class of vessels. In some cases the mouth and neck of the vessel is shaped in imitation of animals. In the smallest one we recognize the head of a man, with an opening in the back of the head. Many vessels of this form are known, and a great many different animal heads are represented. The fish-shaped vessel is a curious one. The one figured evidently represents a sun-fish. The long vase or jug is in the shape of a child's leg, with an opening in the heel.

Some very beautiful vessels of the character of those we have figured, have been found in Missouri. One enthusiastic explorer says, "Perhaps we have very few modern artists who could equal those ancient pottery makers in taste, skill, curious design, and wonderful imitation of nature. Birds, beasts, fishes, even the shells on the river shore, have an exact counterpart in their domestic utensils." "While digging in one of these pottery mounds in Missouri, we unearthed a large tortoise. We thought it was alive, and seizing it, to cast it into the woods for its liberty, we

[1] *American Antiquarian*, 1879, p. 64.

were suddenly surprised to find our tortoise was an earthen vessel in that shape. In the same mound we uncovered a huge shell—the single valve of a unio. Closer inspection revealed that it was a perfect earthen vessel. Following these came a perfect fish, exhibiting, to our astonishment,



Pottery Vessels. (Smith. Inst.)

the scales, fins, and peculiarities of that species of fish in detail."[1]

We must leave this interesting part of our subject. An entire volume would scarcely do justice to it, but for the sake of comparison, we must inquire as to the state of this art among the Indian tribes. It seems that before the arrival of the whites, the Indian tribes throughout North America,

[1] McAdams: *American Antiquarian*, 1880, p. 140.

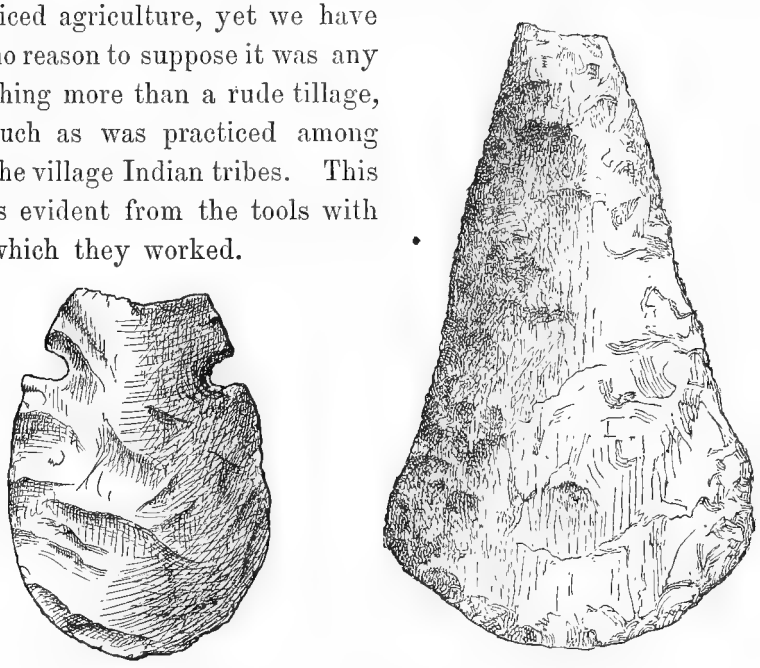
with few exceptions, were apt potters. The whites, however, soon supplied them with superior utensils of metal, so that the majority of the Eastern tribes soon lost the knowledge of the art. It lingered longer among the tribes of the South, and of the interior, and even to this day the Pueblo tribes of New Mexico and Arizona make an excellent article of pottery. Early travelers wrote in high terms of the skill of the Southern Indians in this matter. Du-Pratz thought so highly of the work of the Natchez Indians that he had them make him an entire dinner set.

Catlin, speaking of the Mandan Indians, says the women of that tribe made great quantities of dishes and bowls, modeled after many forms. He says they are so strong and serviceable that they cook food in them by hanging them over the fire, as we would an iron pot. "I have seen specimens," he continues, "which have been dug up in Indian mounds and tombs in the Southern and Middle States, placed in our Eastern museums, and looked upon as a great wonder, when here this novelty is at once done away with, and the whole mystery: where women can be seen handling and using them by hundreds, and they can be seen every day in the summer, also, moulding into many fanciful forms, and passing them through the kilns, where they are hardened."

Dr. Rau, speaking of the artistic skill of the Indian potters, as shown by numerous remains gathered in Illinois, does not hesitate to assert, after personal examination of Mound Builders' pottery, that the Indian relics were in every respect equal to those specimens exhumed from the mounds of the Mississippi Valley.[1] Lapham, speaking of fragments of Mound Builders' pottery in Wisconsin, says, "They agree in every respect with fragments found about the old Indian villages."

[1] "Smithsonian Report," 1866. We have gathered these points for comparison from Dr. Rau's article in that report.

The culture of a people is also determined by their knowledge of agriculture. The savage depends entirely upon hunting and fishing for subsistence. A knowledge of horticulture, of domestic animals, and of agriculture, even though rude, are each and all potent factors in advancing man in culture. So we must inquire as to the traces of agricultural knowledge observable among the remains of the Mound Builders. Some writers speak in quite glowing terms of the enormous crops they must have raised for their populous cities. The fact is, that while it is doubtless true that they practiced agriculture, yet we have no reason to suppose it was any thing more than a rude tillage, such as was practiced among the village Indian tribes. This is evident from the tools with which they worked.



Agricultural Implements. (Smith. Inst)

In a few cases copper tools have been recovered which may have served for digging in the ground, but in most cases their art furnished them nothing higher than spades, shovels, picks, and hoes made of stone, horn, bone, and probably wood. In this cut are specimens of such agricul-

tural tools. These were doubtless furnished with handles of wood. The notched one was perhaps provided with a handle at right angles to it, so as to constitute a hoe. That we are right in regarding these implements as agricultural tools, is shown not only by their large size, but also by the traces of wear discovered on them. We must admit, however, that agriculture carried on with such tools as these, must have been in a comparatively rude state.

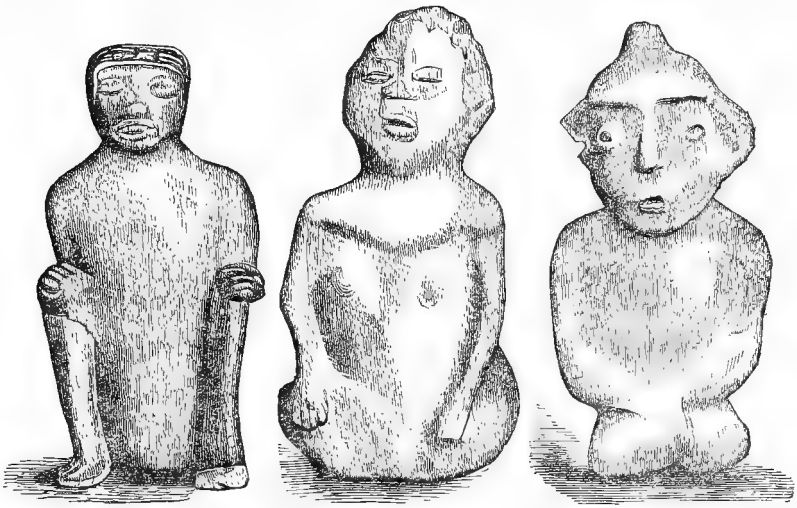
In this connection we must refer to the garden beds noticed in some places. We read that in Western Michigan the so-called garden beds are a distinguishing feature of the ancient occupation, often covering many acres in a place, in a great variety of forms, both regular and grotesque.[1] These seem from the above account to be very similar to the garden beds of Wisconsin. Dr. Lapham tells us that in the latter State they consist of low, broad, parallel ridges, as if corn had been planted in drills.

They average four feet in width, and the depth of the walk between them is six inches. Traces of this kind of cultivation are found in various parts of the State. We are also referred to the presence of garden mounds in Missouri, but in this case the low mounds are of the same mysterious class that Prof. Forshey says occur by millions in the Southwest, and may not be the work of man. Just what the connection is between the garden beds and the Mound Builders is hard to determine. Mr. Lapham thinks that those in Wisconsin were certainly later in date than the mounds. He observed that they were frequently constructed right across the works of the Mound Builders. This would seem to imply that the makers were not one and the same people.

As to the government and religion of the Mound Builders, all is conjecture. On both of these points a great deal has

[1] Bella Hubbard, *American Antiquarian*, 1876, p. 219.

been assumed, but when we try to find out the grounds on which these theories rest we quickly see how little real foundation there is for any knowledge on this subject. If we are right in our views as to the effigy mounds of Wisconsin, then a sort of animal worship prevailed. Whether the great inclosures in the Scioto Valley were of a religious nature or not is very doubtful. The great serpent mound was probably an object of worship. The assertion is quite frequently made that the Mound Builders were sun worshipers, which may be correct, but we must observe that we have no proofs of it in the works they have left. We judge it to be true only because sun-worship was probably a part of the religion of a large proportion of the Indian race, and because



Idols. (Smith. Inst.)

we find special proofs of its existence among some of the Southern Indians who are supposed to be closely related to the Mound Builders.

As we approach the South, we meet with what are supposed to be rude and uncouth idols, but they have not been found under such circumstances as to make it positive that

they belonged to the Mound Builders. In this illustration we have two idols, considered to be genuine relics of the stone-grave people of Tennessee. The first one is an Aztec idol found at Cholula, and introduced here simply for comparison. What position these idols held in connection with the religion of the race, we are not prepared to say.

Similar remarks might be made as to the system of government. A number of writers, taking into account the immense labor involved in constructing some of the works, have insisted that the people must have lived under a despotic form of government, one in which the state had unlimited power over the lives and fortunes of its subjects.[1]

There is no real foundation for such views, and we think they are misleading. No one doubts but that the Mound Builders were living in a tribal state of society. If so, they doubtless had the usual subdivisions of a tribe. This point we remember afforded us some insight into the meaning of the effigy mounds of Wisconsin.

This would imply the government by the council, and while the rulers may have been hereditary, the officers of the tribe were probably elective, and could be deposed for cause. We do not mean to assert that this is an exact picture of the state of government of the Mound Builders, because our knowledge on this point is not sufficient to make such a positive statement, but it is far more likely to be true than the picture of a despotic government, ruling from some capital seat a large extent of country, holding a court with barbaric pomp and circumstances such as some writers would have us believe.

We hope our readers have not been wearied by this somewhat extended investigation of the Mound Builders. Every storm that beats upon their works tends to level them. The

[1] Foster's "Prehistoric Races," p. 346.

demands of our modern life are fast obliterating the remaining monuments, and, indeed, it is now only those which are situated in favorable localities, or are massive in construction, that are left for our inspection. But these nearly obliterated records of the past are of more than passing interest to us as monuments of the prehistoric times of our own country. We wander over these ruins and find much to interest us, much to excite our curiosity. The purposes of many are utterly unknown. Some, by their great proportions, awaken in us feelings of admiration for the perseverance and energy of their builders. But when we investigate the objects of stone, of clay, and of copper this people left behind them, we notice how hard it is to draw a dividing line between them and the Indians.

In fact, there is no good reason for separating them from the Indian race as a whole. We do not mean to say that they were not, in many respects, different from the tribes found in the same section of the country by the early explorers, though, we ought, perhaps, to confine this remark to the central portion of the country occupied by these ancient remains. But the American of to-day differs from the American of early Colonial times. The miserable natives of Southern California were Indians, but very different indeed from the ambitious, warlike Iroquois, who displayed so much statesmanship in the formation of their celebrated league. In another chapter we shall discuss this part of our subject, as well as the question of the antiquity of the ruins.

# CHAPTER XI.

## THE PUEBLO COUNTRY.[1]

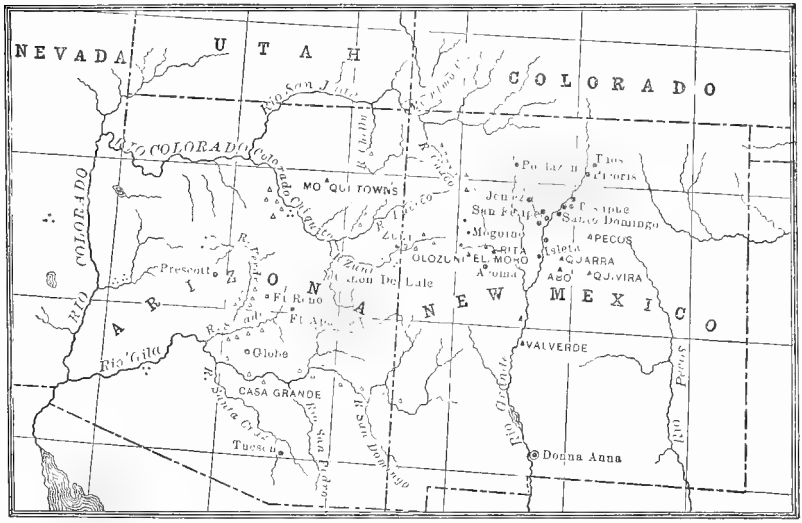
DESCRIPTION of the Pueblo Country—Historical outline—Description of Zuñi—Definition of a Pueblo—Old Zuñi—Inscription Rock—Pueblo of jemez—Historical notice of Pecos—Description of the Moqu tribes—The Estufa—Description of the San Juan country—Aztec Springs—In the Cañon of the McElmo—The Ruins of the Rio Mancos—On Hovenweep Creek—Description of a Cliff-house—Cliff Town—Cave houses—Ruins on the San Juan—Cave Town—The Significance of Cliff-houses—Moqui traditions—Ruins in Northern New Mexico—Ruins in the Chaco Cañon—Pueblo Bonito—Ruins in South-western Arizona—The Rio Verde Valley—Casa Grande—Ruins on the Gila—Culture of the Pueblo Tribes—Their Pottery—Superiority of the Ancient pottery—Conclusion.

HAVE hitherto been describing people and tribes that have completely vanished. We have peered into the mysterious past and sought as best we could to conjure back the scenes of many years ago. The line between the known and the unknown, between the historic and prehistoric, is not far removed form us in the new world. Not yet four centuries have passed since the veil was lifted, and America, with her savage tribes of the North, and her rude civilization of the South, was revealed to the wondering eyes of Europe. But with a knowledge of this new land came also wondrous stories of wealth, and in conse-

[1] The manuscript of this chapter was submitted to Mr. Ad. F. Bandelier, of Highland, Illinois. As agent for the Archæological Institute of America, he spent three years in explorations in the Pueblo country.

quence an army of adventurers were soon on her shores. Then follows a short period of war and conquest. The Indian race could not withstand the whites. European civilization, transplanted to America, has thriven. But whatever advance the native tribes have made since the discovery, has been by reason of contact with the whites.

There was no single birthplace of American culture. Advance took place wherever the climate was mild and the soil fertile, and thus an abundant supply of food could be obtained. One such locality was the valley of the San Juan,




Map of the Pueblo Country.

in what is now the south-western part of the United States. It is quite allowable to suppose that here the mild climate and bountiful soil suggested agriculture, and with a knowledge of this, rude though it was, a beginning was made in a culture which subsequently excited the admiration of the Spaniards. However that may be, we know this section contains abundant ruins of former inhabitants. And yet again we find in this same country the remnants of this

former people, doubtless living much the same sort of life as did their forefathers. American scholars, with the best of reason, think this section affords the best vantage ground from which to study the question of native American culture. It presents us not only with ruins of past greatness, but in the inhabited pueblos, gives us a picture of primitive times, and invites us, by a careful study of their institutions, to become acquainted with primitive society.

Travelers and explorers describe the scenery of the Pueblo country as a very peculiar one. It is bleak without being absolutely barren. The great mountain chains form picturesque profiles, which in a measure compensate for the lack of vegetation. No country on the face of the globe bears such testimony to the power of running water to wear away the surface. The rivers commenced by wearing down great cañons. They occur here on a grand scale. The cañon of the Colorado River, having a length of two hundred miles, and through the whole, nearly vertical walls of rock, three to six thousand feet in height. Nearly all the tributary streams of the Colorado empty into it by means of gorges nearly as profound. What is true of the Colorado is true, though in a lesser degree of the Rio Grande and of the Pecos, as only portions of these streams are cañon-born. But, besides digging out these cañons, the entire surface of the country has in places been removed to the depth of several hundred feet, leaving large extent of table-lands, called mesas, with generally steep, or even precipitous, sides, standing isolated here and there.

Though thus bearing evidence of more extended rainfall, and of the action of water in the past, it is essentially an arid country now. Most of the minor water-courses laid down on the map are dry half of the year, or have but scattered pools of water; so a description of the surface of

the country would tell us of deep river valleys, in many cases narrow and running through rocky beds, in which case we call them cañons; in other cases very wide, but having generally precipitous sides; the country often mountainous, and great stretches of table-land, but generally dry and desolate, except in the immediate vicinity of rivers. The river valleys themselves are generally very fertile.

Such is the country where we are to investigate native American culture. The history of the country since its first occupation by the Spaniards is not devoid of interest. It did not take the Indians of Mexico long to learn that what the Spaniards most prized was gold, and that the surest way to curry favor with them was to relate to them exaggerated stories of wonderful wealth to be gained in distant provinces. About 1530 the viceroy of New Spain (Mexico) learned from an Indian slave of seven great cities somewhere to the north; and of their wealth it was said they had streets exclusively occupied by workers in gold and silver.

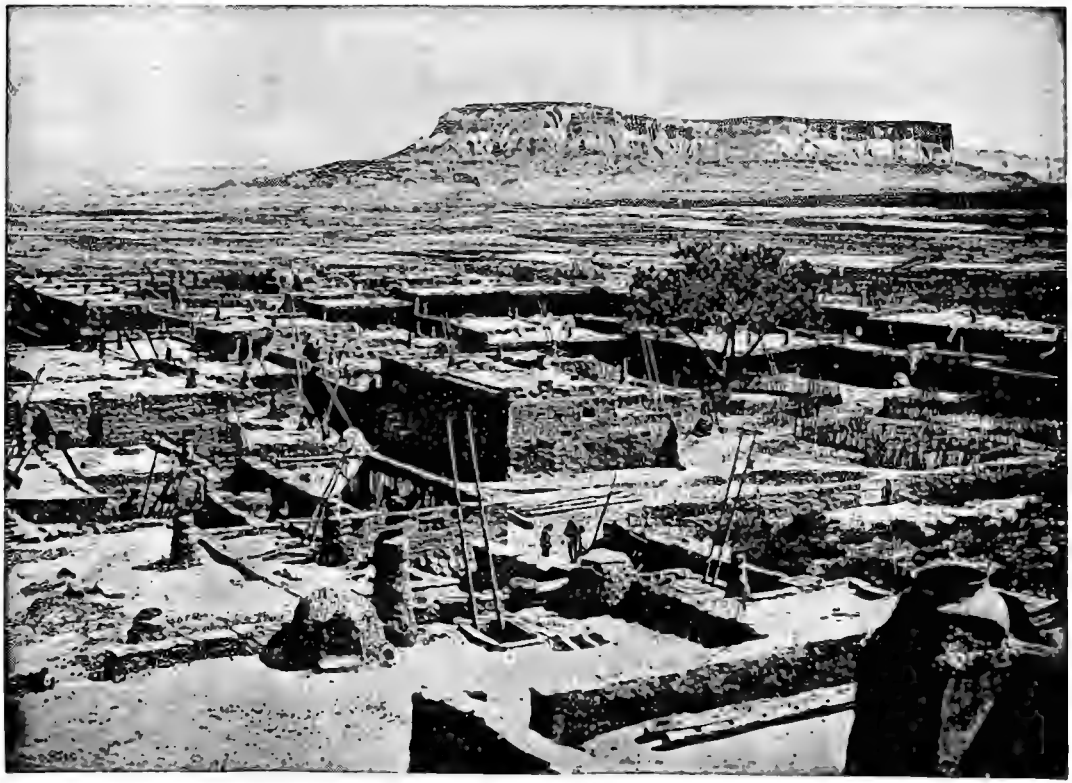
Though expeditions to the northern provinces of Mexico speedily dispelled the illusions in regard to them, the wonderful story of the Seven Cities flitted further north. Six years later these stories were invested with new life by the arrival in Mexico of Cabeza De Vaca and three companions. The story of their remarkable wanderings reads like an extract from a work of fiction. They were members of the unfortunate Spanish expeditions to the coast of Florida in 1528. After the shipwreck and final overthrow of the expedition, these four men had wandered from somewhere on the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, first north, and then west, passing through, probably, portions of Texas and New Mexico, until finally they were so fortunate as to meet with their own countrymen near Culiacan, in Mexico. The story they had to tell fell on willing ears. They stated to the

viceroy that they had carefully observed the country through which they had passed, and had been told of great and powerful cities containing houses of four and five stories, with the usual accompaniments of great wealth.

The next incident was the journey of three Franciscan friars and a negro (who, by the way, had been with De Vaca in his wanderings), sent out by the Governor Coronado, with orders to return and report to him all they could learn by personal observation of the Seven Cities. This expedition did not accomplish much. Arriving near Cibola (the Spanish name for the country of the Seven Cities), they sent the negro on ahead to gain the good will of the Indians. Instead of this, he was killed by them. On hearing which, the monks contented themselves with gazing on the pueblo (which they describe as "more considerable than Mexico") from a safe distance, and then hurriedly returned to Culiacan. They gave Coronado a most glowing account of all they had discovered.

Coronado now thought the time had come for decisive action. Accordingly, with the viceroy's permission, he organized his forces, and in 1540 set out on his memorable march in search of the Seven Cities of Cibola. We do not propose to give in detail the series of conquests beginning with this expedition and finally ending with the subjection of New Mexico in 1598. It is needless to say that the Spanish forces found no cities teeming with wealth. What they did find was a country much the same as at present. The cities were the communal houses, or combination of houses, known as pueblos. The pueblo of Zuñi is the remaining one of the mystical seven. The ruins of at least six other pueblos are known to be in the immediate vicinity.[1]

[1] See an excellent historical account by Bandeliers: "Papers of the Archæological Institute of America." American series No. 1.



PUEBLO OF ZUÑI

This historical account, short and imperfect as it is, introduces us to a most interesting people. If we would know more of them we can not do better than to adopt the advice of Hosta, ex-governor of Jemez, to Dr. Loew: "If you wish to see what a great people we once were you must go upon the mesas and into the cañons of the vicinity, where ruins of our forefathers are numerous."

One of the most important pueblos yet remaining inhabited, and one of the first that Coronado encountered in his expedition, is Zuñi. The present pueblo is considered as the remaining one of the Seven Cities—at least, by the majority of Americanists. Whipple describes Zuñi as follows: "Treading an opening between rocky bluffs, . . . we entered the valley, several miles in width, which leads to Zuñi. The soil seemed light, but where cultivated it produced fine crops without the aid of irrigation. . . . Within the valley appeared occasional towers, where herders and laborers watch to prevent a surprise from Apaches. Near the center of this apparent plain stood, upon an eminence, the compact city of Zuñi.[1] By its side flowed the river which bears the same name. It is now but a rivulet of humble dimensions, though sometimes said to be a large stream. . . . Passing beneath an arch, we entered a court, . . . entirely surrounded by houses of several receding stories, which were attained by means of ladders leading from one to another. . . . From the top the pueblo reminds one of an immense ant-hill, from its similar form and dense population. . . . Going down from its outer side into the street, we encounter five stories of descent."[2]

In order to prevent confusion, we will state that a pueblo, which is the Spanish name for these old Indian towns, may

[1] The term "City of Zuñi" is scarcely correct; it should be Pueblo of Zuñi.
[2] Pacific Railroad Report; Whipple, Vol. III., pp. 67 and 68.

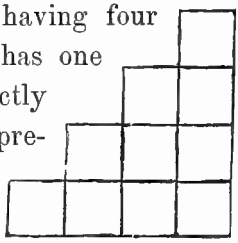
be one of several different types. A common form of village consists of but one or two, seldom three, large buildings, so arranged as to surround an interior court. Sometimes there is but one large building, which is nearly in the shape of a half circle; instead of being really circular, it has a number of different sides. In some cases a village consists of a number of these large houses irregularly arranged. But the tendency is always to inclose a square.[1]

In the modern villages the buildings forming the square do not meet, but in some cases are connected by bridges or covered gangways, and in some instances the houses project over the streets below, which, being narrow, are thus given an underground appearance.[2]

The buildings, or communal houses, for one house contained sometimes five hundred rooms, are generally from three to four hundred feet long and about one hundred and fifty feet in width at the base.

Ground Plan.

The lower story is divided by cross-walls into a mass of cell-like rooms, as shown in the illustration, which represents the ground plan of a pueblo having four ranges of rooms. Each story in height has one less range of rooms, so that, looking directly at the end of this building, it would present the appearance shown by this cut: The only means of getting from one terrace to the other is by the aid of ladders.



End View.

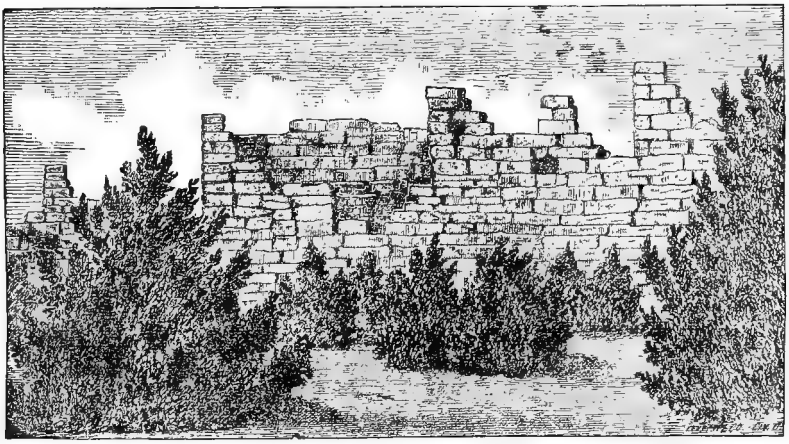
In some cases these terraces run from both sides of the building; in others they face the inclosed space; and in others still they face outside. Most of the inhabited pueblos are

[1] "Archæological Institute of America," Fifth An. Rep., pp. 55 and 56.

[2] Bancroft's "Native Races," Vol. I., p. 534.

built of adobe—that is, sun-dried bricks. The majority of the ancient ruins were built of stone set in adobe mortar. With this digression, we will now return to Zuñi.

Ruins testifying to the former greatness of these people are scattered around them. Three miles to the east of the present pueblo of Zuñi, on the bluff seen in the cut, are the ruins of a larger pueblo, which is called Old Zuñi. Mr. Whipple, who explored this field of ruins, thus describes his visit: "The projecting summit of the cliffs seemed inaccessible. . . . We followed a trail, which, with great



Old Zuñi.

labor, had been hammered out from seam to seam of the rocks along the side of the precipice. At various points of the ascent, where a projecting rock permitted, were barricades of stone walls, from which the old man[1] told us they had hurled rocks upon the invading Spaniards. Having ascended one thousand feet, we found ourselves upon a level surface, covered with thick cedars. . . . The top of the mesa was of an irregular figure, a mile in width, bounded upon all sides by perpendicular bluffs. . . . The guide hur-

[1] His guide.

ried us on half a mile further, where appeared the ruins of a city, indeed. Crumbling walls, from two to twelve feet in height, were crowded together in confused heaps, over several acres of ground. . . . Upon examining the pueblo, we found the standing walls rested upon ruins of greater antiquity.[1] The primitive masonry, as well as we could judge, must have been about six feet thick. The more recent was not more than a foot or a foot and a half, but the small sandstone blocks had been laid in mud mortar with considerable care."[2]

The descriptions of ruins have so much that is similar that repetitions become tiresome. We will not, therefore, delay much longer with Zuñi. A few miles east of Old Zuñi we come to Pescado Springs, near which are the ruins of several pueblos. "This spring bursts from a broken point of the lava bed, and at once becomes a pretty stream, glittering with great numbers of the finny tribe, which gives name to it. The circular wall which once inclosed the fountain-head is now partly broken down. Upon each side, and almost tangent, are ruins of pueblos so ancient that the traditions of present races do not reach them. They are nearly circular in form, and of equal dimension. One measured three hundred and fifteen short paces, about eight hundred feet, in circumference. They were of stone; but the walls have crumbled, leaving only a heap of rubbish."[3]

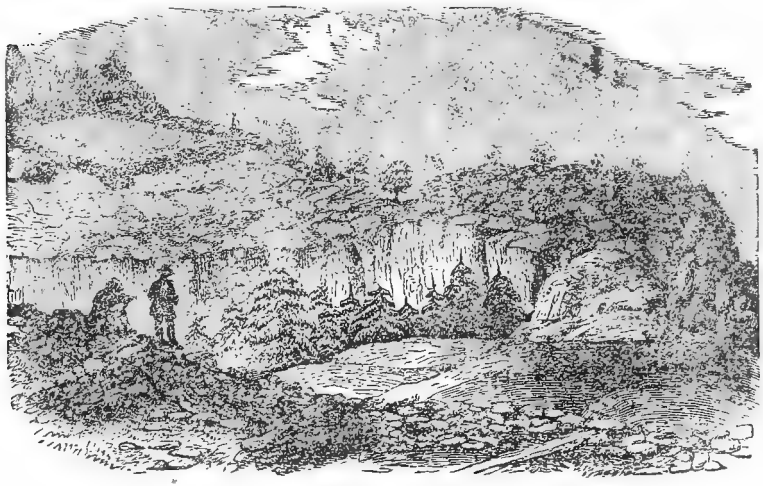
Following up this stream, other ruins were found. It seems, then, that in the pueblo of Zuñi we have left a pitiful remnant of a numerous people. When the Spaniards

[1] The ruins on the top were, however, built after 1680, when the inhabitants of Flavona, the Spanish "Alvona," fled to the top of the mesa to escape the forays of the Navajos. The ruins were abandoned before 1705. Zuñi is partly built on the ruins of Flavona, which is still its aboriginal name. (Bandelier.)

[2] Pacific Railroad Reports, Whipple, Vol. III., p. 69.

[3] Pacific Railroad Reports, Whipple, Vol. III., p. 65.

first appeared on the scene they were apparently prosperous. The rapid decrease of the Pueblo tribes was owing to several causes. In 1680 they made an attempt to throw off the Spanish yoke. At first this was successful. But inter-tribal warfare at once set in. At this time also the inroads of the Apaches and Navajos became so troublesome that the Pueblo tribes could not successfully cultivate their land. At this time also a succession of dry years set in, and famine was the result. Their customs and manners we will describe



Inscription Rock.

in another place. There are many reasons for supposing that the country had been inhabited for a very long period, even before the Spaniards invaded it. Some places must have been even then in ruins, or, if inhabited, it is very strange that the Spanish records do not mention them. Such, for instance, is Inscription Rock, about fifteen miles east of Old Zuñi, which the Spaniards must have passed when on their way back and forth to Zuñi.

The small mesa here ends with a bold front of white sandstone rock, rising almost vertically two hundred and

fifty feet high. This cut gives us a view on the top of the table-rock, We see here the foundations of two old buildings. A deep ravine nearly divides this little plateau into two portions. As we have said, this rises with a bold, precipitous front from the plain. At one place this front is completely covered with inscriptions. Here the Indians, unknown years ago, made their strange hieroglyphics which, presenting to our eyes only a senseless combination of forms of animals and men and meaningless figures, may have conveyed to them knowledge of important events. A great many Spanish inscriptions have also been carved on the rock. Whipple calls attention to the fact that though Spanish inscriptions placed there nearly two hundred years ago, seem but slightly affected by atmospheric action, still some of the Indian hieroglyphics are "almost wiped out by the fingers of time." A number of centuries have probably rolled away since they were inscribed.

It may be interesting to know the reading of some of these old inscription. A translation of one of the earliest and longest is here given, with the exception of a few words which could not be made out: "Bartolome Narrso, Governor and Captain-general of the province of New Mexico, for our lord, the king, passed by this place on his return from the pueblo of Zuñi, on the 29th of July, of the year 1620, and put them in peace, at their petition, asking the favor to become subjects of his majesty, and anew they gave obedience; all of which they did with free consent, knowing it prudent as well as very Christian, . . . to so distinguished and gallant a soldier, indomitable and famed; we love . . ."[1]

It is somewhat strange to meet thus in the interior of the United States with the record of a military expedition some

[1] "Simpson's Report," p. 124.

months before the Puritans landed at Plymouth. There seems to be nothing especial to describe about the ruins. Both Simpson and Whipple notice that the masonry seems to be unusually good. As it must have been very difficult to procure water, the location must have been chosen solely for the protection it afforded. The early Spanish accounts contain the names of one hundred and twenty-six pueblos. Some are, however, mentioned two or three times. Mr. Bandelier has succeeded in identifying every one. The Rio Puerco Valley was never a very prosperous one, and the river is scarcely a permanent one. At present a few ruins at Poblazon, for instance, are to be seen, and the valley looks poor and barren.

The valley of the Rio Grande River was occupied by a number of Pueblo tribes, and there are at present eight inhabited pueblos along this river, in New Mexico, and one in Texas. The region around Bernalillo was a prosperous section. At intervals, up and down the river, and along its tributaries, we can still trace low crumbling ruins, evidence of an old pueblo. If the statements of the Spanish writers are to be believed, the number of inhabited towns, at the time of the conquest, was at least ten times that now existing. The population could never have exceeded forty thousand. At present it contains about nine thousand. Still making all allowance for Spanish exaggeration, we are convinced that it was a thickly populated country at the time of the conquest.

One of the most interesting pueblos in New Mexico is Jemez, on a river of that name, sixty miles west of Santa Fe. We speak of it here because it is the center of a most interesting group of ruins. Like the pueblo of Zuñi, it is a remnant only of a prosperous people. The reports of Coronado's expedition frequently mention Jemez, though it may

be doubtful whether they refer to the pueblo of that name now, or to one of the numerous ruined ones in the immediate vicinity. Jemez is a prosperous pueblo, having fine fields, large irrigating ditches, and extensive flocks of sheep.

Simpson describes it in 1849 as follows: "The pueblo of Jemez is an Indian town of between four and five hundred inhabitants, . . . and is built upon two or three parallel streets, the houses being of adobe construction, and having second stories disposed retreatingly upon the first, to which access is had by means of ladders. . . About the premises are probably a dozen acres covered with apricot and peach trees. . . The Rio de Jemez, upon which the pueblo lies, is an affluent of the Rio Grande, varies from thirty to fifty feet in breadth, is of a rapid current. . . . Patches of good corn and wheat skirt it here and there along its banks, and the extent of cultivable land bordering it may be estimated at about a mile in breadth."

We are more interested, however, in ruins testifying to past greatness. "Six miles up the river you come to the union of two cañons—the Guadalupe and San Diego. Where the mesa between these cañons narrows itself to a point, are the ruins of two pueblos, one upon the lower prominence of the mesa, the other upon the mesa proper, and only approachable by two narrow, steep trails, the mesa everywhere else being nearly perpendicular, and seven hundred and fifty feet high. The view from the mesa is picturesque and imposing in the extreme. Far beneath, to the right and left, a stream makes its way between the colossal walls of the sandstone upon the narrow width of the mesa; near frightful precipices are the ruins of a town of eighty houses, partly in parallel rows, partly in squares, and partly perched between overhanging rocks, the rim and surfaces

of which formed the walls of rooms, the gaps and interstices being filled in artificially."

"Nearly every house had one story and two rooms. The building material was trachytic rock as found upon the mesa. Broken pottery, charred corn, and millstones for grinding corn, were found in some of the rooms. The roofs had all fallen in, and so also had many of the side walls, in the construction of which wood was but little used. Piñon trees have taken root within many of the former rooms. Upon asking my Indian guide whether the former inhabitants of this town were obliged to descend the steep and dangerous pathway every day to the creek to procure water, he replied there were cisterns upon the mesa, in which rain, formerly plentiful, was caught. He then called my attention to some conical heaps of stones along the rim of the precipice, which was the material for defense."[1]

This description introduces us to another class of ruins—that is, detached separate houses, different from the great communal structures we have already described. What connection exists between these two forms of houses will be studied in another place. As a rule, the rooms in the detached houses are larger than in the communal houses. Exceptions occur in some of the inhabited pueblos.[2] This is only one of many towns in ruins thereabouts. According to Dr. Loew there are no less than twenty-five or thirty.

It is not our purpose to describe any more of the pueblos of this section of New Mexico than is required to enable us to understand the customs, manners, and habits of the Pueblo tribes. We learn that in New Mexico we are brought face to face with feeble remnants of former tribes, and that these were probably in their most flourishing con-

[1] Dr. Loew, in "U. S. Geographical Survey West of the 100th Meridian," Vol. VII, p. 343. [2] "Fifth An. Rep. Archæological Inst. of America," p. 61.

dition when the Spaniards first invaded the country, and though in a few instances the ruins imply a great antiquity, as at Inscription Rock, still we may be reasonably sure that the majority of them date but a few centuries back. The ruins of Catholic churches established by the Franciscan monks in the sixteenth century occur in several places, five being found around Jemez.

The story of the decline of the Pueblo tribes may be illustrated by the history of Pecos. This pueblo was situated on the Rio Pecos, about twenty-five miles south-east of Santa Fe. With the exception of the present inhabited town of Taos, it was the most eastern point reached by the pueblo building tribes. This, though a very large pueblo, has nothing especial to attract attention, except that the entire mesa was inclosed by a stone wall about six feet and a half high, and twenty inches thick, having a total length of three thousand, two hundred and twenty feet.[1] Its history is, however, interesting and instructive. Coronado, with his army, visited Pecos before he abandoned the country in 1543. His reports mention it as a prosperous pueblo. Several raids were made into New Mexico by Spanish parties, but the conquest proper occurred in 1598, when the Pecos pledged fidelity to the crown of Spain.

The Catholic Church at once set about establishing missions at various pueblos. The Pecos Church was established in 1629, though missionary work had been done here before that time. One of the priests who accompanied Coronado remained behind at Pecos. He was never afterwards heard from. This church became one of the most renowned in New Mexico. The inhabitants became herders as well as agriculturists. It was prosperous. In 1680 the pueblo of Pecos sheltered two thousand Indians. "But a storm was brew-

[1] Bandelier's "Papers of the Archæological Inst." p. 46.

ing from whose effects the Pueblo tribes never recovered." In 1680 the Indians rose against the Spanish and drove them from New Mexico. The priests were murdered, the churches were sacked. From this time doubtless date the ruins of the churches seen around Jemez. At Pecos and many other places intertribal warfare set in. Bloody battles were fought.

Neither were the Spaniards idle. In 1682 one expedition was made, and at least two pueblo towns were destroyed by them. In 1689 the entire country was reconquered. Some tribes were nearly exterminated, and all more or less weakened, and a great many ruins date from that time. It was the beginning of a decline for the Pueblo tribes, and this decline was hastened by intertribal warfare, by drought, and by ravages from wild Indians. As to the drought, it is sufficient to state that some ruins are now fifteen, and even twenty, miles from permanent water. The Comanches were the scourge of the Pecos. On one occasion they slaughtered all the young men but one. This was a blow from which they never recovered. Finally reduced by sickness to but five adults, the Pecos sold their lands and, at the invitation of their brethren at Jemez, went to live with them, and the pueblo of Pecos speedily became the ruins we now find it.[1]

No doubt a similar history could be written of many other ruins. "Our people," said Hosta, "were a warlike race, and had many fights, not only with the Spaniards, but also with other Indian tribes the Navajos and Taos, for instance and were thus reduced to this pueblo of Jemez, which now forms the last remnant." New Mexico is now becoming rapidly "Americanized," and it will soon be brought to a test whether the Pueblo tribes can withstand this new influence and retain their peculiar civilization, or whether,

[1] These facts are drawn from Mr. Bandelier's article already referred to

like many other races, their life force is nearly spent, in which case they will live only in history.

We must not overlook the Moki Pueblos in Arizona. They are situated one hundred miles northwest of Zuñi. The

Wolpi. (Maj Powell)

Spaniards discovered them, and called their province Tusayan. They are much like the Pueblo tribes of New Mexico, only they have been much less disturbed by outside influence. There are a number of ruined towns in this vicinity. We

wish to refer to them because of their intimate connection with the ruins to the North. Their houses are built of stone on precipitous mesas.

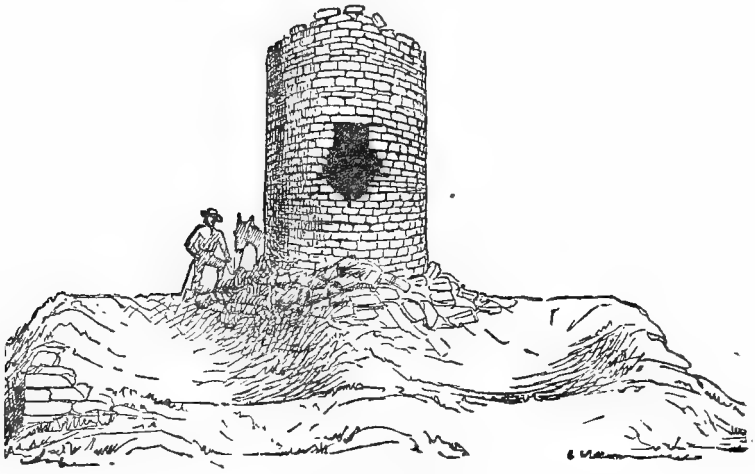
Lieut. Ives, who visited them in 1858, has left quite a full description of them. He states that "each pueblo is built around a rectangular court, in which, we suppose, are the springs that furnished the supply to the reservoirs. The exterior walls, which are of stone, have no openings, and would have to be scaled or battered down before access could be gained to the interior. The successive stories are set back, one behind the other. The lower rooms are reached through trap-doors from the first landing. The houses are three rooms deep, and open upon the interior court."[1] He was much pleased with the manner in which they had terraced off the bluffs of the mesas into little garden patches, irrigating them from the large reservoirs from the top.

There is one feature common to all the Pueblo tribes which is necessary to refer to here, from its connection with the ruined structures further north. In all of the inhabited pueblos there is a structure known as an Estafa, some pueblos having several. They are usually circular, but occasionally (as at Jemez) rectangular. They are generally subterranean, or mostly so. They are great institutions among the Pueblos. "In these subterranean temples the old men met in secret council, or assembled in worship of their gods. Here are held dances, festivities, and social intercourse."

Another common feature, represented in this cut, is the watch-tower. It is either round, as in this case, or rectangular. It may be interesting to recall in this connection the signal mounds of the Mound Builders. They were not always in the immediate vicinity of other ruins. Neither can we state that there was a system in their arrangement, one an-

[1] "Colorado River of the West," p. 119, *et seq.*

swering to another at a distance, and yet it was noticed where the ruins were numerous that several were in view from one point.[1] In dimensions these towers range from ten



Watch Tower.

to fifteen feet in diameter, and from five to fifteen feet in height, while the walls are from one to two feet thick. They are in many cases connected with structures rectangular in form.

We will now leave the inhabited pueblos and the ruins in their immediate vicinity and, going to the north, explore a section of country that shows every evidence of having sustained a considerable population some time in the past. To understand this fact clearly, it will be necessary to fix the location of the places named by means of the map. From time to time confused reports of the wonders to be seen in the San Juan section of Colorado had appeared in the East, but the first clear and satisfactory account is contained in the reports of Messrs. Jackson and Holmes, members of the U. S. Geographical and Geological survey of the territories under Dr. Hayden for 1874 and 1876.

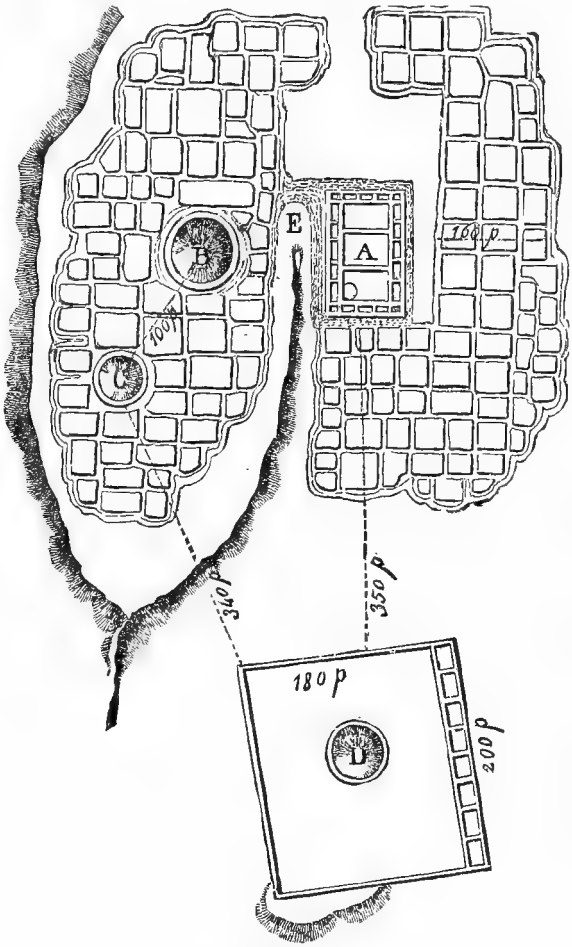
[1] U. S. Survey, Hayden, 1876, p. 390.

In the south-western portion of Colorado is a range of mountains known as the San Juan. Stretching from their base west to the Sierras is a great plateau region, drained by the numerous tributaries of the San Juan River. It would, perhaps, be more in keeping with the facts of the case to say "had been drained some time in the past," for this is now such an arid, semi-desert country that the majority of the streams are dry, or have but scattered pools of water in them, during a large portion of the year; and yet, at times, great volumes of water go sweeping through them. This whole plateau is cut up with long, cañoned valleys, presenting, in effect, the same surface features that we have already described in New Mexico. Yet this precipitous, cañon-marked section of country is literally filled with the crumbling ruins of a former people. The situation in which they occur is in many cases very singular, and the whole subject is invested with great interest to us, because we see in them the remains of a people evidently the same as the Pueblo people to-day.

One of the most extensive ruins in this section is situated at Aztec Springs. This, it will be seen, is about midway between the Rio Mancos and the McElmo. Mr. Holmes found the site of the spring, but it contained no water. He was told, however, by those familiar with the locality that there had been a living spring there up to within a few years. It was evidently a place of considerable importance once. Mr. Holmes describes the ruins as forming the most imposing pile of masonry found in Colorado. They cover an area of over ten acres. This includes only the ruins around the springs. But all about this central portion are scattered and grouped the remnants of smaller structures. So that nearly a square mile is covered with the ruins of this ancient pueblo. Most of the stone used was brought

form the Mesa Verde (Green Plateau), a mile away, and must have been a great work for a people so totally without facilities.

It will be seen that immediately to the right of the Springs is a large rectangular ruin in better preservation than the rest. This now "forms a great mound of crumbling rock from twelve to twenty feet in height, overgrown with artemisia, but showing clearly, however, its rectangular structure, adjusted approximately to the four points of the compass." This house, from its massive walls, must have had an original height of at least forty feet. "The walls seem to have been doubled, with a space of seven feet between; a number of cross-walls at regular intervals indicate that this space has been divided into apartments, as seen in the plan." Two low lines of rubbish cross the square, probably partition walls.



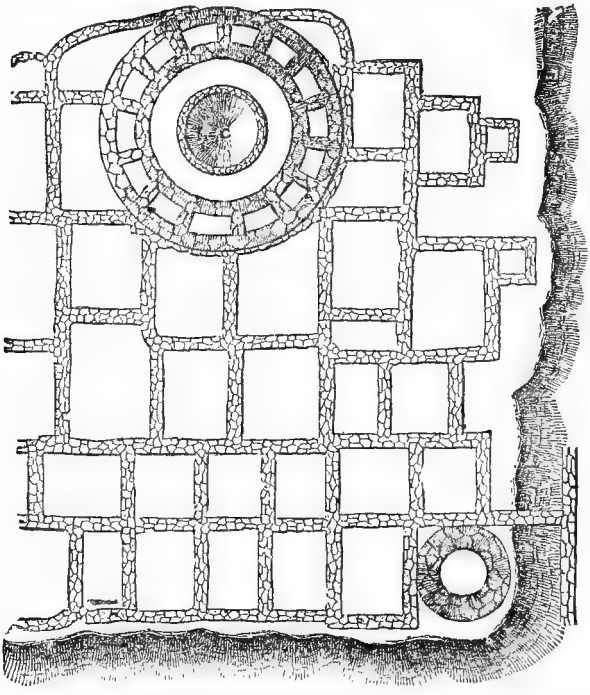

Ruins at Aztec Springs.

Surrounding this house is a net-work of fallen walls, so completely reduced that none of the stones seem to remain in place. Mr. Holmes was at a loss to know whether to call them a cluster of irregular apartments, having low, loosely built walls, or whether they are the remains of imposing pueblos. In the group of ruins to the left of the spring are two well-defined, circular estufas. Below the main mass of ruins, connected by low walls of ruins, is another great square, nearly two hundred feet in dimensions. One wall seems to have consisted of a row of apartments; the other walls served to simply inclose the square, near the center of which was another large estufa.

Several important conclusions can be drawn from a study of this locality. The spring, now dry, was once evidently the source of a considerable stream. Whether the group of low ruins were collections of small houses, or remains of imposing pueblos, we need not doubt that the walls of the square inclosures were composed of pueblo houses. The estufas were probably in all respects similar to those of the present inhabited pueblos. The country around, now so dry and barren, must once have supported considerable population. As to the period of abandonment, we have nothing to guide us. Being an agricultural settlement, it was probably abandoned at an earlier date than the cave-dwellings and cliff-houses of the cañons of the vicinity. The reason for this will appear subsequently. The site of this ruin, as well as for a long distance around, is covered with pieces of broken pottery. We notice that the spring has only lately gone dry. This illustrates the changes now taking place all through the country. It is drying up, and this process has been in operation for a long while.

Many groups of ruins are now in localities where the people could not hope for subsistence. About six miles to

the north of these ruins, about a mile from the McElmo, is the group of ruins here represented, which may throw some light on the remains at Aztec Springs. The principal feature is the triple walled tower, of which a plan is given. The tower has a diameter of about forty-three feet, and a circumference of about one hundred and thirty-five feet. The walls are traceable nearly all the way around, and the



Ruins in the McElmo Cañon.

space between the two outer ones, which is about five feet, contains fourteen apartments or cells. The walls about one of these cells were still standing at the time of Mr. Holmes's visit, but the cell was filled with rubbish from the fallen walls. A door-way, opening into this apartment, could still be seen. The inner wall was probably never very high. It simply inclosed the estufa.

The ruins surrounding this tower consist of low, fallen walls, scarcely traceable. The apartments number nearly one hundred, and were generally rectangular. They are not of a uniform size, and were certainly not arranged in regular order. Now, as Mr. Holmes observes, it would certainly seem that, if they are the ruins of such structures as the pueblos of the south, there would be some regularity of size, and some systematic arrangement. He says that, in reality, they are more like a cluster of pens, such as are used by the Moqui tribes for keeping sheep and goats.

Since these surveys were made, Mr. Bandelier, as agent for the Archæological Institute, has made important researches. He finds that the small, detached houses, such as we described in the ruined village near Jemez, are found in Arizona, with a small court-yard or inclosure attached to them. If we understand the description of the ruins just mentioned, and those at Apache Springs, they are villages of these small houses and their inclosures. In such villages the inclosures meet each other, so as to form a checker-board of irregularly alternating houses and courts. The houses are easily discernible from the fact of little rubbish mounds having accumulated where they stood. Around these parts of the wall can still be traced. This combination makes a strong, easily defended position. Each of such villages contains one or more open spaces of large size, but they are irregularly located.

We must notice one point more: Each village of this nature, that was of any size, contained a larger ruin in the center. This was noticed in the ruins at Aztec Springs. This larger building was in the nature of a citadel, and there the inhabitants could retire when the approaches were carried by the enemy. This central building ultimately swallowed up all the others, and so developed into the pueblo

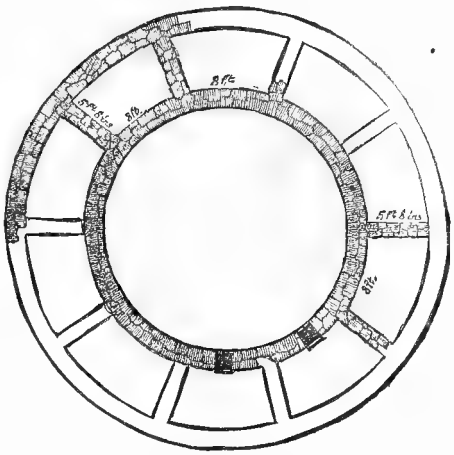
structures we have noticed. The little walled inclosures surrounding the houses were largely in the nature of defenses. Trrdition asserts that in many cases they were garden plats, and appearances sometimes confirm this. "They may also have been the yard proper for each family, in which the latter slept, cooked—in, fact, lived—during the heat of the Summer months."[1]

Referring once more to the ruins near the McElmo, we are told that every isolated rock and bit of mesa within a circle of miles of this place is strewn with remnants of ancient dwellings. We presume these were small, separate houses. They may have been outlying settlements of the tribe whose main village was at Aztec Springs. We must also notice the small tower in the corner. This was a watch tower. It was fifteen feet in diameter, walls three and a half feet thick, and in 1876 was still five feet high, It overlooked the surrounding country. The rainfall in the past must have been more abundant, to support the population we are justified in thinking once lived there. The nearest water is now a mile away, and during the dry season some fifteen miles to the north, in the Rio Dolores, and yet we have every reason to believe these old inhabitants were very saving of water. They built cisterns and reservoirs to store it up against the time of need.

We give a cut of the tower of the ruins of a similar village, or settlement, to the one just described, which occurs twenty miles to the south-east, in the cañon of the Rio Mancos. Being so similar, we will mention it here. In this case the tower had only two walls. Mr. Holmes says the diameter of the outer wall is forty-three feet, that of the inner twenty-five feet. The space between the two circles is divided by

[1] Bandelier, "Fifth Annual Report Archæological Inst. of America," pp. 62, 63, and 65.

cross-walls into ten apartments. This tower is placed also in the midst of a group of more dimly marked ruins or foundations, extending some distance in each direction from it. Mr. Holmes, however, states that there are no ruins of importance in connection with this tower, but that there are a number of ruins in the immediate vicinity. In this case, then, the citadel (if such it was) was not directly connected with other ruins.



Tower on the Rio Mancos.

The Rio Mancos, that we have just mentioned, was a favorite place of resort for these old people. This stream, rising in the La Platte Mountains, flows through beautiful valleys to a great table-land known as the Mesa Verde. Mr. Jackson explored this valley in 1874, and he reports as follows: "Commencing our observation in the park-like valley of the Mancos, between the mesa and the mountains, we find that the low benches which border the stream upon either side bear faint vestiges of having at some far away time been covered with dwellings, grouped in communities apparently, but so indistinct as to present to the eye little more than unintelligible mounds. By a little careful investigation, however, the foundation of great square blocks of single buildings and of circular inclosures can be made out, the latter generally of a depressed center, showing an excavation for some purpose."

From this description we can not quite make out whether these ruins are great communal buildings, like the modern

pueblo, or clusters of separate houses. We incline to the latter opinion, however. The circular depressed area was doubtless used as an Estufa, the place of religious meetings for men alone. "The greater portion of these mounds are now overgrown with artemisia, pinion-pine, and cedar, concealing them almost entirely from casual observation." "We found the surest indication of their proximity in the great quantity of broken pottery which covered the ground in their neighborhood. The same curiously indented, painted, and glazed ware, was found throughout New Mexico and Arizona. It was all broken into very small pieces, none that we could find being larger than a silver dollar." Specimens of this pottery will be figured in its appropriate place.

"Nowhere among these open plane habitations could we discover any vestige of stone-work, either in building material or implements. It is very evident that the houses were all of adobe, the mound-like character of the remains justifying that belief." In this last respect we note a difference between these remains and those already described. The mesa verde is one of those elevated plateaus we have so often described. Through this the Mancos has cut a cañon nearly thirty miles in length, and from one to two thousand feet deep. The description we have already given is of the valley of the river before coming to the cañon.

Entering the cañon, Mr. Jackson continues: "Grouped along in clusters, and singly, were indications of former habitations, very nearly obliterated, and consisting mostly, in the first four or five miles, of the same mound-like forms noticed above, and accompanied always by the scattered, broken pottery. Among them we find one building of squared and carefully laid sandstone, one face only exposed of three or four courses, above the mass of *débris* which covered every thing. This building lay within a few yards

of the banks of the stream, was apparently about ten feet by eight, the usual size, as near as we could determine, of nearly all the separate rooms or houses in the larger blocks, none larger, and many not more than five feet square. The stones exposed are each about seven by twelve inches square, and four inches thick, those in their original position retaining correct angles, but, when thrown down, worn away by attrition to shapeless bowlders."

"As we progressed down the cañon the same general characteristics held good. The great majority of the ruins consisting of heaps of *débris* a central mass considerably higher and more massive than the surrounding lines of subdivided squares. Small buildings, not more than eight feet square, were often found standing alone apparently, no trace of any other being detected in their immediate neighborhood." We would call especial attention in this description to the character of the ruins, the central, higher mass surrounded by other ruins; also to the houses found occasionally standing alone. We notice they are of the same general character as the ruins at Aztec Springs.

We are finding abundant evidence that this section was once thickly settled. Going back to the triple-walled tower on the McElmo, Mr. Jackson says of the immediate vicinity: "On the mesa is group after group upon the same general plan, a great central tower and smaller surrounding buildings. They cover the whole breadth and length of the land, and, turn which way we would, we stumbled over the old mound and into the cellars, as we might call them, of these truly aborigines." We believe, however, that no excavation for cellar purposes are found in the entire region covered by these ancient ruins.

"Starting down the cañon (the McElmo), which gradually deepened as the table-land rose above us, we found

upon either hand very old and faint vestiges of the homes of a forgotten people, but could give them no more attention than merely noting their existence."

Mr. Morgan has shown the existence of regular large houses in the valley of Aminas River, east of the Mancos;[1] and he also speaks of the ruins at the commencement of McElmo Cañon as being large communal buildings. We should judge from Mr. Jackson's report just given that these ruins were rather small clusters of houses of the same design as the ruins at Apache Springs.

Near the Utah boundary line we notice the Havenweep Creek joining the McElmo from the north. The mesa, narrowing to a point where the two cañons meet, is covered with ruins much like what we have described already. The Hovenweep is appropriately named, meaning "deserted valley."

Further west still is the Montezuma Valley. Mr. Jackson's party found the ruins so numerous as to excite surprise at the numbers this narrow valley must have supported. He says, "We camped at the intersection of a large cañon coming in from the west. . . At this point the bottoms widen out to from two to three hundred yards in width, and are literally covered with ruins, evidently those of an extensive settlement or community, although at the present time water was so scarce (there not being a drop within a radius of six miles) that we were compelled to make a dry camp. The ruins consist evidently of great solid mounds of rock *débris*, piled up in rectangular masses, covered with earth and a brush growth, bearing every indication of extreme age—just how old is about as impossible to tell as to say how old the rocks of this cañon are. This group is a mile in length, in the middle of the valley

[1] "Contributions to North American Ethnology," Vol. IV, p. 172, *et seq.*

space, and upon both sides of the wash. Each separate building would cover a space, generally, of one hundred feet square; they are seldom subdivided into more than two or four apartments. Relics were abundant, broken pottery

Ruins in the Hovenweep Cañon.

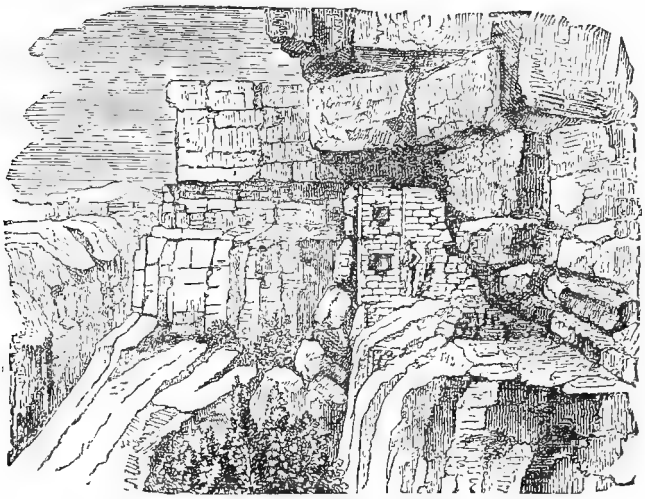
and arrow-points being especially plenty. At one place, where the wash had partially undermined the foundation of one of the large buildings, it exposed a wall of regularly laid masonry, extending down six feet beneath the superincumbent rubbish to the old floor-level, covered with ashes and the remains of half-charred sticks of juniper."

Lower down, the valley was noted for little projecting tongues of rock extending out into the cañon, sometimes connected with the main walls of the cañon by narrow ledges of rock, and in cases even this had disappeared, leaving detached masses of rock standing quite alone. "Within a distance of fifteen miles there are some sixteen or eighteen of these promontories and isolated mesas of different height, every one of them covered with ruins of old and massive stone-built structures."

We have been somewhat full in our description of these ruins, yet their importance justifies this course. So far we see but very little to remind us of the pueblo towns. On the other hand, the buildings seem to be often single houses, or a few houses grouped together. In some locations they were built of stone, in others of adobe. It is to be observed, however, that the houses are very small—not larger than the rooms in the modern pueblos. We evidently have here quiet scenes of agricultural life. They of course had enemies, and guarded against their attacks by the watch-towers, of which an example is given in the McElmo ruins. The country must have been better watered that now, the soil productive, the seasons kind; and who can tell how long these agricultural tribes held the land? Under these conditions, time must have been rapidly bringing them civilization. But we must now turn to a sorrowful chapter in their history, and trace the dispersion of these tribes, their unavailing attempts to hold their own against a savage foe, and the desperate chances they took before leaving the land of their fathers.

This brings us to a consideration of cliff-houses—that is, houses so placed that manifestly the only reason the people would have for putting them where found would be of a defensive nature; and, for a similar reason, we may be

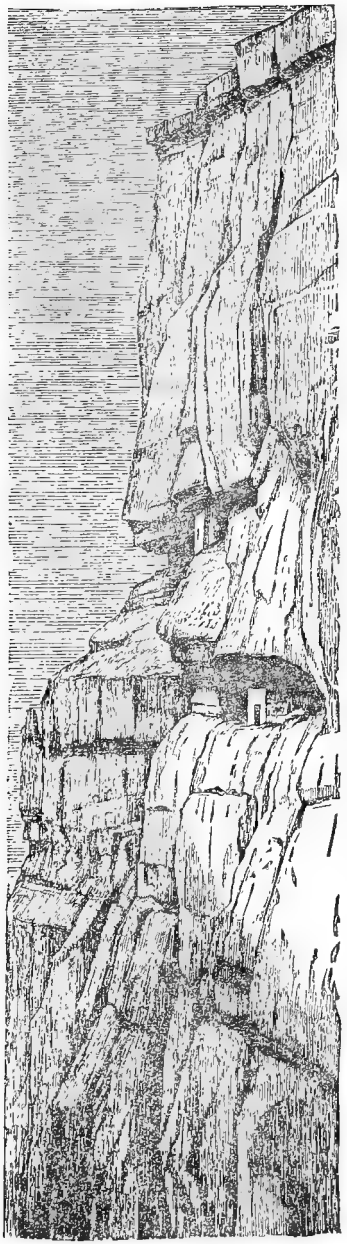
very sure they are of a later date than the majority of the ruins in the valley or in the cañons. People would never have settled in the valley in the first place if they had felt the necessity of seeking inaccessible places in which to build shelters as a resort in time of need. We can not do better than to refer once more to Mr. Jackson's exploration in the valley of the Rio Mancos. We have already referred to it in reference to the larger ruins.



Two-storied House in the Mancos Cañon.

This cut gives us a general view of the first cliff-house discovered in this valley. This was far up on the cliff. Mr. Jackson says, "We had no field-glass with the party, and to this fact is probably due the reason we had not seen others during the day in this same line, for there is no doubt that ruins exist throughout the entire length of the cañon, far above and out of the way of ordinary observation." Subsequently Mr. Holmes proved this supposition to be true. The sides of this cañon have nearly all their ledges occupied by these houses.

Every advantage was taken, both natural and artificial,



View of Cliff in which the House is Situated.

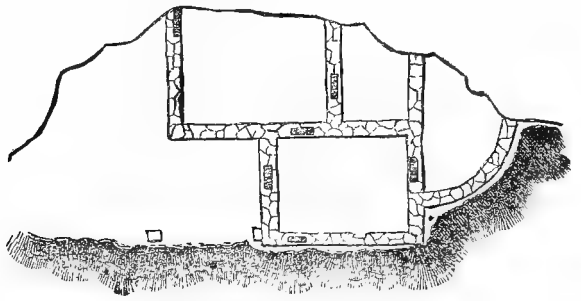
to conceal them from view. "Cedars and pines grew thickly along the ledges upon which they are built, hiding completely any thing behind them. All that we did find were built of the same materials as the cliffs themselves, with but few, and then only the smallest, apertures toward the cañon, the surface being dressed very smooth, and showing no lines of masonry. It was only on the very closest inspection that the houses could be separated from the cliff."

To illustrate the singular position in which this house was located, we introduce this cut. It is seven hundred feet above the valley. "Whether viewed from below or from the heights above, the effect is almost startling, and one can not but feel that no ordinary circumstances could have driven a people to such places of resort." As showing the difficulty an enemy would have to approach such a house, we give Mr. Jackson's account of his climb to it:

"The first five hundred feet of ascent were over a long,

steep slope of *débris*, overgrown with cedar, then came alternately perpendiculars and slopes Immediately below the house was a nearly perpendicular ascent of one hundred feet, that puzzled us for a while, and which we were only able to surmount by finding cracks and crevices into which fingers and toes could be inserted. From the little ledges occasionally found, and by stepping upon each other's shoulders, and grasping tufts of yucca, one would draw himself up to another shelf, and then, by letting down a stick of cedar or a hand, would assist the others."

"Soon we reached a slope, smooth and steep, in which there had been cut a series of steps, now weathered away into a series of undulating hummocks, by which it was easy to ascend, and without them almost an impossibility. Another short, steep slope, and we were under the ledge on which stood our house." By referring to the first cut, we see that the house stands on a very narrow ledge, and that the rocks overhang it so as to furnish a roof. It will also be noticed that the ledge is rounding, so that the outer

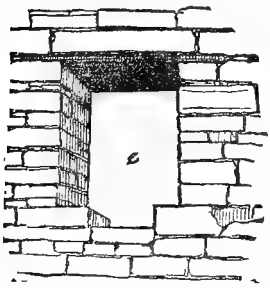


Plan of the House.

walls of the house rise from an incline. Piers, or abutments, had also been built along the ledge so as to form an esplanade.

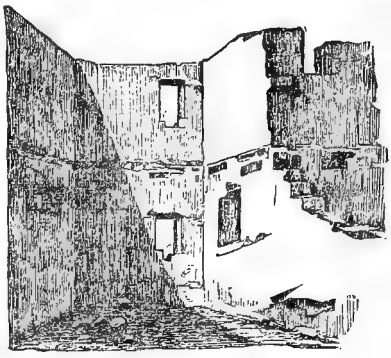
The house itself was only about twelve feet high, but this had been divided into two stories. Whether it ever

had any other roof than the overhanging walls of rock is doubtful. The plan is shown in the preceding cut. The curved apartment at the right is a reservoir, capable of holding about five barrels. A series of pegs were inserted in the wall, so as to form a means of descent from a window to the bottom. A number of doorways are seen in the plan; a cut of one is presented in this figure.



Doorway of the House.

We are, however, warned that the artist has represented the stone-work a little too regularly. The support for the top of the doorway is not clearly shown; a number of small beams of wood were laid across, on these the stones. This cut gives us a view of the front room. Looking in from the end window, we can see where the second story commenced. The doorway we have been describing was not a very handy mode of entrance. Its builders, however, did the best they could in their limited space. The house displays perseverance, ingenuity, and taste.



Room of the House.

It was plastered, both within and without, so as to resemble the walls of the cañon, but an ornamental border was added to the plastering of the interior rooms.

This cliff house could only have been used as a place of refuge in a time of need. We must observe the care with which it was hidden away. The walls were plastered on the outside, so as to resemble the cañon-walls. Then we must notice what a secure place of retreat it afforded the people.

No invading party could hope to storm this castle as long as there was any one to defend it. This house, with its four small rooms, could give shelter to quite a band of Indians. Then, besides, it was not alone. Ruins of half a dozen smaller houses were found near by. Some had been crushed by the overhanging walls falling upon them, and others had lost their foothold and tumbled down the precipice.

It needs but a glance to satisfy any one that only dire necessity would have driven a people to such resorts. When we consider how much labor it must have required to convey the materials to the almost inaccessible place, the many inconveniences the people must have been put to when they were occupied, we may imagine how the people clung to their old home. It is altogether likely that such resorts would be only used now and then. During seasons of war and invasion probably the women and old the men, with the little ones, went thither for protection.

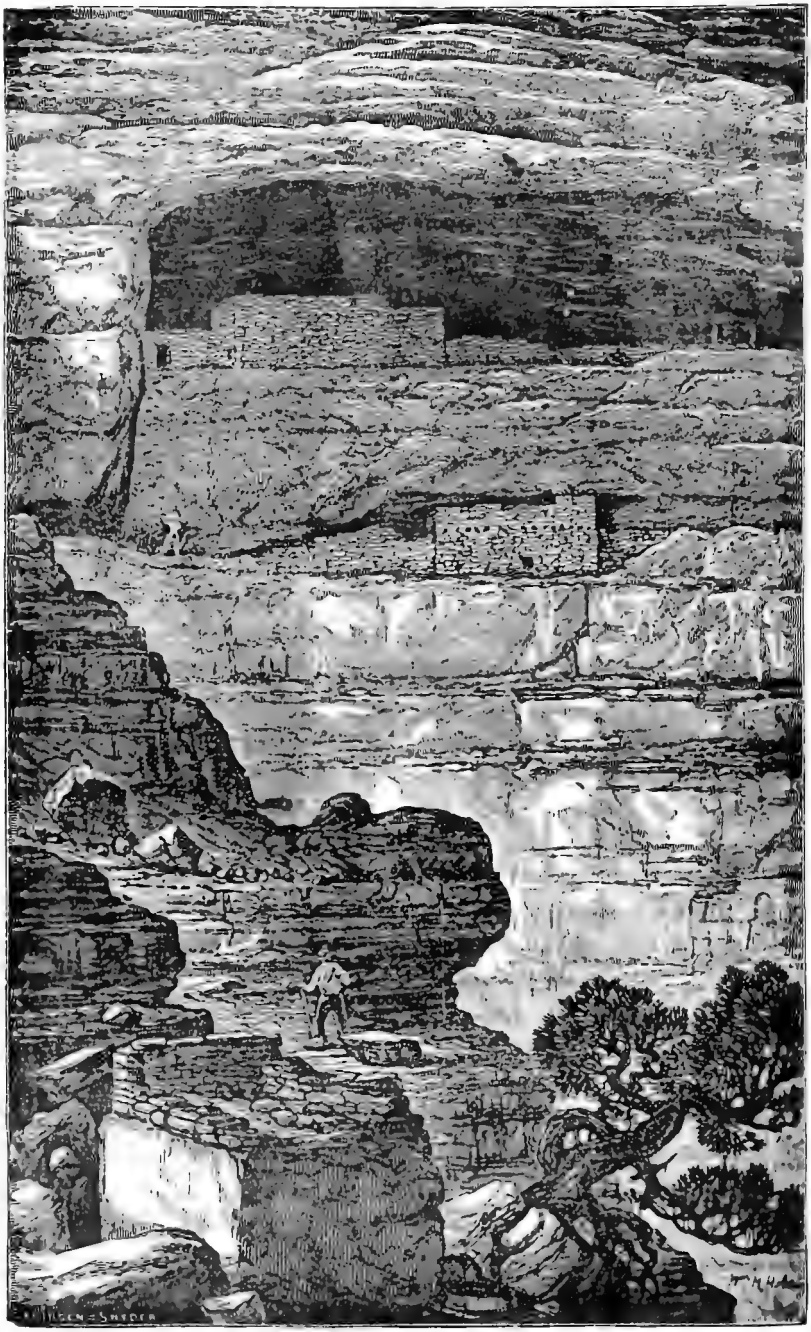
Mr. Holmes calls attention to one point bearing on the antiquity of this ruin. The buttresses, which probably support a balustrade, noticed in the figure on the house, were built on the sloping surface of the rock. It would take but very little weathering of the rocks to throw them to the bottom of the cañon; and, furthermore, the rock is a rough sandstone, and hence easily crumbles; and it is not well protected by the overhanging cliff; but no perceptible change has taken place since the buttresses were first built. The thickness of a sheet of paper has hardly been washed from the surface, and the mortar, almost as hard as the rock itself, lies upon it as if placed there within a dozen years. This structure is, evidently, not as old as the low mounds of crumbling ruins we have heretofore described. It is more than probable that such retreats as this were

not provided until near the close of their stay in the country.

A ruin further down the cañon, described by Mr. Holmes, is of great interest, as it shows how necessary the people considered it to be to construct an estufa. It will be observed that there are two houses. So nicely are these hidden away that Mr. Holmes had almost completed a sketch of the upper house before he noticed the lower one. They are both overhung by the rocks above so as to be protected from the weather. The upper house can only be approached by means of steps cut in the rock. It appears to be in an unfinished state, and, when we consider the great labor required for its construction, we can not wonder that they grew tired before its completion.

The lower house is some eight hundred feet above the bottom of the cañon, but is comparatively easy of approach. The interesting feature about it is the estufa. It was situated near the center of the main portion of the house. The entrance to this chamber shows the peculiar importance attached to it by the builders. Mr. Holmes says: "A walled and covered passage-way of solid masonry, ten feet of which is still intact, leads from an outer chamber through the small intervening apartments into the circular one. It is possible that this originally extended to the outer wall, and was entered from the outside. If so, the person desiring to visit the estufa would have to enter the aperture about twenty-two inches high by thirty wide, and crawl, in the the most abject manner possible, through a tube-like passage-way nearly twenty feet in length."

"My first impression was that this peculiarly constructed way was a precaution against enemies, and that it was probably the only means of entrance to the interior of the house, but I am now inclined to think this is hardly probable, and



CLIFF-TOWN, RIO MANCOS.

conclude that this was rather designed to render a sacred chamber as free as possible from profane intrusion." This illustrates the peculiar regard in which it was held. Even when sore pressed by their enemies, and obliged to flee to inaccessible heights, they still constructed their sacred place.

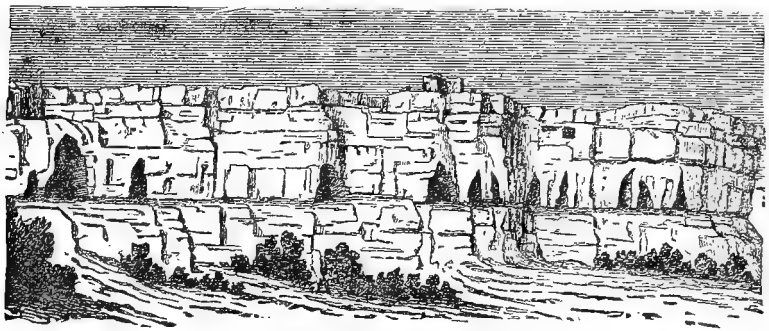
These cliff-houses, of which we give illustrations, are quite common in the Mancos. Our frontispiece shows an interesting group, about ten miles from the foot of the cañon. These are situated only about forty feet above the bed of the creek, but still in a secure position. Here a bed of shale had been weathered out of the sandstone, leaving a sort of horizontal groove four feet high and from four to six feet deep. In this a row of minute houses had been built. They had been made to occupy the full height and depth of the crevice, so that when one reaches it at the only accessible point he is between two houses, and must pass through these to get at the others.

Besides the cliff-houses, the explorers found that these people had made use of little cave-like openings in the cliffs, and, by walling up the openings, had converted them into houses. These were very common in the Mancos, and of all sizes. Some were evidently merely little hiding places, in which to store away provisions or other articles. In some places the cliffs were literally honey-combed with these little habitations. Sometimes the walls were quite well preserved and new-looking, while all about were others in all stages of decay.

"In one place in particular a picturesque outstanding promontory has been full of dwellings. . . . As one from below views the ragged, window-pierced crags, he is unconsciously led to wonder if they are not the ruins of some ancient castle, behind whose mouldering walls are hidden the dread secrets of a long-forgotten people; but a

nearer approach quickly dispels such fancies, for the windows prove to be only the doorways to shallow and irregular apartments hardly sufficiently commodious for a race of pigmies. Neither the outer openings nor the apertures that communicate between the caves are large enough to allow a person of large stature to pass, and one is led to suspect that these nests were not the dwellings proper of these people, but occasional resorts for women and children, and that the somewhat extensive ruins of the valley below were their ordinary dwelling places."[1]

On the San Juan, about ten miles above the mouth of the Mancos, is a significant combination of cave-dwellings and



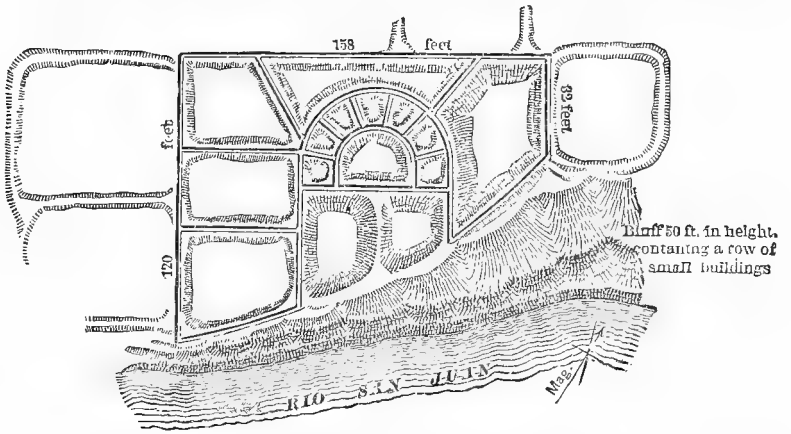
Caves Used as Houses, Rio Mancos.

towers. In this case, about half-way up the cliff, which is not more than forty feet high, excavations had been made in a soft bed of shale. They are now quite shallow, but were probably once deeper and walled up in front. Directly above these cave-openings, on the very brink of the cliffs, were the remains of two circular towers, in each case double-walled, and probably divided by cross-walls into partitions. The towers were probably their council chambers and places of worship. The caves, directly below, down a steep bank, were their fortresses, whither in times of danger they could

[1] Holmes.

flee. The little community, by means of ladders, could freely pass from their cave resorts to the towers and back.

The San Juan River does not seem to be as rich in ruins as some of its tributaries. Yet near the mouth of the Montezuma we came upon a ruin which shows considerable analogy to the pueblos. Mr. Jackson says upon the top of the bench (fifty feet high) overlooking the river are the ruins of a quadrangular structure of a peculiar design. It is arranged very nearly at right angles to the river. We see from the plan that we have the ruins of a larger build-



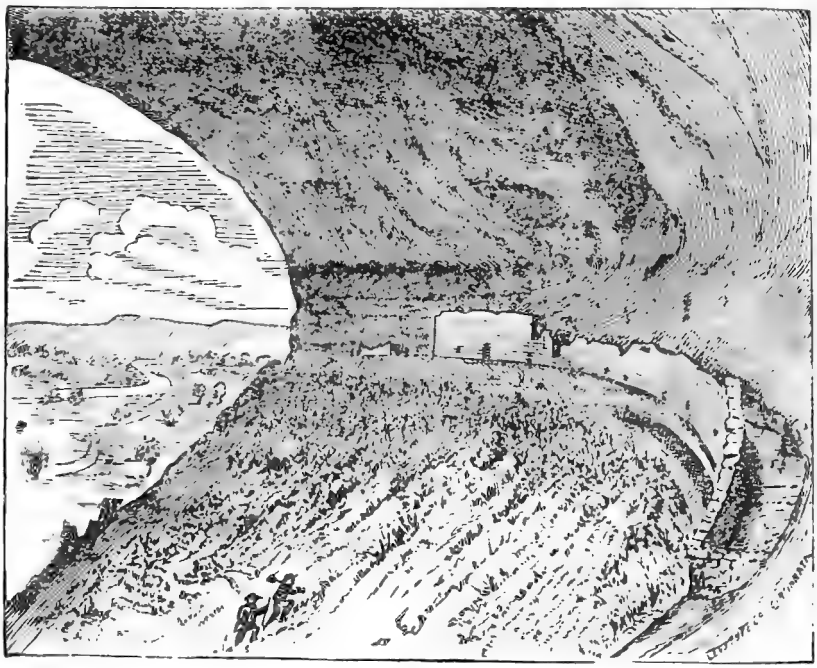

Ruins in the San Juan Cañon.

ing, arranged around an open court—at least, Mr. Jackson could detect no trace of a wall in front. We must notice the seven apartments, arranged in the form of a semicircle, back of the court. Extreme massiveness is indicated throughout the whole structure.

In the immediate vicinity of this ruin were found a number of little, cave-like dwellings. They were so small that doubts were raised as to whether they were suitable for human habitations, but the majority of them bore ample evidence in smoke-begrimed walls that such was their use. Twelve miles below the mouth of the Montezuma this group

of ruins was discovered. These were situated in a cave that was almost exactly a hemisphere in shape. Where the curve of the roof met the curve from the bottom a little projecting bench had been utilized as a foundation for a row of houses.

The little community that built their houses here seem to have practiced all the industries of a savage life. In



Cave-Town.

one place there was evidence that on that spot had been carried on the manufacture of stone implements. At another place holes had been drilled, as if for a loom. In the main building there were fourteen rooms or apartments, ranging from sixteen to nine feet in width. "In the central room of the main building we found a circular, basin-like depression, that had served as a fire-place, being still filled with the ashes and cinders of aboriginal fires, the surrounding

walls being blackened with smoke and soot. This room was undoubtedly the kitchen of the house. Some of the smaller rooms appear to have been used for the same purpose, the fires having been made in the corner against the back wall, the smoke escaping overhead. The masonry displayed in the construction of the walls is very creditable. A symmetrical curve is preserved throughout the whole line, and every portion perfectly plumb. The subdivisions are at right angles to the front. The whole appearance of the place and its surroundings indicate that the family or little community who inhabited it were in good circumstances, and the lords of the surrounding country. Looking out from one of their houses, with a great dome of solid rock overhead that echoed and re-echoed every word uttered with marvelous distinctness, and below them a steep descent of one hundred feet to the broad, fertile valley of the Rio San Juan, covered with waving fields of maize and scattered groves of majestic cottonwoods, these old people, whom even the imagination can hardly clothe with reality, must have felt a sense of security that even the incursions of their barbarian foes could hardly have disturbed." [1]

To describe the defensive ruins on Epsom Creek, Montezuma Creek, and the McElmo is simply to repeat descriptions already given. We meet with cave-houses, cliff-houses, and sentinel-towers in abundance. The whole section appears to have been thickly settled. Further explorations will doubtless make known many more ruins, but probably nothing differing in kind from what is already known. We think the defensive ruins belong to a later period of their existence than do the old and time-worn structures we have hitherto described along the river valleys and open plains, as at Aztec Springs. These structures plainly show that at

[1] U. S. Survey, Hayden, 1876, p. 419.

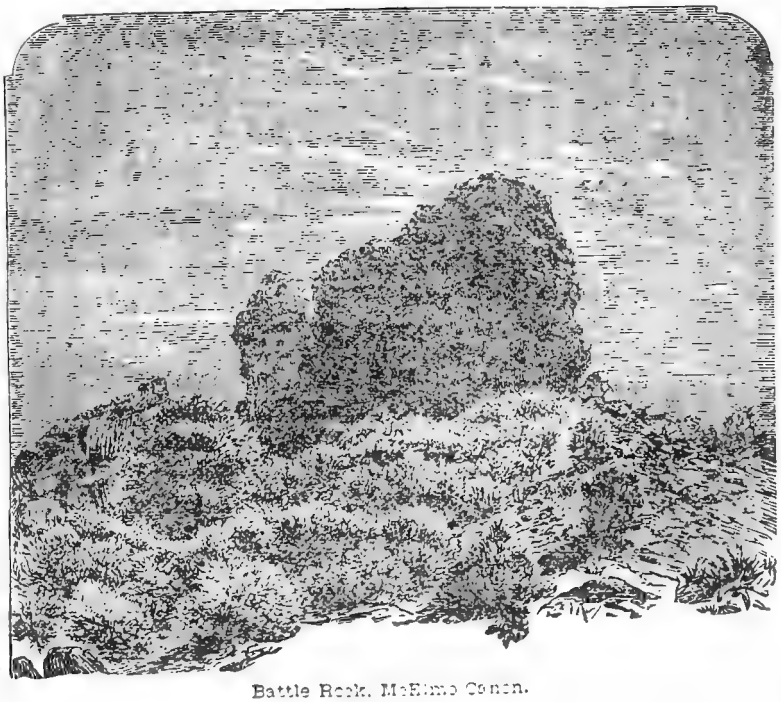
the time they were built the people were subject to an invasion from a stronger foe, one before whose approach they had to fly for protection to the almost inaccessible cliffs.

They would obviously never have settled there had they always had to contend with these savage tribes. It needs no great skill to read the story of the dispersion of these old people from the ruins we have described; the many watch-towers, which were also used as fortresses or citadels in which to find protection, testifying to the need of increased watchfulness. The cave-houses and cliff-fortresses, cunningly hidden away to escape detection, or so placed as to defy the assault of their enemies, show to what desperate straits they were driven; and imagination only can picture the despair that must have filled their hearts when the hour of final defeat came, and they must have realized that even these shifts would not allow them to stay in the lands of their fathers.

That this is the explanation of these ruins, we will cite the legendary stories given by an old man among the Moquis concerning some ruins in the cañon of the McElmo, just over the line in Utah. At this point the cañon widens out considerably, and in the center of the valley is still standing a portion of the old mesa, once filling the entire valley. It is now a mass of dark red sandstone, about one hundred feet high, and three hundred feet around, seamed and cracked, and gradually disappearing, as the rock has gone all around it. The top of this rock is covered with the ruins of some building; there are also ruins at the base and all around the immediate vicinity. There were watch towers and estufas, showing that this was a place of great interest.

The story is as follows: "Formerly the aborigines inhabited all this country as far east as the head-waters of the San Juan, as far north as the Rio Dolores, west some dis-

tance into Utah, and south and south-west throughout Arizona, and on down into Mexico. They had lived there from time immemorial, since the earth was a small island, which augmented as its inhabitants multiplied. They cultivated the valley, fashioned whatever utensils and tools they needed very neatly and handsomely out of clay, and wood, and stone, not knowing any of the useful metals; built their



Battle Rock, McElmo Canon.

homes and kept their flocks and herds in the fertile river bottoms, and worshiped the sun. They were an eminently peaceful and prosperous people, living by agriculture rather than by the chase. About a thousand years ago, however, they were visited by savage strangers from the north, whom they treated hospitably. Soon these visits became more frequent and annoying. Then their troublesome neighbors,

ancestors of the present Utes, began to forage upon them, and at last to massacre them and devastate their farms. So, to save their lives at least, they built houses high up on the cliffs, where they could store food and hide away until the raiders left.

"But one Summer the invaders did not go back to their mountains, as the people expected, but brought their families with them and settled down. So, driven from their homes and lands, starving in their little niches on the high cliffs, they could only steal away during the night and wander across the cheerless uplands. To one who has traveled these steppes such a flight seems terrible, and the mind hesitates to picture the sufferings of the sad fugitives. At the 'Creston' (name of the ruin) they halted, and probably found friends, for the rocks and caves are full of the nests of these human wrens and swallows. Here they collected, erected stone fortifications and watch-towers, dug reservoirs in the rocks to hold a supply of water, which in all cases is precarious in this latitude, and once more stood at bay. Their foes came, and for one long month fought, and were beaten back, and returned day after day to the attack as merciless and inevitable as the tide. Meanwhile the families of the defenders were evacuating and moving south, and bravely did their defenders shield them till they were all safely a hundred miles away.

"The besiegers were beaten back and went away. But the narrative tells us that the hollows of the rocks were filled to the brim with the mingled blood of conquerors and conquered, and red veins of it ran down the cañon. It was such a victory as they could not afford to gain again, and they were glad, when the long flight was over, to follow their wives and little ones to the south. There, in the deserts of Arizona, on well-nigh unapproachable, isolated

bluffs, they built new towns, and their few descendants, the Moquis, live in them to this day, preserving more carefully and purely the history and veneration of their forefathers than their skill or wisdom."[1]

Mr. Jackson thinks this legend arises from the appearance of the rocks. The bare floor of nearly white sandstone, upon which the butte stands, is stained in gory streaks and blotches by the action of an iron constituent in the rocks of another portion of the adjoining bluffs. That may well be true, but we believe that there are germs of truth in the story.

Driven from their homes, where did the fugitives go? Some of them may have gone east, but probably the body of the migration was to the south. It has been the tendency of all tribes, but especially of the sedentary tribes, to pass to the south and east, and this is also the traditions among the inhabitants of still existing pueblos.[2] We find that every available portion of New Mexico and Arizona bears evidence of having been once populated by tribes of Indians, who built houses in all respects like those already described. In northern New Mexico, Prof. Cope has described a whole section of country as being at one time more densely populated than the thickly inhabited portions of the Eastern States. He says: "The number of buildings in a square mile of that region is equal to, if not greater than the number now existing in the more densely populated rural districts of Pennsylvania and New Jersey."[3]

In one location he found a village of thirty houses, built of stone, and all in ruins. He found, over a large extent of country, that every little conical hill and eminence was

[1] Rendered by Ingersoll, in *N. Y. Tribune*, Nov. 3, 1874.
[2] Bandelier, in Fifth Ann. Rep., Arch. Inst., p 79.
[3] U. S. Survey West of 100th M., Vol. VII, p. 358.

crowned with ruins of old houses. We, of course, can not say that these ruins are necessarily younger than those to the north of the San Juan, and yet we think from Prof. Cope's description that they do not present such evidence of antiquity as do the crumbling ruins previously described. And then, besides, they were always located in easily defended positions.

The village spoken of was really a Cliff Village, being arranged along the very edge of a precipitous mesa, the only access to it being along a narrow causeway. Then again, although we have described many ruins near which no water is to be had, at least, in dry seasons, yet we have every reason to suppose water was formerly more plentiful and easily attained. But in this section it must always have been a serious question with them to obtain enough water for necessary purposes. They must have had to store away water in vessels of pottery, whose ruins are now so abundant. It is not such a country as we would suppose a people to choose for a place to settle in, only that they knew not where else to go.

It is also considered settled that all the inhabited pueblos, as well as those in ruins near the inhabited ones, were built by the descendants of these people whose houses we have described. This is proven by the similarity of pottery. Though some styles of ancient corrugated ware are found in the San Juan section not found near the inhabited pueblos, yet vast quantities of ware, similar to that now found in the inhabited pueblos, can be picked up all over the ruins to the north. Again, their religion must have been the same, as ruined estufas are common, in all respects similar to those now in use. In the modern pueblos we are struck with the small cell-like rooms, yet they are but little smaller than the ordinary single houses plentifully found over the

entire field of ruins. All the Pueblo tribes are agricultural, so were these old people. In fact, all evidence confirms the conclusion that the remnants of the Pueblo people that we have already described, are also the descendants of the people driven by hostile bands from north of the San Juan.

This statement may give false impressions, however. The traditions of the Pueblo Indians, of New Mexico, are to the effect that they came from the north, and also that their ancestors formerly lived in the small houses we have described. But we do not mean to say that all the small houses and pueblos in Arizona and New Mexico are later in date than the cliff-houses. The pressure has always been from the north to the south. Neither would we be understood as saying that all the sedentary tribes, both ancient and modern, belong to the same stock of people. There are several different stocks of people even among the present Pueblos.[1]

In the valley of the Rio Chaco, about midway between the Rio Grande and the San Juan, we meet a group of ruined pueblos whose style of masonry is thought to indicate a greater antiquity than the inhabited pueblo towns; these probably indicate another settlement of these people. As these are really remarkable ruins, we must briefly describe them. In the Chaco cañon, as indicated on the map, within the space of ten miles are the ruins of eight larger pueblos. Another is located at the very beginning of the cañon, and two more on the edge of the mesas just outside of the cañon. These are large communal houses of regular pueblo type, and, theoretically at least, they should be later in date than the majority of ruins throughout the area represented on the map. We think the development has been from small, separate houses, to a closely connected

[1] "First Annual Report of Bureau of Ethnology," p. 74.

cluster, with a central citadel, which finally drew to itself all the other buildings, and became the communal building we call a pueblo.[1]

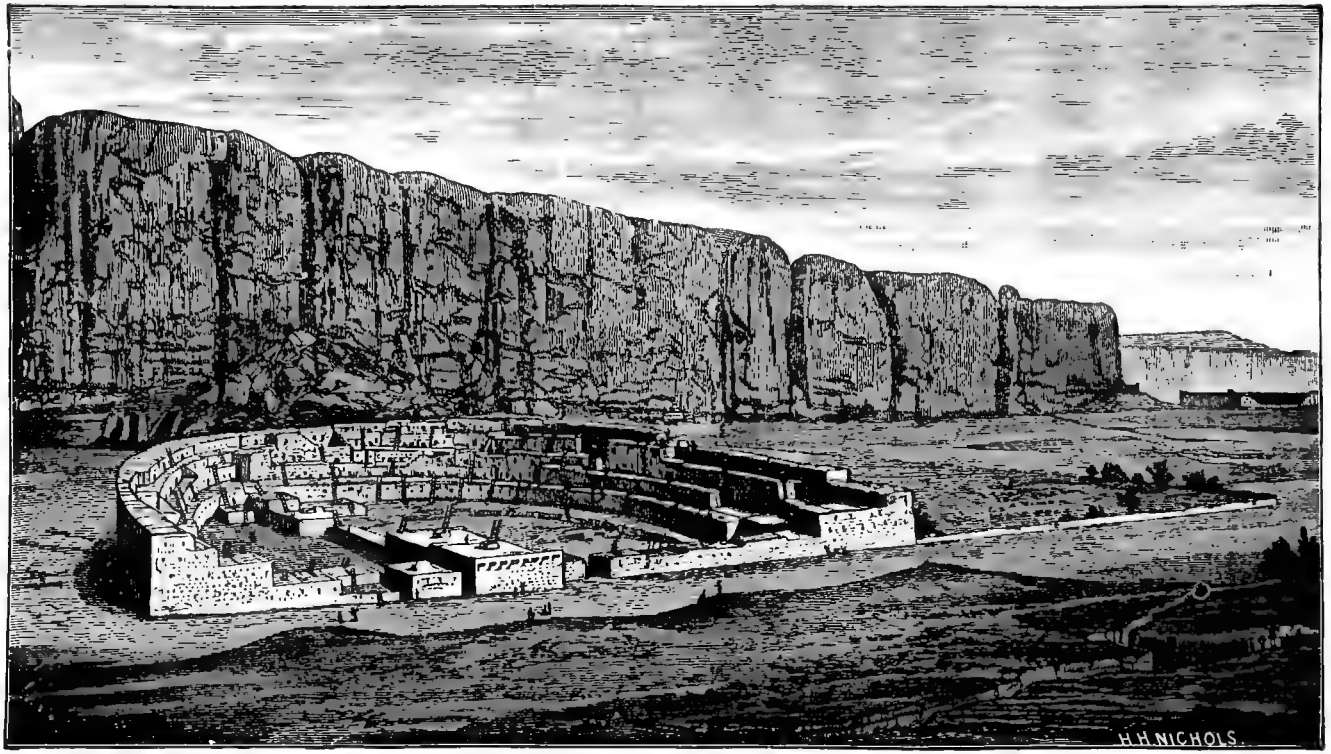
We give a restoration of one—the Pueblo Bonito—one of the largest and most important of the ruins. We can not doubt but what the restoration is substantially correct. It shows the open court, the terraced structure, and the system of defense. The circle itself is not as near a half-circle as we would imagine. The ground plan shows that it was really a many-sided building. This pueblo must have presented a striking appearance when it was in a complete state.

By comparing this structure with the views of some of the present pueblo towns, we will understand the remarks made on page 422, as to the different styles of pueblo structures. This building must have had not far from six hundred and fifty rooms. "No single edifice of equal accommodations has ever been found in any part of North America. It would shelter three thousand Indians."[2] This pueblo will compare favorably with some of the structures of Yucatan; though not so ornamental, yet for practical convenience, it must have met the wants of the builders fully as well. This may be given as a fair example of the entire class.

The evident plan on which they started to build their structures is shown in the following plan of the pueblo. But some of them were not fully completed. Two of them had but one wing. In the restoration the court is seen to be closed by a straight row of small buildings, but in most cases the wall inclosing the court was more or less circular. In one case the court was left open. We will

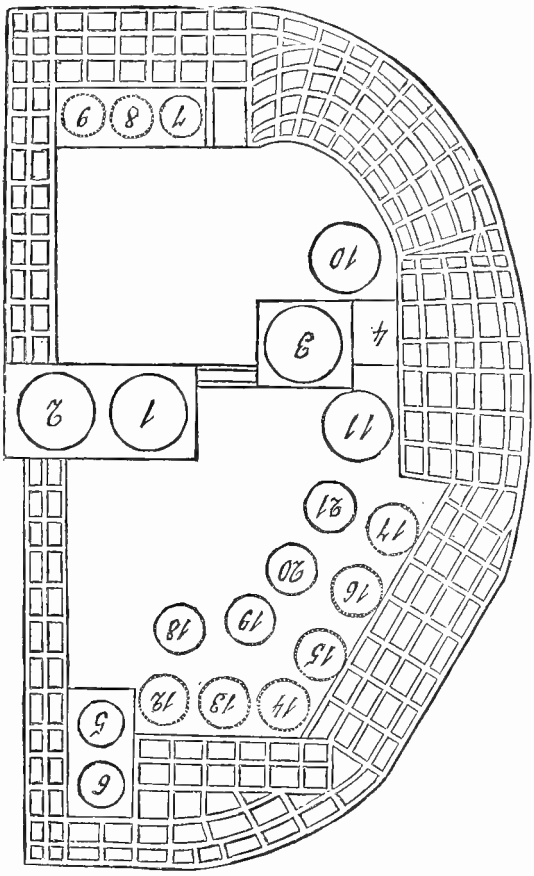
[1] "Fifth Annual Report Arch. Inst.," pp. 42, 78.

[2] Morgan: "Contribution to N. A. Ethnology," Vol. IV, p. 163.




RESTORATION OF PUEBLO BONITO.
(Bureau of Ethnology.)

only give general descriptions. It is now believed that these great structures were built only a part at a time; perhaps the main body, or a part of it, first. Afterwards, as the number of inhabitants increased, a wing would be added, and then the other; and so, many years would elapse before the pueblo would assume its completed form.

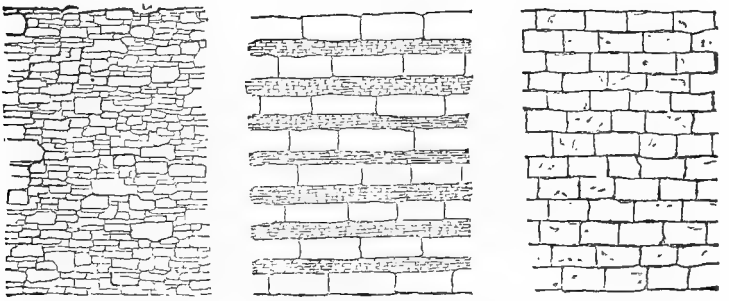



Plan of Pueblo Bonito.

These structures ranged in extent from about four hundred to twelve hundred feet in external measurement, and could furnish a home to from two hundred to eight hundred or a thousand Indians, and, in one case at least, many more.

In the next cut we have represented the different styles of masonry employed in the pueblos of this valley. It varied all the way from careful piling of big and little stones, and of alternate layers of such materials, to very good masonry indeed. Speaking of it, Mr. Jackson says, "It is the most wonderful feature in these ancient habitations, and is in

striking contrast to the careless and rude methods shown in the dwellings of the present pueblos. The material, a grayish-yellow sandstone, breaking readily into thin laminæ, and was quarried from the adjacent exposures of that rock. The stones employed average about the size of an ordinary brick, but as the larger pieces were irregular in size, the interstices were filled in with very thin plates of sandstone, or rather built in during its construction; for by no other means could they be placed with such regularity and compactness. So closely are the individual pieces fitted to each



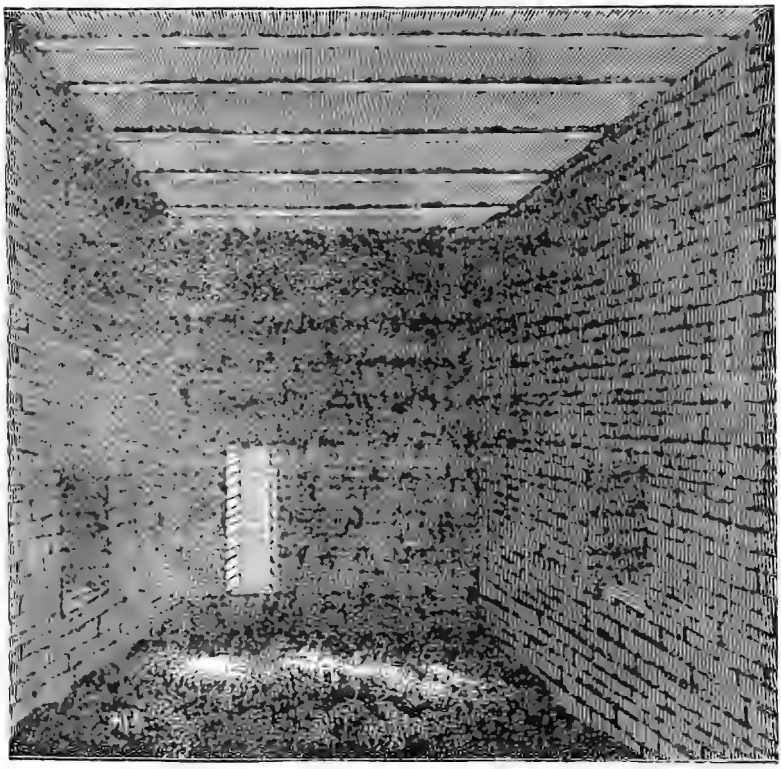
Different Styles of Masonry.

other that at a little distance no jointage appears, and the wall bears every indication of being a plain, solid surface."

Besides these important ruins, there are a great many others not especially different from those previously described. We can not state positively that these ruins are of a later date than those of the North; we think they are. From the character of the structures, we are more inclined to class them with the great pueblos of the Rio Grande, Puerco, and Zuñi. By examining the map we see that the Rio Chaco would afford a convenient route for them in their migration from the San Juan Valley.

It may be of some interest to notice one of the rooms in this pueblo. Simpson says it is walled up with alternate

layers of large and small stones, the regularity of the combination producing a very pleasant effect. Mr. Morgan thinks this room will compare not unfavorably with any of equal size to be found in the more imposing ruins of the South. We must notice the ceiling. The probabilities are that the Rio Chelly, further to the west, afforded another



Room in Pueblo Bonito. (Bureau of Ethnology.)

line of retreat. Some ruins are found scattered up and down the river or cañon, which we will not stop to describe. Off to the south-west are the inhabited towns or pueblos of the Moquis, who, as we have seen, have a tradition that they came from the north.

There are some ruins found in the south-western part of Arizona which must be described in a general survey of the ruins of the Pueblo country. The river Gila, with numerous tributaries, is the most important stream in that portion of the State. It is in just such a section as we would expect to find ruins, if anywhere. Coronado, as we have seen, invaded the country about three hundred and fifty years ago. At the time of his visit this was then a ruin, for his historian describes one ruin as "a single ruined and roofless house . . . the work of civilized people who had come from afar."[1] This gives us a point as to the antiquity of some of the ruins in the Gila Valley. As we shall see, there is every reason to suppose that this section was at one time a thickly inhabited one.

From the similar character of the remains, we conclude the original inhabitants to be of the same race of people as those we have already described, but what was the exact relation between them we can not tell, but we think a study of the ruins will only confirm the general truth of the traditions of the Pueblo tribes. In any one tradition there is doubtless much that is distorted. One form in which the traditions find expression is: "That they proceeded from the north-west to the upper waters of the Rio Colorado. There they divided, portions ascended by the San Juan, cañon De Chelly, or the more easterly branches of that stream towards the center of New Mexico. Others, passing over the waters of the Rio Verde (see map), descended its valley to the Rio Gila."[2]

One hundred and fifty miles southwest of Zuñi we notice the Verde River flowing into the Rio Salado, and the latter into the Gila. Besides these streams, there are other smaller

[1] "Smithsonian Report," 1863, p. 313.
[2] Whipple, Pacific R. R. Report, Vol. III.

ones, not marked on the map.[1] Mr. Bandelier found near the Cañon del Tule an improvement on the irrigating ditches, that was a lining of concrete; and in this section also was noticed the ruins of both pueblos and the small houses. Near Ft. Apache he found the ruins of the largest villages discovered in Arizona, but we have no details of it. The valley of the Rio Verde and Salado seems to have been a favorite resort.

As early as 1854 attention was called to ruins in the Rio Verde. Mr. Leroux reported to Mr. Whipple that the "river banks were covered with ruins of stone houses and regular fortifications, which appeared to have been the work of civilized men, but had not been occupied for centuries. They were built upon the most fertile tracts of the valley, where were signs of acequias (irrigating ditches) and of cultivation. The walls were of solid masonry, of rectangular form, some twenty or thirty paces in length, were of solid masonry, and yet remaining ten or fifteen feet in height. The buildings were of two stories, with small apertures or loop-holes for defence, when besieged."[2]

Mr. Bandelier confirms this account as to the number of ruins. The entire valley of the Verde is filled with ruins of every description. From the account of the valley itself, we can see how well suited it was to the needs of village Indians. Mr. Leroux speaks in high praise of its fertility. Wood, water, and grass were abundant. In the neighborhood of Fort Reno Mr. Bandelier discovered a new architectural feature of great interest to us. This is a raised platform, on which the buildings were supported. This raised platform is a very important feature, as we shall learn in the

[1] Wherever reference is made to Mr. Bandelier's discoveries, it is taken from the oft-quoted Fifth Annual Report, Archæological Institute.

[2] Whipple, Pacific R. R. Reports, Vol. III., p. 14.

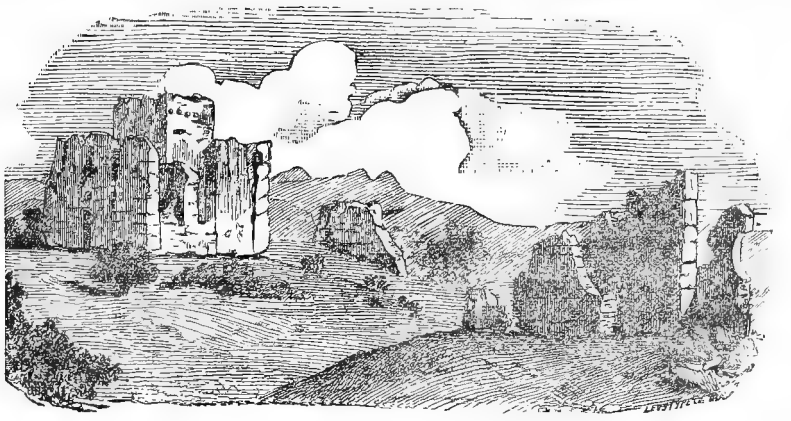
ruins of Mexico and Central America. We have already seen how it was employed by the Mound Builders.

In other words, the detached houses are seen to form villages, with a central stronghold, and the tendency is observed to raise an artificial foundation for this central house, which draws into itself the surrounding houses. This is but another modification of the same idea which, in other sections of this area developed into the communal pueblo. Near Tempe a still more significant arrangement was noticed. Here was a four-sided platform, three hundred and forty feet long by two hundred and eighty feet wide, and five feet high, supported a second platform measuring two hundred and forty by two hundred feet, and six feet high. Elevated platforms, as a general rule, were not very distinct. Mr. Bandelier thinks that, owing to the peculiar drainage of the country, these artificial foundations were required to preserve the buildings from being swept away by a sudden torrent. The settlement of the sedentary tribes in this region cluster on the triangle formed by the Rio Verde, Salado, and Gila Rivers. "This is a warm region, with a scanty rainfall, and but little timber, and the soil is very fertile when irrigated, and two crops a year can be readily raised. Mr. Bandelier regards it as exceedingly well adapted to the wants of a horticultural people, and even traces in it some resemblance to Lower Egypt."

A very celebrated ruin on the Gila River gives us a fair idea of what this central strong-hold of the village cluster, sometimes supported on a raised foundation, was like. This cut is a view of the principal ruin in this section, which, however, is only a portion of an extensive settlement, covering some five acres in all. The building is not very large, only fifty by forty feet, and four stories, of ten feet each, in height, with a possibility that the central portion of the

building rose ten feet higher. The walls are built of adobe, five feet thick at the base, but tapering slightly at the top.

This house was surrounded by a court-yard which inclosed about two acres. Shapeless mounds, presumably the ruins of houses, are to be seen in various parts of this inclosure. "If the ground plan of this great house," says Mr. Bandelier, "with its surroundings of minor edifices, courts and inclosures, is placed by the side of the ground plan of other typical ruins, the resemblance is almost perfect except in materials used." This settlement was separated into two



Casa Grandes, on the Gila.

divisions. In one place was noticed a large elliptical tank with heavy embankments, nearly eight feet deep.

As to other ruins on the Gila, Mr. Bartlett tells us: "One thing is evident, that at some former period the valley of the Gila was densely populated. The ruined buildings, the irrigating canals, and the vast quantities of pottery of a superior quality, show, that while they were an agricultural people, they were much in advance of the present semi-civilized tribes of the Gila." Speaking of the ruins of the Gila east of the San Pedro River, Emory says: "Whenever the

mountains did not infringe too closely on the river and shut out the valley, they were seen in great abundance, enough, I should think, to indicate a former population of at least one hundred thousand; and in one place there is a long wide valley, twenty miles in length, much of which is covered with the ruins of buildings and broken pottery. Most of these outlines are rectangular, and vary from forty to fifty feet to two hundred by four hundred feet."[1]

It is, however, necessary to be very cautious in judging population by the number of ancient ruins. Prehistoric people were naturally of a roving disposition. The multitude of ruins in Western New York is not regarded as evidence of dense population, but they were occasioned by the known customs of the Indians in changing the sites of their villages "every ten, fifteen, or thirty years; or, in fact, whenever the scarcity of firewood, the exhaustion of their fields, or the prevalence of an epidemic made such a step desirable."[2] Doubtless a similar remark may explain the difference of opinion as to the numbers of the Mound Builders.[3] And, finally, Mr. Bandelier concludes that the great number of ruins scattered through New Mexico and its neighboring territories is by no means evidence of a large population. The evidence of tradition is to the effect that a large number of villages were successively, and not simultaneously, occupied by the same people.[4]

We have about completed our survey of the Pueblo country. We might state that the large communal houses, known as pueblos, are found as far south on the Rio Grande as Valverde. Clusters of separate houses occur as far south as Dona Ana. A range of low mountains lies to the west

[1] Bartlett's "Personal Narrative."
[2] Carr's "Mounds of the Mississippi Valley."
[3] Morgan's "House and House Life," p. 218.
[4] Fifth Annual Report, p. 84.

of the Rio Grande; between it and the headwaters of the Gila evidences of ancient habitations were observed on the small streams. Though these occur sometimes in little groups, the court-yards are not connected so as to form a defensive village. Small inclosed surfaces, with no evidence that a house ever was connected with them, were also observed. Mr. Bandelier could only surmise that these were garden-plots, something like the ancient terrace garden-plots in Peru.

Take it all in all, this is, indeed, a singular region, and the Pueblo tribes were a singular people. Their architecture shows us a people in the Middle Status of Barbarism. That they practiced agriculture is shown by the presence of old irrigating ditches. Corn and corn-cobs are found in the rubbish-heaps of old settlements. Mr. Morgan thinks that the valley of the San Juan and its numerous tributaries was the place where the Indian race first rose to the dignity of cultivators of the soil.[1] Cotton cloth has been found in the ruins on the Salado River. "At the time of the Spanish conquests the Pueblo Indians along the Rio Grande used cotton mantles."[2]

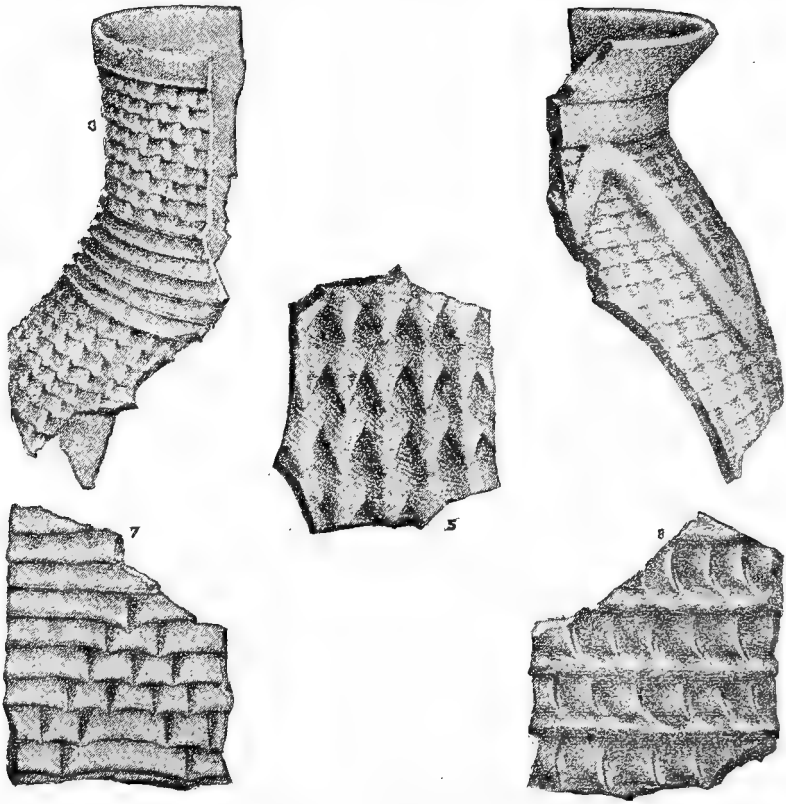
As we have devoted considerable time to the pottery of the Mound Builders, we must see how it compares with the pottery of this region. Fragments of pottery are very numerous all over the field of ruins. All explorers mention their abundance. Mr. Holmes on one occasion counted the pieces of pottery that by their shape evidently belonged to different vessels that he found in an area ten feet square. They numbered fifty-five, and we are led to believe they were not more numerous here than in other localities.

We recall that the ornamentations on the vessels of clay

[1] "Contributions to N. A. Ethnology," Vol. IV., p. 192.

[2] Bandelier's "Fifth Annual Report Arch. Inst.," p. 76.

made by Mound Builders were either incised lines or indentations on the surface of the vessels. And, still further, the clay vessels themselves were frequently molded in the shape of animals or heads of animals. In this plate we have fragments of indented and corrugated ware, from the San Juan valley. This ware is only found under such circumstances




Indented and Corrugated Ware.

that we are justified in considering it very ancient. The ware made at the time of the conquest was always painted.

At Zuñi and some of the other pueblos, at the present day, they make vessels in the form of various animals and

PAINTED PUEBLO POTTERY. 480

other natural objects. This is, however, a recent thing. Only one vessel is known that was found under such circumstances that we are justified in thinking it very old. That was molded into a shape resembling some kind of an animal. This was found on the Rio Gila, in New Mexico; and even that has some peculiarities about it that renders its age uncertain. Mr. Bandelier says: "No vessel of ancient date, of human or animal shape, has ever been found." This is a most important point for us to consider, when we recall how numerous were animal-shaped vessels among the Mound Builders.

In this plate we have specimens of the ordinary painted ware from the ancient ruins. The most of these are restorations, but so many fragments have been obtained of each vessel that we have no doubt of the accuracy of the drawings. They decorated their pottery by painting. Even in many cases where they were further ornamented by indentations they still painted it, showing that painting was regarded as of the most importance. We notice that the ornamentation consists almost entirely of geometrical figures, parallel lines, and scrolls. Over the entire field of ruins the body of the vessels is of one of two colors; it is either white or red. The color employed to produce the ornamentation is black. There is almost no exception to this rule, though sometimes the ornamentation is of a brownish color with a metallic luster. Along the Rio Grande and the Gila some changes are noticed. The ornamentation is not strictly confined to two colors. Symbolical representations of clouds, whirlwind, and lightning are noticed. The red ware has disappeared, and a chocolate-colored ground takes its place.

All have noticed the superiority of the ancient pottery over that of the present tribes. Says Prof. Putnam: "A comparison of this ancient pottery with that made by the

present inhabitants of the pueblos shows that a great deterioration has taken place in native American art, a rule which I think can be applied to all the more advanced tribes of America. The remarkable hardness of all the fragments of colored pottery which have been obtained from the vicinity of the old ruins in New Mexico, Colorado, Arizona, and Utah, and also of the pottery of the same character found in the ruins of adobe houses, and in caves in Utah, shows that the ancient people understood the art of baking earthenware far better than their probable descendants now living in the pueblos of New Mexico and Arizona."[1]

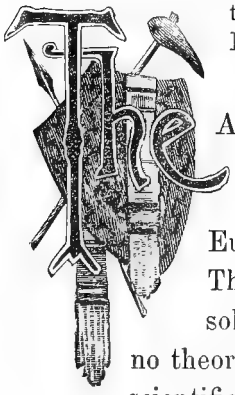
We have learned that the remnant of an aboriginal people, now living in the inhabited pueblos of the West, present us, in their primitive usage, with the fading outlines of a culture once widespread in the section of country we have examined. Many of the early sedentary tribes have vanished completely. Traditions state that other tribes have moved southward into regions unknown. "The picture which can be dimly traced to-day of this past is a very modest and unpretending one. No great cataclysms of nature, no wave of destruction on a large scale, either natural or human, appear to have interrupted the slow and tedious development of the people before the Spaniards came. One portion rose while another fell, sedentary tribes disappeared or moved off, and wild tribes roamed over the ruins of their former abode." At present but a few pueblos are left to show us what the people once were. But the fate of the Pueblo of Pecos hangs over them all. The rising tide of American civilization is rapidly surrounding them. Before many decades, possibly centuries, the present Pueblo tribes will yield to their fate. They, too, will be numbered among the vanished races of men.

[1] U. S. Survey West of 100th Meridian, Vol. VII., p. 381.

# CHAPTER XII.

## THE PREHISTORIC AMERICANS.[1]

DIFFERENT views on this subject—Modern system of government—Ancient system of government—Tribal government universal in North America—The Indians not wandering Nomads—Indian houses communal in character—Indian methods of defense—Mandan villages—Indians sometimes erected mounds—Probable government of the Mound Builders—Traditions of the Mound Builders among the Iroquois—Among the Delawares—Probable fate of the Mound Builders—The Natchez Indians possibly a remnant of the Mound Builders—Their early traditions—Lines of resemblance between the Pueblo tribe and the Mound Builders—The origin of the Indians—America inhabited by Indians from a very early time—Classification of the Indian tribes—Antiquity of the Mound Builders' works.



ATTEMPTS to explain the origin of the numerous tribes found in possession of America at the time of its discovery by Europeans have been many and various. There are so many difficulties attending the solution of this problem that even at this day no theory has received that full assent from the scientific world deemed necessary for its establishment as an ascertained fact. New interest has been thrown around this question by the discoveries of late years. In our south-western territories we have clearly established the former wide extension of the village Indians, remnants of which are still to be found in the inhabited pueblos; and, as we have seen, the wide expanse of fertile

[1] The manuscript of this chapter was submitted to Cyrus Thomas, Ph. D., of the Bureau of Ethnology, for criticism.

soil, known as the Mississippi Valley, has undoubtedly been the home of tribes who are generally supposed to have attained a much higher stage of culture than that of the Indians—at least, of such culture as we are accustomed to ascribe, whether justly or not, to Indian tribes. It becomes an interesting question, therefore, to determine what connection, if any, existed between the Mound Builders and the Indian tribes on the one hand, and the Pueblo tribes on the other.

As to the works of the Mound Builders, one class of critical scholars think they see in them the memorials of a vanished race, and point out many details of construction, such as peculiarities in form, in size, and position, which they think conclusively prove that the works in question could only have been produced by races or tribes far more advanced in culture than any Indians. This belief finds expression by a well-known writer in the following words: "A broad chasm is to be spanned before we can link the Mound Builders to the North American Indians. They were essentially different in their form of government, their habits, and their daily pursuits." This is substantially the opinion of a great many writers on this subject.[1]

But this conclusion has not been allowed to pass unchallenged. We have on record the convictions of a few careful investigators that there is no necessity for supposing that only an extinct or vanished race could have built the mounds and thrown up the embankments which we observe in the valley of the Ohio and elsewhere; that there is nothing, in fact, either in the construction of the mounds themselves or in the remains of art found in them, which we may

[1] Baldwin's "Ancient America," p. 58. Gallatin, Trans. Am. Ethnol. Soc., I., p. 207. Short's "North Americans of Antiquity," p. 65. Conant's "Footprints of Vanished Races," p. 120. Jone's "Antiquities of Tennessee," p. 146. MacLean's "The Mound Builders," Chap. xii.

not with safety ascribe to the ancestors of our present Indians.[1] It will be seen that we may, indeed, be at a loss to know what conclusion to adopt; hence, as an aid to us in this direction, it may be well to inquire into the organization of Indian tribes and their customs and manners at the time of their discovery.

It is not necessary to sketch their history, as this has been done many times. Moreover, it is but a dreary recital of the gradual encroachment of the Whites on the lands of the Indians, the vain eadeavors of the latter to repress them, and a record of many cruel acts of savage warfare, burning villages, midnight massacre, and scenes of terrible sufferings. The uniform result was that the Indian tribes were steadily driven away from their ancient homes, until we now find them but a sorry remnant on scattered reservations or grouped together in the Indian Territory. Their ancient institutions are nearly broken down, and it is with difficulty that we can gain an understanding of their early condition; and yet this seems to be necessary before we are prepared to decide on the origin of the mound-building people.

It seems necessary here to briefly describe the two great plans or systems of government, under one or the other of which mankind, as far as we know them, have always been organized, though, theoretically, there must have been a time, in the very infancy of the race, when there was either no government or something different from either of them. At the present day, in all civilized countries, government is

[1] Carr's "Mounds of the Mississippi Valley." Schoolcraft's "Archives of Aboriginal Knowledge," Vol. I., p. 66; Vol. II., p. 30. Morgan's "House and House Life American Aborigines," Vol. IV.; "Contributions to N. A. Ethnology," p. 199. Brinton: *American Antiquarian*, October, 1881. Thomas: *American Antiquarian*, March, 1884. Powell: Transactions of Anthropological Society, 1881, p. 116.

founded upon territory and upon property. A person is described as living in such a township, county, and state.[1] This seems to be a very simple and natural division, but, like every thing else, it is the result of growth—of a development. It took nearly three centuries of civilization and a succession of able men, each improving on what the other had done, to fully develop this system among the Greeks.[2] This is the basis of the modern form of government. Whenever it was organized, it marked the termination of ancient government. The other plan of government is founded on personal relations.

A person would be described as of such a gens, phratry, and tribe. It is sufficient to state the words gens, and phratry simply denote subdivisions of a tribe.[3] This is the ancient system of government, and goes very far back in the history of the race. It is that state of society which everywhere preceded history and civilization. When we go

[1] Of course these words vary in different nations, but the meaning is the same in all. [2] Morgan's "Ancient Society," p. 269.

[3] The gens, phratry, and tribe were subdivisions of the Ancient Greeks. Of a similar import were the gens, curiæ, and tribe of the Roman tribes. The Irish sept and the Scottish clan are the same in meaning as the gens of other tribes. American authors, in treating of the Indians, have generally used the words tribe and clan as equivalent of gens. This is not correct. Almost all the tribes had a complete organization in gens and phratries, though of course they did not so name them. These terms are adopted by Mr. Morgan because they have a precise and historical meaning. As an example of Indian tribal-organization, we give an outline of the Seneca-Iroquois tribe:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Tribe. | First Phratry, or Brotherhood. | Bear, Wolf, Beaver, Turtle | Gens. |
| | Second Phratry, or Brotherhood. | Deer, Snipe, Heron, Hawk | Gens. |

It is proper to remark that the phratries are not a necessary member of the series. Several of the Indian tribes had only gens and tribe. Mr. School-

back to the first beginning of history in Europe, we find the Grecian, Roman, and Germanic tribes in the act of substituting the modern system of government for the tribal state, under which they had passed from savagism into and through the various stages of barbarism, and entered the confines of civilization. The Bible reveals to us the tribal state of the Hebrews and the Canaanites.

Under the light of modern research, we can not doubt but what this form of government was very ancient, and substantially universal. It originated in the morning of time, and so completely answered all the demands of primitive society that it advanced man from savagism, through barbarism, and sufficed to enable him to make a beginning in civilization. It was so firmly established as one of the primitive institutions, that when it was found insufficient to meet the demands of advancing society, it taxed to the utmost the skill of the Aryan tribes to devise a system to take its place.

This was the system of government throughout North America when the Spaniards landed on its shores. This is true, at least as far as our investigations have gone.[1] In several cases tribes speaking dialects of the same stock-language had united in a confederacy; as, for instance, the celebrated league of the Iroquois, and in Mexico, the union of the three Aztec tribes. But confederacies did not change

craft uses the words totemic system to express the same organization. Totem, in the Ojibway dialect, signifies the symbol or devise which they use to designate the gens. Thus the figure of a bear would be the totem of the bear gens. We must remember that the tribes of to-day have, in many cases, lost their ancient organization. See Morgan's "Ancient Society," where this subject is fully treated. Also Powell, in "First Annual Report of Bureau of Ethnology;" Grote's "History of Greece," Vol. III, p. 55, *et seq.*; Smith's "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities," articles, gens, civitas, tribus, etc.; also Dorsey, in *American Antiquarian*, Oct., 1883, p. 312, *et seq.*

[1] The Mexican tribes form no exception to this statement. See this volume, Chapter XV.

the nature of tribal government. As there was but one general form or plan of government in vogue amongst the Aborigines of North America at the time of discovery, we ought certainly to find common features in the culture of the Pueblo Indians of the South-west, the Mound Builders of the Mississippi Valley, and the various Indian tribes; and if the lines of resemblance are sufficient to show a gradual progress from the rude remains of savage tribes to the more finished works of the Pueblos, and between these and the Mound Builders, then we may consider this fact as one more reason for believing that they constitute but one people in different stages of development.

The tribal state of society is always associated with village life. It makes no difference where we commence our investigations, we will soon be convinced that village life is the form in which people organized in tribes lived. This is true of the wild tribes in Africa, and of the hill tribes of India to-day.[1] The same was true of the early Greeks.[2] There must be a reason for this. It is found in their peculiar system of government. People divided into groups and clusters would naturally be drawn together into villages. We would expect, then, to find that the Indian tribes lived in villages. We are accustomed to speak of them as wandering nomads. This is scarcely correct; or rather, it is certainly wrong, if applied to the tribes east of the Mississippi, when first encountered by the whites. Some of them may have been in a state of migration, in search of better homes, or homes more secure from the attacks of too powerful enemies, as was the case with the Shawnees, and wandering bands on hunting or warlike expeditions were common enough. The Germanic tribes that overthrew the

[1] Lewis's "Wild Races of South-eastern India."
[2] Grote's "History of Greece," Vol. II.

Roman Empire, for a similar reason, were in a migrating state. But it is none the less certain that they established permanent villages wherever they found suitable places.

Nearly all the tribes claimed separate districts, in which they had permanent villages, often stockaded.[1] The site of Montreal was a famous Indian village,[2] and other villages were found in Canada. The Iroquois tribes had permanent villages, and resided in them the greater part of the year.[3] One visited in 1677 is described as having one hundred and twenty houses, the ordinary one being from fifty to sixty feet long, and furnishing shelter to about twelve families. In one case, at least, the town was surrounded by palisades.

In 1539 De Soto made his appearance on the coast of Florida. Four years later a feeble remnant of this expedition landed at Panuco, Mexico. His route has not been accurately traced, but it is certain he traversed the Gulf States and crossed the Mississippi. De Soto himself found a grave in the waters of this river, but under new leaders the expedition pushed on through Arkansas, and probably found its most western point on the prairies of the West, where, disheartened, it turned back to near where De Soto died, constructed some rude boats, and floated down the Mississippi, and so to Mexico. We have two accounts written by members of this expedition,[4] and a third, written by Garcilasso de La Vega from the statements of eye-witnesses and memoranda which had fallen into his hands.

From these considerable can be learned of the Southern Indians before they had been subjected to European influences. One of the first things that arrests attention is the description of the villages. They found, to be sure, some

[1] Mallery: "American Association Reports," 1877. [2] Hochelaga.
[3] Morgan: "Contribution to N. A. Ethnology," Vol. IV, p. 119.
[4] "Luis Hernando De Biedman," and "A Gentleman of Elvas," both translated in "Historic Collections of Louisiana," Vol. II.

desert tracts, but every few miles, as a rule, they found villages containing from fifty to three hundred spacious and commodious dwellings, well protected from enemies—sometimes surrounded by a wall, sometimes also by a ditch filled with water. When west of the Mississippi they found a tribe living in movable tents, they deemed that fact worthy of special mention. But in the same section they also found many villages.

One hundred and forty years afterward the French explorer, La Salle, made several voyages up and down the Mississippi. He describes much the same state of things as do the earlier writers. The tribes still dwelt in comfortable cabins, sometimes constructed of bark, sometimes of mud,[1] often of large size, in one case forty feet square, and having a dome-shaped roof. Nor was this village life confined to the more advanced tribes. The Dakota tribes, which include the Sioux and others, have been forced on the plains by the advancing white population, but when first discovered they were living in villages around the head-waters of the Mississippi. Their houses were framed of poles and covered with bark.[2]

Lewis and Clark, in 1805, found the valley of the Columbia River inhabited by tribes destitute of pottery, and living mainly on fish, which were found in immense quantities in the river. They describe them as living in large houses, one sometimes forming a village by itself. They describe one house capable of furnishing habitations for five hundred people. Other authorities could be quoted, showing that the Algonquin Indians, living in Eastern and Atlantic States, had permanent villages.[3] The idea, then, that the Indians are

[1] "Historical Collections of Louisiana," Vol. I, p. 61.

[2] Morgan's "Contribution to N. A. Ethnology," Vol. IV, p. 114.

[3] Read Capt. John Smith, "Hist. of Virginia;" also "Mass. Hist. Col.," Vol. VIII, of the third series.

nothing but wandering savages, is seen to be wrong. It is well to bear this in mind, because it is often asserted that the Mound Builders must have been a people possessing fixed habitations. While this is doubtless correct, we see that it is also true of the Indians.[1]

There is another feature of Indian life which we will mention here, because it shows us a common element in the building of houses, seen alike in the pueblo structures of the West and the long houses of the Iroquois. That is, the Indian houses were always built to be inhabited by a number of families in common. All nations in a tribal state possess property in common. It is not allowed to pass out of the gens of the person who possesses it, but at his death is supposed to be divided among the members of his gens; in most cases, however, to those nearest of kin within the gens.[2] This communism showed itself in the method of erecting houses.

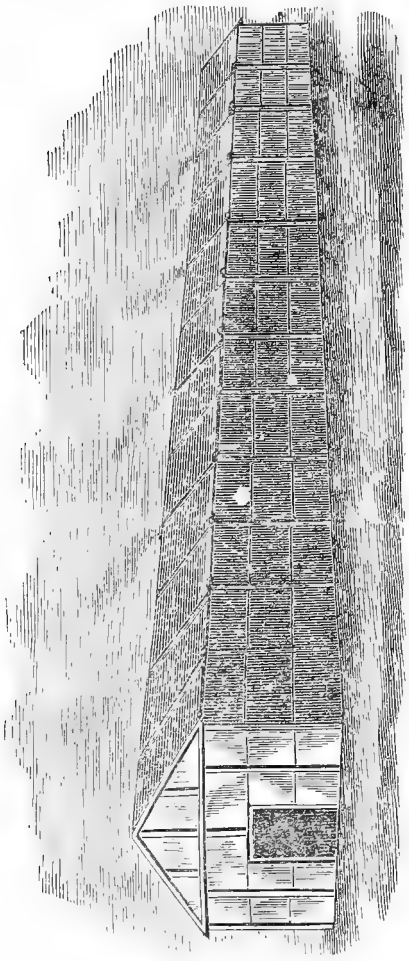
The long house of the Iroquois was divided into apartments so as to shelter from one hundred to two hundred Indians. A number of these houses gathered together composed a village. These were quite creditable structures of Indian art, being warm and comfortable, as well as roomy. Should we examine the whole list of writers who have mentioned Indian villages, we would find them all admitting that the houses were usually occupied by a number of families, one in the Columbia Valley, as we see, sheltering five hundred persons.

There is no question but the pueblos were built by people holding property in common. They were, of course, erected by a more advanced people, who employed better materials

[1] Consult "The Mounds of the Mississippi Valley," by Lucian Carr, of the Kentucky Geographical Survey, where this subject is fully treated, and copious quotations given.

[2] Morgan's "Ancient Society," p. 526.

in construction, but it is quite plain that they were actuated by the same instincts, and built their houses with the same design in view as the less advanced Indian tribes in other sections of the country. What we have described as the small houses in Arizona in the preceding chapter, in most cases includes several rooms, and we are told that in one section they "appear to have been the abode of several families."[1]



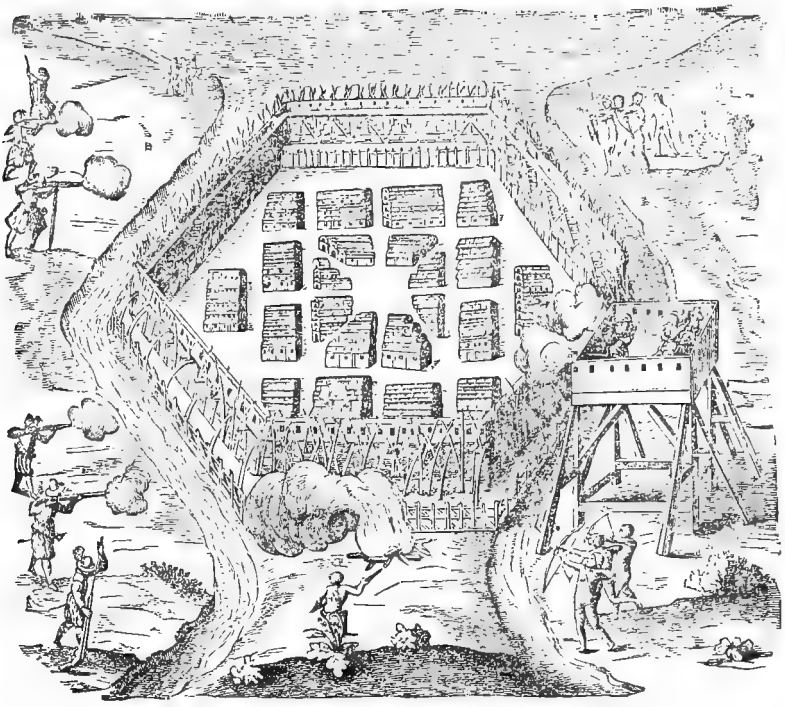
Long House of the Iroquois. (Bureau of Ethnology.)

One of the main points the Indians would have to attend to in the construction of their villages was how to defend them, and we can not do better than to examine this point. A French writer represents the villages of Canada as defended by double, and frequently triple, rows of palisades, interwoven with branches of trees.[2] Cartier, in 1535, found the village of Hochelaga (now Montreal) thus defended. In 1637 the Pequot Indians were the terror of the New England colonies, and Capt. Mason, who was sent to subject them,

[1] Bandelier's "Fifth Annual Report, Arch. Inst., p. 60.
[2] "Charlevoix's Travels in North America," p. 241.

found their principal villages, covering six acres, strongly defended by palisades.

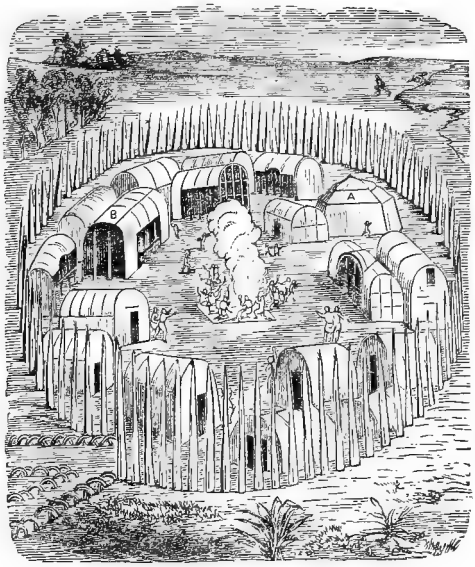
The Iroquois tribes also adopted this method of defense. In 1615 Champlain, with Indian allies, invaded the territory of the Iroquois. He left a sketch of his attack on one of their villages. This sketch we reproduce in this illustration,



Stockaded Onondaga Village.

which is a very important one, because it shows us a regularly palisaded village among a tribe of Indians where the common impression in reference to them is that they were a wandering people with no fixed habitations. The sketch is worthy of careful study. The buildings within are the long houses which we have just described. They are located near together, three or four in a group. The arrange-

ment of the groups is in the form of a square, inclosing a court in the center. This tendency to inclose a court is a very common feature of Indian architecture. Such, as we have seen, is the arrangement of the pueblos. Such was also the arrangement of the communal buildings in Mexico, Central America, and Peru. In this case the village covered about six acres also. The defense was by means of palisades. There seem to be two rows of them. They seem to have been well made, since Champlain was unsuccessful in his attack. In earlier times these fortified villages were numerous.



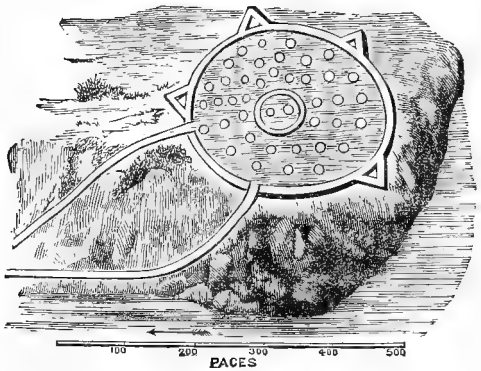
Pomeiock. (Bureau of Ethnology.)

Further south, this method of inclosing a village was also in use. In 1585 the English sent an expedition to the coast of North Carolina. An artist attached to this expedition left some cuts, one of which represents a village near Roanoke. It is surrounded, as we see, by a row of palisades, and contains seventeen joint tenement houses, besides the council house. The historians of De Soto's expedition make frequent mention of walled and fortified towns. "The village of Mavilla," from which comes our name Mobile, says Biedman, "stood on a plain surrounded by strong walls." Herrera, in his General History, states that the walls were formed by piles, interwoven with

other timber, and the spaces packed with straw and earth so that it looked like a wall smoothed with a trowel.

Speaking of the region west of the Mississippi, Biedman says: "We journeyed two days, and reached a village in the midst of a plain, surrounded by walls and a ditch filled by water, which had been made by Indians." This town is supposed to have been situated in the north-eastern part of Arkansas, and it is interesting to note that recent investigators find what are probably the remains of these walled towns, in the shape of inclosures with ditches and mounds, in North-eastern Arkansas and South-eastern Missouri.[1] The tribes throughout the entire extent of the Mississippi Valley were accustomed to palisade their villages—at least, occasionally.[2]

On the Missouri River we find some Indian tribes that have excited a great deal of interest among archæologists.




Mandan Village. (Bureau of Ethnology.)

It has been surmised that, if their history could be recovered, it would clear up a great many difficult questions. They were accustomed to fortify their villages with ditches, embankments, and palisades. This gives us a cut of one of their villages. It is to be observed that it has a great likeness to some of the inclosures ascribed to the Mound Builders.

[1] Fourth Annual Report of Peabody Museum, and from information furnished me by the U. S. Bureau of Ethnology.

[2] "The custom of palisading appears to have been general among the northern tribes."—Brackenridge's "Views of Louisiana," p. 182.

This has been noted by many writers. Says Brackenridge: "In my voyage up the Missouri I observed the ruins of several villages which had been abandoned twenty or thirty years, which in every respect resembled the vestiges on the Ohio and Mississippi."[1] Lewis and Clark, in their travels, describe the sites of several of these abandoned villages, the only remains of which were the walls which had formerly inclosed the villages, then three or four feet high. The opinion has been advanced that the inclosures of the Mound Builders were formerly surmounted by palisades. Mr. Atwater asserts that the round fort which was joined to a square inclosure at Circleville showed distinctly evidence of having supported a line of pickets or palisades.[2]

Should it be accepted that the inclosures of the Mound Builders represent village sites, and that they were probably further protected by palisades, it would seem, after what we have just observed of the customs of the Indians in fortifying their villages, to be a simple and natural explanation of these remains.

We have already referred to the fact that scholars draw a distinction between the more massive works found in the Ohio Valley and the low, crumbling ruins occupying defensive positions found in such abundance along Lake Erie and in Western New York, asserting the former to be the works of the Mound Builders proper, and the latter the remains of fortified Indian villages. This may be true, but it seems to us that there is such a common design running through all these remains that it is more reasonable to infer that the more massive works were constructed by people more advanced than those who built the less pretentious

[1] "Views of Louisiana," p. 183.

[2] "Archæology Americanæ," Vol. I., p. 145.

works, but not necessarily of a different race. We can not do better than to quote the remarks of Mr. Brackenridge in this connection: "We are often tempted by a fondness for the marvelous to seek out remote and impossible causes for that which may be explained by the most obvious."[1]

But inclosures and defensive works are only a small part of the Mound Builders' remains. We know that large numbers of mounds are scattered over the country, and we recall in this connection what was said as to the erection of mounds by Indian tribes in a preceding essay. Somewhat at the risk of repetition we will once more examine this question. It is generally admitted that it was the custom of Indian tribes to erect piles of stones to commemorate several events, such as a treaty, or the settlement of a village, but more generally to mark the grave of a chief, or some noted person, or of a person whose death occurred under unusual circumstances.[2] These cairns are not confined to any particular section of the country, being found in New England, throughout the South, and generally in the Mississippi Valley. From their wide dispersion, and from the fact that they do not differ from the structures built by Indian tribes within a few years past, it is not doubted but what they are the works of Indians.

Now, if we could draw a dividing line, and say that, while the Indians erected mounds of stone, the Mound Builders built theirs of earth, it would be a strong argument in favor of a difference of race. But this can not be done. When De Soto landed in Florida, nearly three hundred and fifty years ago, he had an opportunity of observing the customs of the Indians as they were before the introduction of fire-arms, and before contact with the Whites

[1] "Views of Louisiana," p. 182.

[2] Carr: "Mounds of the Mississippi Valley," p. 78.

had wrought the great change in them it was destined to. Therefore, what few notes his historians have given us of the ways of life they observed amongst the southern tribes are of great importance in this connection. At the very spot where he landed (supposed to be Tampa Bay) they observed that the house of the chief "stood near the shore, upon a very high mound, made by hand for strength."

Garcilasso tells us "the town and the house of the Cacique (chief) Ossachile are like those of the other caciques in Florida. . . . The Indians try to place their villages on elevated sites, but, inasmuch as in Florida there are not many sites of this kind where they can conveniently build, they erect elevations themselves, in the following manner: They select the spot, and carry there a quantity of earth, which they form into a kind of platform, two or three pikes in height, the summit of which is large enough to give room for twelve, fifteen, or twenty houses, to lodge the cacique and his attendants. At the foot of this elevation they mark out a square place, according to the size of the village, around which the leading men have their houses. To ascend the elevation they have a straight passage-way from bottom to top, fifteen or twenty feet wide. Here steps are made by massive beams, and others are planted firmly in the ground to serve as walls. On all other sides of the platform the sides are cut steep."[1]

Biedman, the remaining historian, says of the country in what is now (probably) Arkansas: "The caciques of this country make a custom of raising, near their dwellings, very high hills, on which they sometimes build their huts."[2] Twenty-five years later the French sent an expedition to the east coast of Florida. The accounts of this expedition

[1] Quoted from Brinton, *Am. Antiq.*, Oct., 1881.
[2] Hist. Col. of Louisiana, Vol. II., p. 105.

are very meager, but they confirm what the other writers have stated as to the erection of platform mounds with graded ways.[1] Le Moyne, the artist of this expedition, has left us a cut of a mound erected over a deceased chief. It was, however, but a small one.[2]

La Harpe, writing in 1720, says of tribes on the lower Mississippi: "Their cabins . . . are dispersed over the country upon mounds of earth made with their own hands." As to the construction of these houses, we learn that their cabins were "round and vaulted," being lathed with cane and plastered with mud from bottom to top, within and without. In other cases they were square, with the roof dome-shaped, the walls plastered with mud to the height of twelve feet."[3] It is interesting to observe how closely what little we do know about Mound Builders' houses coincides with the above.

Recent investigations by the Bureau of Ethnology have brought to light vestiges of great numbers of their buildings. These were mostly circular, but those of a square or rectangular form were also observed. In Arkansas their location was generally on low, flat mounds, but vestiges of some were also noticed near the surface of large mounds. In Southern Illinois, South-eastern Missouri, and Middle and Western Tennessee the sites of thousands were observed, not in or on mounds, but marked by little circular, saucer-shaped depressions, from twenty to fifty feet in diameter, surrounded by a slight earthen ring. We know the framework of these houses was poles, for in several cases the charred remains of these poles were found. We know they

[1] "Mounds of the Mississippi Valley," p. 90.

[2] "Expedition to Florida," p. 15.

[3] Shea's "Early Voyages on the Mississippi," p. 135. "Historical Collections of Louisiana," Vol. I., p. 61. Quoted from Cyrus Thomas in *American Antiquarian*, March, 1884.

were plastered with a thick coating of mud, for regular layers of lumps of this burnt plastering are found. These lumps have often been mistaken for bricks, as in the Selzertown mound. In several cases the plastering had been stamped with an implement, probably made of split cane of large size.[1]

On the lower Mississippi we meet with the Natchez, a tribe that has excited a great deal of interest; but at present we only want to note that they also constructed mounds. They were nearly exterminated by the French in 1729. But before this Du Pratz had lived among them, and left a description of their customs. Their temple was about thirty feet square, and was situated on a mound about eight feet high, which sloped insensibly from its main front on the north, but was somewhat steeper on the other sides. He also states that the cabin of the chief, or great sun, as he was called, was placed upon a mound of about the same height, though somewhat larger, being sixty feet over the surface.[2] A missionary who labored among them, stated that when the chief died his mound was deserted, and a new one built for the next chief.[3]

Neither was this custom of erecting mounds confined to the Southern Indians. Colden states of the Iroquois: "They make a round hole in which the body is placed, then they raise the earth in a round hill over it."[4] It was the custom among a large number of tribes to gather together the remains of all who had died during several years and bury them all together, erecting a mound over them.[5] Mr. Jefferson, in

[1] See article by Cyrus Thomas, of the Bureau of Ethnology, in *American Antiquarian*, March, 1884.

[2] "History of Louisiana," Lond., 1763, Vol. II., pp. 188 and 211.

[3] Father Le Petit: Note, p. 142. "Hist. Col. Louisiana," Vol. III.

[4] "Hist. of the Five Nations," Introduction, p. 16.

[5] Smithsonian Contribution to Knowledge, No. 259, p. 15; "Mounds of the Mississippi Valley," p. 87.

his notes on Virginia, describes one of these mounds, and relates this interesting fact in reference to it: "A party of Indians passing about thirty years ago through the part of the country where this barrow is, went through the woods directly to it, without any instructions or inquiry; and having staid about it some time, with expressions which were construed to be those of sorrow, they returned to the high road, which they had left about a half dozen miles to pay this visit, and pursued their journey."[1]

Coming down to our own times, the Indians had lost a great many of their ancient customs, yet, at times, this old instinct of mound burial asserts itself. About the first of the century Blackbird, a celebrated chief of the Omahas, returning to his native home after a visit to Washington, died of the small-pox. It was his dying request that his body be placed on horseback, and the horse buried alive with him. Accordingly, in the presence of all his nation, his body was placed on the back of his favorite white horse, fully equipped as if for a long journey, with all that was necessary for an Indian's happiness, including the scalps of his enemies. Turfs were brought and placed around the feet and legs, and up the sides of the unsuspecting animal, and so gradually the horse and its rider were buried from sight, thus forming a good-sized burial mound.[2] Another instance came under Mr. Catlin's observation at the pipe stone quarry in Dakota. He visited there about 1832 and saw a conical mound, ten feet high, that had been erected over the body of a young man accidentally killed there two years before.

Enough references have now been given to show that the Indian tribes certainly did [illegible] that there is every reason to suppose they [illegible] the authors of the

[1] "Notes on Virginia," p. 191.

[2] Catlin's "North American Indians," p. 95.

temple mounds of the South, or of some of them, at any rate. We have now shown that, according to early writers, the Indians did live in permanent villages, often stockaded, and knew very well how to raise embankments and mounds. It would seem as if this removed all necessity for supposing the existence of an extinct race to explain the numerous remains, collectively known as Mound Builders' works. Yet, as this is surely an important point, it may be well to carry the investigations a little further.

Taking in account the great amount of labor necessary to raise such structures as the mounds at Cahokia and Grave Creek, and the complicated works at Newark, some writers have asserted that the government of the Mound Builders was one in which the central authority must have had absolute power over the persons of the subjects, that they were in effect slaves;[1] and as this was altogether contrary to what is known amongst Indian tribes, they must have been of a different race.

If the Indians in a tribal state are known to have erected some mounds, and to have built temple-platforms and walled towns in the south, then all they needed was sufficient motive, religious or otherwise, to have built the most stupendous works known. We think the ruined pueblos in the Chaco Cañon represent as great an amount of work as many of those of the Mound Builders. A calculation has been made, showing that over thirty million pieces of stone were required in the construction of one pueblo,[2] besides an abundance of timber. Each piece of stone had to be dressed roughly to fit its place; the timbers had to be brought from a considerable distance, cut and fitted to their places in the wall, and then covered with other courses, besides other de-

[1] Foster's "Prehistoric Races of the U. S.," p. 346.

[2] Pueblo Chettro-kettle, Chaco Cañon.

tails of construction, such as roof-making, plastering, and so forth, and this is not the calculation of the largest pueblo either.[1] Yet no one supposes that the Indian tribes who erected these structures were under a despotic form of government.

We think, however, that it might be freely admitted that in all probability the government of the Mound Builders was arbitrary, but so was the government of a great many Indian tribes. Amongst the Natchez the chief was considered as descended from the sun. Nor was this belief confined to the Natchez, as the tribes of the Floridian Peninsula asserted the same thing of their chiefs. Among all these latter tribes the chief held absolute and unquestioned power over the persons, property, and time of their subjects.[2]

Amongst the Natchez the power of the Great Sun (their title for chief) seems to have been very great. This nation had a regularly organized system of priesthood, of which the chief was also the head. On the death of the chief a number of his subjects were put to death to keep him company. But we must notice that the subjects considered it an honor to die with the chief, and made application beforehand for the privilege. Bearing these facts in mind, it does

[1] Geographical and Geological Survey of the Territories," Hayden, 1876, p. 440. Calculations made by Mr. Holmes.

[2] Brinton's "Floridian Peninsula," p. 21. We think, however, this statement requires to be taken with some allowance. Personal liberty seems to have been the birthright of every Indian. ("Mounds of the Mississippi Valley," Carr, p. 24.) The council of the tribe is the real governing body of all people in a tribal state of society. ("Ancient Society," Morgan.) When the war-chief united in his person priestly powers also, he at once became an object of greater interest. This explains why the government of the chiefs among all the Southern Indian tribes appears so much more arbitrary than among the northern tribes. His real power was probably much the same in both cases, but superstition had surrounded his person with a great many formalities. The early explorers, acquainted only with the arbitrary governments of Europe, saw in all this despotic powers whereas there might not have been much foundation for this belief.

not seem improbable that in more distant days, when the Natchez or some kindred tribe were in the height of their power, the death of some great chief might well be memorialized by the erection of a mound as grand in proportion as that of Grave Creek.

In fact, the more we study the subject, the more firmly we become convinced that there is no hard and fast line separating the works of the Mound Builders from those of the later Indians. We therefore think that we may safely assert that the best authorities in the United States now consider that the mound building tribes were Indians, in much the same state of culture as the Indian tribes in the Gulf States at the time of the discovery of America, and we shall not probably be far out of the way if we assert, that when driven from the valley of the Ohio by more warlike people they became absorbed by the southern tribes, and, indeed the opinion is quite freely advanced that the Natchez themselves were a remnant of the "Mysterious Mound Builders."

If the Mound Building tribes were here at a comparatively late date, we ought to expect to find some traditions of their former existence. The statement is quite often made that the Indians had no tradition as to the origin or purpose of the mounds, and from this it is argued that the mounds are of great antiquity. But, instead of finding no traditions, we find nearly every tribe possessed of some, and often very full and distinct.[1] It makes no difference that a number of those traditions are childish, and that traditions are a very unsatisfactory sort of proof at best. Still, if we observe that the traditions, such as they are, are corroborative of other proofs, it is well to examine into them anyway.

[1] "Traditions of Decodah," Pidgeon. Carr, "Mounds of the Mississippi Valley," p. 70.

The Iroquois tribes have a tradition, that is given in the writing of Cusick, a Tuscaroa Indian. It is generally considered as a nonsensical production, but Mr. Hale points out that, "whenever his statements can be submitted to the tests of language, they are invariably confirmed."[1] Such, for instance, are the assertions that they formerly inhabited the country around the St. Lawrence River in Canada, and further, that the Mohawk was the oldest tribe, from whence the others separated in time.

The substance of the tradition supposed to refer to the Mound Builders, is as follows: South of the great lakes was the seat of a great empire. The emperor resided in a golden city. The nations to the north of the great lakes formed a confederacy, and seated a great council fire on the river St. Lawrence. This confederacy appointed a high chief as embassador, who immediately departed to the south to visit the emperor at the golden city. Afterwards, the emperor built many forts throughout his dominions, and almost penetrated to Lake Erie. The people to the north considered this an infringement on their territory, and it resulted in a long war.

The people of the north were too skillful in the use of bows and arrows, and could endure hardships which proved fatal to a foreign people. At last, the northern people gained the victory, and all the towns and forts were totally destroyed and left in ruins.[2] If this tradition stood alone, it would not be deserving of much attention, but we know the Iroquois tribes did originally live in the valley of the St. Lawrence. We also feel sure the Mound Builders were a

[1] "Indian Migrations," *American Antiquarian*, April, 1883.

[2] Mr. Hale suggests that copper was the gold of the North American Indians, and that the "golden city" simply means a city or town where they knew how to work copper. It is well known that the mound building tribes had such knowledge, at least they knew how to work native copper.

a powerful people, and lived in the Ohio Valley. What is there unreasonable, therefore, in supposing that the Iroquois came in contact with them, and that this tradition rests on facts?

But this tradition is very similar to one among the Delawares. This tribe spoke a different stock language than the Iroquois, and belonged to the Algonquin division of the Indian tribes. There were many wars between the Delawares and the Iroquois, but finally the latter were acknowledged masters. It is well to keep this in mind, because with this feeling between the two tribes, they would not be apt to have similar traditions unless there was a basis of fact.[1]

Mr. Gallatin informs us that the original home of the Algonquins was to the north of Lake Superior. The tradition states that the Delawares (they called themselves the Lenilenape) were living in a cold, fir-tree country—evidently the wooded regions north of Lake Superior. Getting tired of this country, they set out towards the East in search of a better place, and probably followed the lake shore around until they finally came to a great river—that is, the Detroit. The country beyond was inhabited by a numerous and powerful people, called the Allegewi,[2] who dwelt in great fortified towns. Here they found the Huron-Iroquois tribes. This was before the Iroquois had separated from the Hurons.

[1] This tradition was first made known by Heckwelder, a missionary among the Delawares, in his "History of the Indian Nations." It is repeated at much greater length, and with additional particulars, in a paper read by Mr. E. G. Squier, before the Historical Society of New York. Mr. Squier has simply translated a genuine Indian record known as the Bark Record. The two authorities here mentioned consider the Delawares as coming from west of the Mississippi. Mr. Hale points out that it was more likely the Upper St. Lawrence—that portion known as the Detroit River—that was the "Great River" of the traditions.

[2] From this word comes Alleghany Mountains and River.

Some treachery on the part of the Allegewi was made the occasion of war. The Leni-lenape and the Hurons united their forces. This is perhaps the Confederacy of Cusic. A long war resulted, but in the end the Allegewi were defeated, and, as the tradition states, "all went southward."[1] We see no reason to doubt but what we have here a traditional account of the overthrow of the Mound Builders. The remnant that fled south found the country inhabited by mound-building tribes, and doubtless became absorbed among them. In confirmation of this view it may be said that the languages of the tribes of the Gulf States, which belong to one stock language,[2] have all been greatly influenced by words derived from a foreign source.[3]

Perhaps a large body of them may have lived on as a fully organized tribe. As we have already stated, the opinion is quite freely advanced that this is the origin of the Natchez.[4] It seems advisable to inquire more particularly into the customs and traditions of this tribe. DuPratz, who lived among them in 1718, and claims to have enjoyed the confidence of their chiefs and principal men, has left the most complete account of them; though Father Charlevoix, a Jesuit priest, in his letters, also describes them fully.

A number of interesting statements in regard to them, at once arrest attention. Most of the tribes in the southern region of the United States spoke dialects of a common stock language (Chata-muskoki), showing a derivation from a common source. The Natchez spoke a different language.

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[1] In this connection it is at least interesting to note that several authors—Squier, MacLean, and others—have contended, judging from the fortified hills and camps, that the pressure of hostilities on the Mound Builders of the Ohio Valley was from the north-east. [2] The Chata-muskoki family. (Brinton.)

[3] Hale: *American Antiquarian*, April, 1883.

[4] We are not at all certain but our scholars will shortly come to the conclusion that the Cherokees or Shawnees are quite as likely to be the descendants of the Allegewi as the Natchez.

Sun-worship seems to have been carried to a greater extent than among any other tribes we are acquainted with. As late as 1730 they still had their temples, where the eternal fire was kept burning, carefully watched; for they believed that should it become extinguished, it would surely bring great trouble on the tribe. Among the Natchez, if anywhere among Indian tribes, the power of the chief was absolute, and there seems to have been something like privileged classes amongst them. We have already referred to them as Mound Builders.

But most interesting is it to learn of their former wide extension and ancient power. Du Pratz says, "According to their traditions, they were the most powerful nation of all North America, and were looked upon by other nations as their superiors, and on that account were respected by them. To give an idea of their power, I shall only mention that formerly they extended from the River Manchas, or Iberville, which is about fifty leagues from the sea, to the River Wabash, which is distant from the sea about four hundred and sixty leagues; and that they had about eight hundred suns, or princes."[1] It is at least a reasonable supposition that that the Natchez were a remnant of the Mound Builders.

So far we have dwelt chiefly on the relations between the Indians and the Mound Builders. Let us now see if we can not detect some connection between the Pueblo tribes of the south-west and the Mound Builders. All the tribes in the Gulf States had traditions of a western and south-western origin. In regard to the Creek Indians, this tradition is very distinct. They relate, with many details,

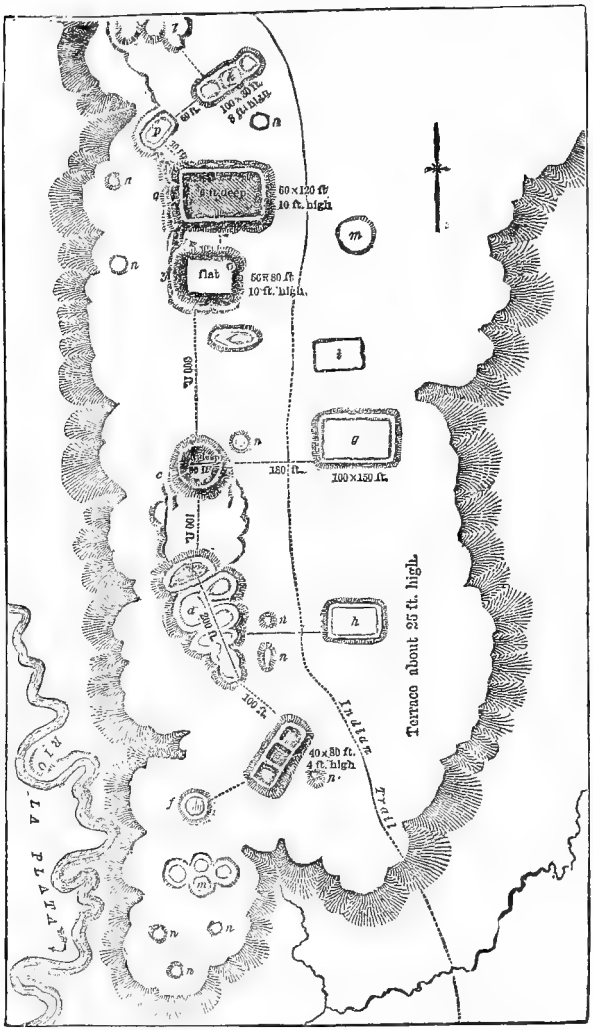
[1] It is scarcely necessary to caution the reader as to the value of this statement of ancient greatness. The chroniclers of De Soto's expedition had nothing to say about it.

their journey from the west, their fight with the Alabamas, etc.[1] In the Natchez tradition, as given by Du Pratz, they are seen, not only to come from the same western source, but distinctly preserve recollections of pueblo houses.

The substance of their traditions is that they came from a pleasant country and mild climate, "under the sun," and in the south-west, where the nation had lived for many ages, and had spread over an extensive country of mountains, hills, and plains, in which the houses were built of stone, and were several stories high. They further relate how, owing to increase of enemies, the great sun sent some one over to examine and report on the country to be found to the east. The country being found extremely pleasant, a large part of their nation removed thither; and, after many generations, the great sun himself came also. Speaking of the ancient inhabitants of the country they came from, the tradition states that "they had a great number of large and small villages, which were all built of stone, and in which were houses large enough to lodge a whole tribe."[2] We would offer the same suggestion on these traditions as on the others. They are of value only so far as supported by other testimony. The great objection to them is that the pueblo structures of the west are evidently of recent origin. So these traditions would prove that the Natchez Indians were quite recently connected with the Pueblo tribes, which is not at all probable. We have some slight evidence that does not rest on traditions. Mr. Holmes has given us a plan of an ancient village he discovered on the La Platte River, San Juan Valley. It will be seen by reference to the plate that the buildings were separated from each other. The forms are chiefly rectangles and circles, and one or two seem to

[1] Pickett's "History of Alabama," Vol. II.
[2] Du Pratz: "History of Louisiana," Vol. II.

have been elliptical. This description certainly reminds us of the circles and squares so common among the Mound Builders. But there is also a truncated mound, fifty by eighty feet, and nine feet high. "Its flat top and height give it more the appearance of one of the sacrificial mounds of the Ohio Valley than any others observed in this part of the West." Mounds are known to exist in Utah.[1]




Ruins near the La Platte Valley of the San Juan.

We need not expect to trace a continuous line of ruins from the San Juan Valley to that of the Ohio, granting the migration to have taken place, because a migrating race would not be

[1] Stone *metates*, or mills, have so far been found only in Missouri, not far from the Missouri River. As this is such an important implement among the Pueblo tribes, its presence in this locality is significant. (Thomas.)

apt to erect monuments until they reached the end of their line of migration. Those who take this view of it say that it is not at all strange that when these migrating tribes reached their new homes in the Mississippi Valley they erected structures differing from those they had formerly built, because all their surroundings would be different, and in the prairie sections they would find neither stone for building their pueblos nor clay suitable for adobe construction. So they would do the next best thing, and build a fortified village. This is the view of that eminent scholar, Mr. Morgan. It must be borne in mind, however, that the fortified villages of the southern Indians, including those of the Mississippi Valley, corresponded more nearly with those of the Atlantic shore, and more northern tribes, than with the pueblo structures.

There is another line of proof which we think has been read the wrong way, or, at least, applied too strongly, and made to do service in proving that the Mound Builders migrated from the valley of the Ohio to Mexico, and there laid the foundation of that wonderful civilization which is yet a riddle to the antiquarian.[1] This is derived from a study of the skulls procured from various sections of this country, Peru, and Mexico. It is sufficient to state that anatomists have made a careful study of the skulls of individuals of various nations, and instituted certain comparisons between them, and discoveries of great importance have been made by this means. Now, some of our best American scholars have insisted that the skulls of the Mound Builders and the ancient inhabitants of Mexico and the Inca Peruvians are so similar that they must have belonged to the same race.

[1] As the proof seems to be conclusive that the Indians of the south who were encountered by the Europeans first visiting that section were the builders of the mounds of that region, it brings these works down to a date subsequent to the entry of the civilized tribes into Mexico. (Thomas.)

This type of skull, however, is characteristic, not only of the Mound Builders, the ancient Mexicans, and the Peruvians, but of the Pueblos, and of such tribes as the Natchez, Creeks, and Seminoles. We think, with all due regard to the opinions of others, that in the present state of our knowledge of craniology we are not authorized in drawing very important conclusions therefrom. About all we are justified in stating is that the sedentary or village Indians, whether found in North or South America, have certain common features.

It is also hard to see any great resemblance between the works of the Mound Builders and the Pueblo tribes. The truncated mounds discovered by Mr. Holmes, we remember, were also used as foundations for house structures along the Gila. In this feature we, of course, see a resemblance to the platform mounds of the Mississippi Valley. But we must be careful in tracing connections on such a slim basis as this. We must remember also what a difference there is in the pottery of the two sections.[1] If we were to give an opinion, based on the present known facts, we should say the separation between the people who afterwards developed as the pueblo builders of the west and the Mound Builders of the Mississippi Valley took place at an early date.

But let us not suppose that this conclusion clears up all mysteries. A problem which has thus far defied the efforts of some of our best thinkers is still before us, and that is: "From whence came the Indians?" As we remarked at the beginning of this chapter, no one theory has yet received universal acceptance. In view of these facts, it is not best to present any theories, but content ourselves with such statements as seem reasonably well settled. On all

[1] Some of the pottery from South-eastern Missouri and Arkansas shows a strong resemblance to that of some Pueblo tribes. (Thomas.)

hands it is agreed that the Indians have been in America a long while, and whatever advance they were able to make in the scale of civilization has been achieved in this country.[1]

This statement implies that they were in undisturbed possession of this country long enough for some tribes of them to reach the middle status of barbarism, which means advancement sufficient to enable them to cultivate the ground by irrigation, and to acquire a knowledge of the use of stone and adobe brick in building.[2] More than half the battle of civilization had then been won. Look at it as we will, this demands an immense period of time for its accomplishment. In the arts of subsistence, government, language, and development of religious ideas the advancement they had been able to make from a condition of savagism to that in which the Mound Builders evidently lived, or the Aztecs in Mexico, represents a progression far greater than from thence to civilization.

We are, therefore, sure that the Indians have inhabited this country for an extended period. We can prolong the mental vision backwards until we discover them, a savage race, gaining a precarious livelihood by fishing and the chase. In America there was but one cereal, or grain, growing wild. That was maize, or Indian corn. We can not tell in what portion of the continent it was native, but, in whatever section it was, there, probably, first commenced permanent village life.

A settled residence, and being no longer dependent on hunting for a livelihood, would advance the Indians greatly in the scale of culture. So we can understand how in one section would arise Indian tribes possessed of quite complicated systems of government and religion and a knowledge

[1] Short's "North Americans of Antiquity," p. 202.

[2] Morgan: "Ancient Society," p. 12.

of agriculture. And from this as a center they would naturally spread out to other sections. The conclusion to which we seem driven is, that there is no necessity for supposing the Mound Builders to be any thing more than village Indians, in much the same state of development as the southern Indians at the time of the discovery. The Indian race shows us tribes in various stages of development, from the highly developed Pueblo Indians on the one hand to the miserable Aborigines of California on the other.

These various tribes may be classified as the wild hunting tribes and the sedentary, partially civilized tribes. To this last division belong the Mound Builders. We have seen how the partially civilized tribes in the valley of the San Juan were gradually driven south by the pressure of wild tribes. We need not doubt but such was the case in the Mississippi Valley. But we need not picture to ourselves any imposing movement of tribes. In one location a mound-building tribe may have been forced to abandon its territory, which would be occupied by bands of hunting tribes. In other cases they would cling more tenaciously to their territory. The bulk of them may have been forced south; some in other directions, and, like the Pimas on the River Gila, or the Junanos east of the Rio Grande, have retrograded in culture.[1] Some bands may even have reached Mexico, and exerted an influence on the culture of the tribes found there.[2]

It is only necessary to add a brief word as to the antiquity of the Mound Builders' works, or rather as to the time of abandonment. On this point there is a great diversity of opinion, and it seems to us almost impossible to come to any definite conclusion. The time of abandonment

[1] "Fifth Annual Report Archæological Institute," p. 85.
[2] "Short's "North Americans of Antiquity," p. 458.

may vary greatly in different sections of the country, and we have seen how apt Indian tribes, even in the same section, are to abandon one village site in order to form another a few miles away.[1] Fort Hill, in Ohio, that so strongly impressed its first explorers with a sense of antiquity,[2] may have been abandoned long before the Circleville works, where Mr. Atwater could still distinguish vestiges of the palisades that once helped to defend it.

We have said about all that can be said in a brief review of the prehistoric life in America north of Mexico. We have seen how much there is still for our scholars to work up before we can profess to as full and complete a knowledge as we have of the prehistoric life in Europe. We are just on the threshold of discoveries in regard to the Paleolithic Age in this country. The southern boundary of the great ice sheet is now known to us. Many scholars have pointed out to us the scattering bits of evidence going to show that the ancestors of the present Eskimos once inhabited the interior of this continent. Dr. Abbott has found unmistakable evidence of the presence of such a people in New Jersey. Our Indian tribes who came next, are not properly prehistoric, though many questions relating to them belong to that field.

We have examined the works of the people known as Mound Builders. They are indeed varied and full of interest, but our conclusion leaves their origin involved in the still deeper question of the origin of the Indian race. We are satisfied that they were village Indians and not tribes of a vanished people. We have also examined that section of country wherein the greatest development of village Indian life north of Mexico took place. It would be very satisfactory

[1] Carr: "Mounds of the Mississippi Valley," p. 97.

[2] "Ancient Monuments," p. 14.

could we show lines of migration from the valley of the San Juan, as a center, to the Mississippi Valley on the one hand, and to Mexico and the South on the other. We can find some lines of evidence, but not enough to positively state such an important truth.

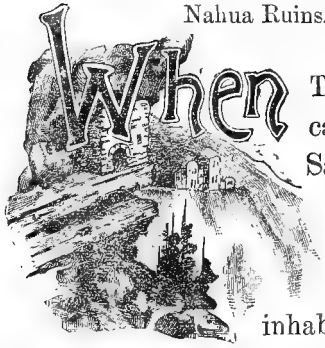
We must now leave this field of inquiry. We trust such of our readers as have followed us in these pages will have clearer ideas of the prehistoric life in North America. They must however regard this knowledge as simply a foundation, a starting-point, or as the shallows along the shore, while the massive building, the long journey, or the great ocean, is still before them. Our scholars are giving their time and attention to these problems. They are learning what they can of the traditions and myths of the tribes still existing. They are studying their languages and plan of government. They are also making great collections of the works of their hands. We will hope some day for clear light on all these topics, which will either confirm our present conclusions or show us wherein we must change them, or, perhaps, reject them altogether.

Stone Mask found in Tennessee.

# CHAPTER XVI.

## THE NAHUA TRIBES.

EARLY Spanish discoveries in Mexico—The Nahua tribes defined—Climate of Mexico—The Valley of Anahuac—Ruins at Tezcuco—The hill of Tezcocingo—Ruins at Teotihuacan—Ancient Tulla—Ruins in the province of Queratarо—Casa Grandes in Chihuahua—Ancient remains in Sinaloa—Fortified hill of Quemada—The Pyramid of Cholula—Mr. Bandelier's investigations at Cholula—Fortified hill at Xochicalco—Its probable use—Ruins at Monte Alban—Ancient remains at Mitla—Mr. Bandelier's investigations—Traditions in regard to Mitla—Ruins along the Panuco River—Ruins in Vera Cruz—Pyramid of Papantla—Tusapan—Character of Nahua Ruins.




THE ships of the Spanish admiral came to anchor before the Island of San Salvador, he had indeed discovered a "New World." It was inhabited by a race of people living in a state of society from which the inhabitants of Europe had emerged long before the dawn of authentic history. The animal and plant life were also greatly different from any thing with which they were acquainted. The Spaniards little suspected the importance of their discovery. Columbus himself died in the belief that he had simply explored a new route to Asia. A quarter of a century elapsed after the first voyage of Columbus before an expedition coasted along the shores of Mexico. This was the expedition of Juan De Grijalva, in 1518. He gave a glowing description of the country he had seen, which "from the beauty and verdure of its indented shores, and

the lovely appearances of its villages, he called 'New Spain.'"[1]

This was followed, in the year 1519, by the history-making expedition of Cortez. The scene of his first landing was about forty miles south of the present town of Vera Cruz, but to this place they soon removed. At his very first landing-point he learned of the existence of what he

Map of Mexico.

was pleased to call a powerful empire, ruled by a most valiant prince. The accounts the Indian allies gave him of the power and wealth of this empire inflamed the imagination of Cortez and his followers. This was an age, we must

[1] Gregory's "History of Mexico," p. 19.

remember, that delighted in tales of the marvelous; add to this the further fact that Cortez was not, at the beginning of his expedition, acting with the sanction of his royal master; indeed, his sailing from the island of Cuba was in direct violation of the commands of the governor. It was very necessary for him to impress upon the court of Spain a sense of the importance of his undertaking.

Certain it is that the accounts that have been handed down to us, though read with wonder and admiration, though made the basis on which many writers have constructed most glowing descriptions of the wonders of the barbaric civilization, which they would fain have us believe, rivaled that of "Ormus and of Ind," are to-day seriously questioned by a large and influential portion of the scientific world. We have another point to be considered that is of no little weight, as all candid men must admit that it would influence the opinions the Spaniards would form of the culture of the Indians. As the man of mature years has lost the memory of his childhood, so have the civilized races of men lost, even beyond the reach of tradition, the memory of their barbaric state. The Spaniards were brought face to face with a state of society from which the Indo-European folks had emerged many centuries before. They could not be expected to understand it, and hence it is that we find so many contradictory statements in the accounts of the early explorers; so much that modern scholars have no hesitation in rejecting.

The main tribe of the empire which Cortez is said have overthrown is known to us by the name of the Aztecs; but as this name properly denotes but one of many tribes in the same state of development, it is better to use a word which includes all, or nearly all, of the tribes that in olden times had their home in the territory now known as Mexico.

Careful comparisons of the various dialects of ancient Mexico have shown that, with the exceptions of some tribes in Vera Cruz, they all belonged to one stock-language; and so they are collectively known as the Nahua tribes.[1]

We wish now to inquire into the culture of this people, to see how much of the strange story that the Spaniards have to tell us has a reasonable foundation. We will state frankly that, though the literature on this subject is of vast proportions, yet it is very far from being a settled field. All accounts of the early explorers of the strange scenes, customs, and manners of the inhabitants, when they were first discovered, are so intermixed with self-evident fables, and statements that are undoubtedly exaggerations, that we have a most difficult task before us. We will first examine the antiquities of this section, compare them with those found in more northern regions, and then examine the statements of the early writers as to the customs of the people. We do not propose to do more than to follow after our leaders in thought, and try to make plain the conclusions to which they have arrived. We are not to deal wholly with a prehistoric people, though their origin is unknown. What we desire to do is to clear away the mists of three and a half centuries, and to catch, if possible, a glimpse of what was probably the highest development of prehistoric culture in North America just before the arrival of the Spaniards.

Mexico was surely a land well adapted to the needs of a prehistoric people. Along the coasts the ground is low. This constitutes what is known as the "Hot Country."[2] The greater part of Mexico consists of an elevated table-land, which rises in a succession of plateaus. As we leave the coast region and climb the plateau, we experience changes of climate. If it were level, it would have mainly a trop-

[1] Bancroft's "Native Races," Vol. II, p. 92.

[2] The *Tierra Caliente*

ical climate, but owing to the elevation we have just mentioned, it has mainly a temperate climate. The whole plateau region is cut up with mountains. The Sierra Madre, on the west, is the main chain, but numerous cross-ranges occur. The result is, a greater part of Mexico abounds in fertile, easily defended valleys—just such localities as are much sought after by a people in barbaric culture, constantly exposed to the assaults of invading foes.[1]

We may as well pass at once to the valley of Anahuac, the most noted in all the region, and learn of the antiquities of this central section. It is in this valley that the capital of the Mexican Republic is situated. All travelers who have had occasion to describe its scenery have been enthusiastic in its praise. The valley is mountain-girt and lake-dotted, and in area not far different from the State of Rhode Island. On one of the principal lakes was located the Pueblo of Tenochtitlan, the head-quarters of the Aztecs, commonly known as the City of Mexico. When Cortez first stood upon the encircling mountains, and gazed down upon the valley, he saw at his feet one of the most prosperous and powerful pueblos of the New World.

This is not the place to recount the story of its fall. Our present inquiry is concerned solely with the remains of its prehistoric age. The enthusiastic Spaniards would have us believe in a city of Oriental magnificence. We have no illustrations of this pueblo. It was almost completely destroyed by Cortez before its final surrender in August, 1521. It was then rebuilt as the capital city of New Spain. Of course, all traces of its original buildings soon disappeared. What we can learn of its appearance is derived from the accounts of the early writers, which we will examine in their proper place. After having surveyed the entire field of

[1] Ober's "Mexican Resources," p. 2.

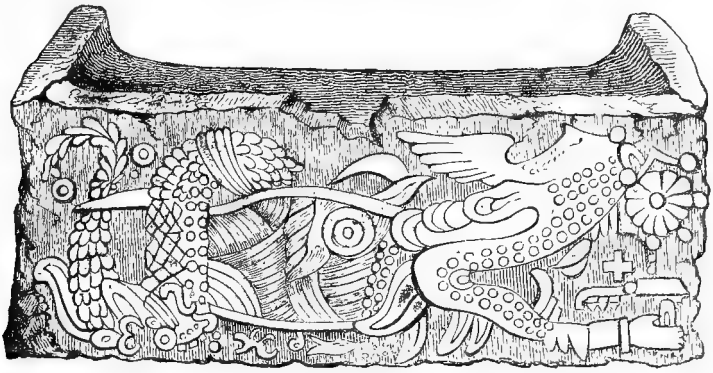
ruins, we will be much better qualified to judge of the vague statements of its former grandeur. A few relics have, indeed, been found buried beneath the surface of the old city. They illustrate the culture of the people, as will be noticed further on.

Directly across the lake from the Pueblo of Mexico was that of Tezcuco, the head-quarters of the second powerful tribe of the Aztec Confederacy. Traces only are recoverable of its former buildings. At the southern end of the modern town were found the foundations of three great pyramids. They were arranged in a line from north to south. Mr. Mayer says of these ruins: "They are about four hundred feet in extent on each side of their base, and are built partly of adobe and partly of large, burned bricks and fragments of pottery."[1] He tells us further that the sides of the pyramids "were covered with fragments of idols, clay vessels, and obsidian knives." From other discoveries, it would seem these pyramids were coated with cement. The suggestion is made that on one of these pyramids stood the great temple of Tezcuco, which, an early writer tells us, was ascended by one hundred and seventeen steps.

In another part of the town a sculptured block of stone was found, of which this cut is given. "It appears to be the remains of a trough or basin, and the sculpture is neatly executed in relief. I imagine that it was designed to represent a conflict between a serpent and a bird, and you can not fail to remark the cross distinctly carved near the lower right-hand corner of the vessel." Bullock, who traveled in Mexico in 1824, has left a brief description of the ruins of what he calls a palace: "It must have been a noble building. . . . It extended for three hundred feet, forming one side of the great square, and was placed on sloping ter-

[1] "Mexico As It Was," p. 221.

races raised one above the other by small steps. Some of these terraces are still entire and covered with cement. . . . From what is known of the extensive foundations of this palace, it must have covered some acres of ground."[1] This last statement is doubtless exaggerated. From what we



Bas-Relief, Tezcuco.

know of Indian architecture, these ruins were doubtless long, low, and narrow, and placed on one or more sides of a square, perhaps inclosing a court.

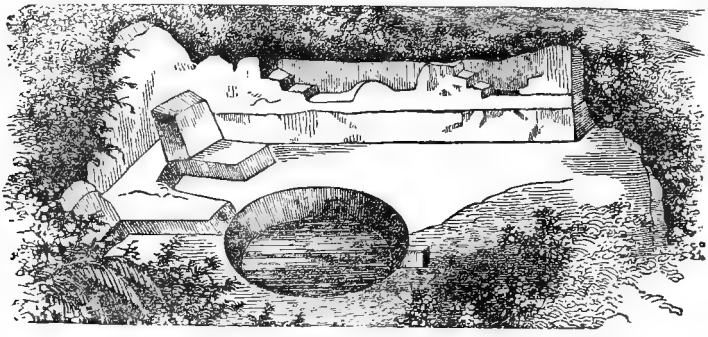
About three miles from the town of Tezcuco is a very singular group of ruins. This is the Hill of Tezcocingo This is very regular in outline, and rises to the height of about six hundred feet. A great amount of work has evidently been bestowed on this hill, and some very far-fetched conclusions have been drawn from it. Probably as notable a piece of work as any was the aqueduct which supplied the hill with water, and this is really one of the most wonderful pieces of aboriginal work with which we are acquainted.

The termination of the aqueduct is represented in our next cut. This is about half-way up the hill, right on the edge of a precipitous descent of some two hundred feet. "It

[1] "Six Months in Mexico," p. 386.

will be observed in the drawing that the rock is smoothed to a perfect level for several yards, around which seats and grooves are carved from the adjacent masses. In the center there is a circular sink, about a yard and a half in diameter and a yard in depth, and a square pipe, with a small aperture, led the water from an aqueduct which appears to terminate in this basin. None of the stones have been joined with cement, but the whole was chiseled from the mountain rock."[1] This has been called "Montezuma's Bath," simply from the custom of naming every wonderful ruin for which no other name was known after that personage; but this was not a bath, but a reservoir of water.

From this circular reservoir the side of the mountain is cut down so as to form a level grade, just as if a railroad

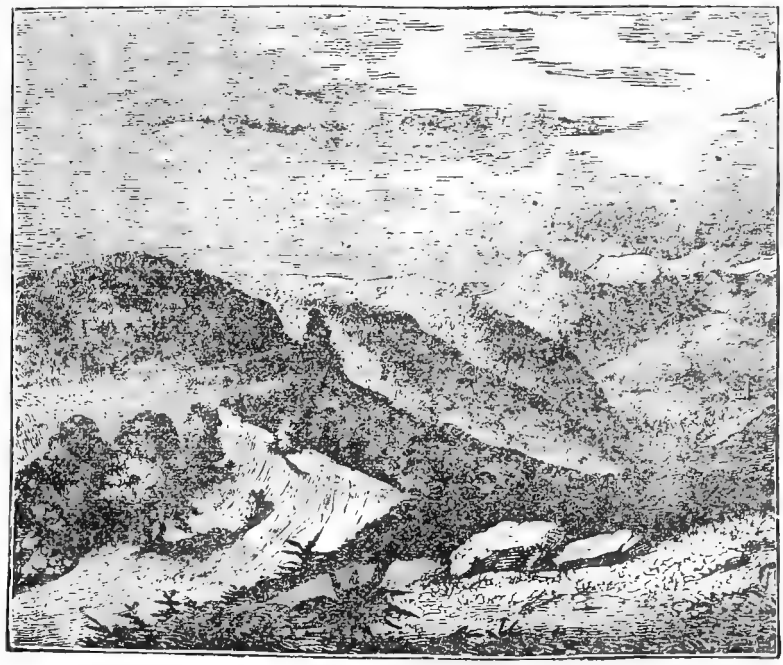


Montezuma's Bath.

had been made. This grade winds around the surface of the hill for about half a mile, when it stretches out across a valley three-quarters of a mile wide, an elevated embankment from sixty to two hundred feet in height. Reaching the second mountain, the graded way commences again, and is extended about half-way around the mountain, where it extends on another embankment across the plains to a range of mountains, from which the water was obtained.

[1] Mayer: "Mexico As It Was," p. 234.

This cut represents the embankment crossing the valley. Along the top of this way was laid the canals to transport the water, made of an exceedingly hard cement of mortar and fragments of pounded brick. It is estimated that nearly, if not quite, as much labor was expended on this aqueduct as on the Croton aqueduct that supplies New York City.[1] This last



Aqueduct, Tezcocingo.

statement is probably too strong, but, considering that this work was accomplished by a people destitute of iron tools, it is seen to be a most extraordinary work. From what we have already learned, this hill was evidently a very important place. On all sides we meet with evidences that the whole of the hill was covered with artificial works of one kind or another. On the side of the hill opposite this reservoir was

[1] Thompson's "Mexico," p. 144.

another recess bordered by seats cut in living rock, and leading to a perpendicular cliff, on which a calendar is said to have been carved, but was destroyed by the natives in later days.[1]

Traces of a spiral road leading up the summit have been observed. In 1824 Bullock (who, however, is not regarded as a very accurate observer) "found the whole mountain had been covered with palaces, temples, baths, hanging-gardens, and so forth." Latrobe, somewhat later, found "fragments of pottery and broken pieces of obsidian knives and arrows; pieces of stucco, shattered terraces, and old walls were thickly dispersed over its whole surface."[2] Mr. Mayer, after speaking of the abundance of broken pottery and Indian arrows, says: "The eminence seems to have been converted from its base to its summit into a pile of terraced gardens."

By one class of writers this hill is regarded as the "suburban residence of the luxurious monarchs of Tezcuco, . . . a pleasure garden upon which were expended the revenues of the state and the ingenuity of its artists."[3] Mr. Bancroft has gathered together the details of this charming story,[4] and tells us that the kings of Mexico had a similar pleasure resort on the Hill of Chapultepec, a few miles west of the city.[5] It is sufficient at present to state that an explanation much simpler and more in accord with our latest scientific information can be given. It is more likely that this hill was the seat of a village Indian community. Its location

[1] Bancroft: "Native Races," Vol. IV, p. 526.

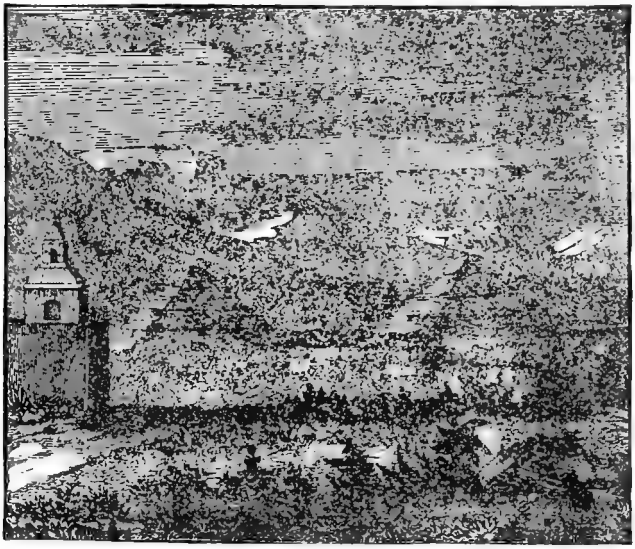
[2] "Rambles in Mexico," p. 140.

[3] Gratacap, in *American Antiquarian*, October, 1883, p. 310.

[4] "Native Races," Vol. II, pp. 168–173.

[5] As to this hill, Mr. Bandelier remarks: "As a salient and striking object, and on account of the fresh-water springs, Chapultepec was worshiped, but I find no trace among older authors of any settlement there—still less of a Summer palace—at the time of the conquest." "Report of an Archæological Tour in Mexico," p. 73.

was naturally strong. The water, brought with so much labor from a distance, furnished a supply for the purpose of irrigation, as well as bodily needs. The terraced sides show that every foot of ground was utilized, and the ruins of the palaces that Mr. Bullock mentions were the fast-disappearing ruins of their communal buildings. Owing to the cruel raids of the Aztec tribes, this place may have been deserted



Teotihuacan.

before the coming of the Spaniards, and thus no mention was made of it.

Still further to the north, about thirty miles from Mexico, is found another extensive field of ruins, which is called Teotihuacan, meaning "City of the Gods." The principal ruins now standing are the two immense pyramids (which are represented in this cut), which the natives call the "House of the Moon" and the "House of the Sun." We will describe the surroundings first. It is unquestioned but that here was a very extensive settlement in early times.

When the Nahua tribes entered Mexico they probably found it inhabited. One very recent writer thinks that "nowhere else in America can you find a more imposing mass of ruins."[1] He estimates that it was "a city upwards of twenty miles in circumference."

Other writers have also noticed its great extent. According to Thompson, "the ruins cover an area very nearly as large as that of the present City of Mexico, and the streets are as distinctly marked by the ruins of houses."[2] And in another place Mr. Charney tells us "the city was of vast extent; and, without indulging in any stereotyped reflections on the vanity of human greatness, I will say that a more complete effacement is nowhere else to be seen. The whole ground, over a space five or six miles in diameter, is covered with heaps of ruins, which, at first view, make no impression, so complete is their dilapidation."[3]

Of this mass of ruins we are told but little, beyond the general assertion that it consists of the ruins of buildings, temples, etc. But very recently M. Charney has uncovered the foundation of one of these houses. He calls it a palace. It was, in all probability, a communal building. It had two wings inclosing a court, and was located on a terraced pyramid. He found, on digging into the terrace in front of the ruins, a great number of sloping walls, covered with cement, containing small compartments, etc. M. Charney can not account for their presence.

In view of the discoveries further north, we would respectfully suggest that this was, in reality, the lower story of the building, whose flat roof formed the terrace in front

[1] Charney in *North American Review*, September, 1880, p. 190.

[2] "Recollections of Mexico," p. 140.

[3] We have several times remarked that it is not safe to judge prehistoric population by the amount of ruins. "Indians never rebuild on ruins or repair them."

of the second story, whose foundation M. Charney so happily discovered. But such suggestions as this are very unsafe to make, and must be supported by further discoveries before they are of any real value.

He found a large number of good-sized rooms, and speaks especially of one hall fifty feet square, in the center of which was six pillars, sloping from the base upwards. They, doubtless, served to support the roof. We regret that we have not been able to see M. Charney's ground plan of this ruin. Of the pyramids themselves we have quite full information. The larger one, that of the sun, is seven hundred and sixty feet square and two hundred and sixteen feet high. It will be seen that these dimensions throw the great mound at Cahokia into the shade. Though the base may not be quite as great, the height of the pyramid is over twice that of the mound. Three terraces are plainly visible. The surface was covered with cement, large slabs of which remain in their place. The moon pyramid is further north.

It is in all respects like that of the sun, but of smaller dimensions, being one hundred and fifty feet high. In early times these pyramids are said to have supported statues, but, if so, they have long since been thrown down. Their surface and the ground around is thickly strewn with fragments of pottery, obsidian knives, and other small relics. Running south from the House of the Moon, and passing a little to one side of the House of the Sun, are the remains of a wide, paved road. Its width is stated to be one hundred and thirty feet, and its length about two hundred and fifty rods.[1]

This road suddenly expands in front of the Moon, so as to suggest the idea of a Greek cross. Pieces of cement

[1] Bancroft: "Native Races," Vol. IV., p. 537.

(with which this road was covered) are still visible in places. It is lined with mounds on either side, and they stand so close together as to resemble continuous embankments in some places. Speculations are abundant as to the object of this graded way. Tradition calls it the "Path of the Dead." Small mounds are very numerous over the surface. They may have been for burial purposes, but sculptured stones are found in them, and specimens of hard cement. This group of ruins is regarded as of very great antiquity.

We can easily see that the growth of the soil formed by the decay and detrition of the stone slabs of the pyramids, temples, and other buildings would be slow, especially as the rainfall is light. But in some localities it is more than three feet thick. In places three separate floors are observed, one over the other, pointing to as many successive occupations of the same sections by men.

About sixty-five miles to the north of Mexico was located Tollan, or Tulla. According to tradition, this was the capital city of the Toltecs, a mysterious people who long preceded the Aztecs. We are told that "extensive ruins remained at the time of the conquest, but very few relics have survived to the present time."[1] M. Charney, whose labors we have referred to at Teotihuacan, succeeded also in making important discoveries here. He tells us that on the site of this ancient capital there is a hill, "about one mile long by half a mile broad, covered with mounds, plateaus, and ruins of all kinds."

He gives us the dimensions of two pyramids, as follows: The first is one hundred and ninety-six feet on each front, and forty-six feet high. The second is one hundred and thirty-one feet square, and thirty-one feet high. Both of these pyramids stood on raised foundations, which M. Char-

[1] Bancroft: "Native Races," Vol. IV, p. 547.

ney calls esplanades. As no other pyramids are mentioned, we are to suppose these are the two principal ones. Perhaps they are also pyramids of the sun and moon. Our chief interest is concerned with the remains of the habitations he discovered here. He says: "I set the men to work at one of the many mounds upon the ridge, and soon found that I had hit upon a group of habitations." A general idea of this group of buildings is given in this passage: "The dwellings were united together in groups, and erected on isolated mounds, one in the middle, the others around about, the whole forming a sort of honey-comb, with its cells placed at different elevations."

We can not help being struck with the general resemblance of the descriptions here given and that of the ruins in the vicinity of the River Gila. The general tendency is seen to gather together in clusters, with, probably, the most important house in the center. As to the materials used in this building, we are told "they used clay and mud for the inside of the walls, cement to coat them, dressed stone and brick for casings, bricks and stone for stairways, bricks for pilasters, and wood for roofing the edifice. The houses had flat roofs, consisting of timbers coated with cement. Of such timbers we find vast quantities."[1]

Of the arrangements of the rooms, he tells us, "The apartments that have been brought to light comprise a number of chambers, big and little, placed at different heights. We shall have no clear idea of the relation of these different chambers to one another, or of the mode of access to them through the labyrinthine passages and the numerous stairways, until the whole edifice has been unearthed."

This was not the only building he discovered. On dig-

[1] The ceilings in the pueblos of Arizona were often made of poles covered with cement. See page 471.

ging into a mound, supposed to be the support of a temple, he discovered it was the ruined foundation of a still grander house. He says, "It is much larger than the other one, stands on a pyramid, and has two wings inclosing a court-yard. The walls are thicker than those of the first habitation, and more strongly built. The apartments, too, are larger, though arranged in a similar fashion." Elsewhere he tells us that this building contained at least forty-three apartments, large and small. We presume very few will now question but what the buildings he here describes are ruined communal buildings, much like the structures in Arizona.

But perhaps the most interesting result of his labors was the proof that these ruins were certainly inhabited after the conquest—for how long a time we can not tell. This is shown by fragments of bones and other articles found in the refuse heaps. The bones were of such animals as the horse, swine, sheep, oxen, etc.—animals introduced into this country by the Spaniards. The fragments of pottery include specimens plainly not of Indian manufacture, such as fragments of porcelain, and that variety of glazed ware known as delf, and lastly, the neck of a glass bottle. It may be said that these fragments might have been left by a band of Spaniards who occupied the ruins in the early days of the conquest, perhaps long after the Indian owners had left. This is of course possible, but it is just as reasonable to suppose the fragments were left by descendants of the original builders.

Northward from Tulla is a small province, marked on the map Queratarо. From the accounts at our disposal, which are very brief, we gather that this whole section is a table-land, split up by ravines of great depths and precipitous sides; consequently one abounding in easily defended

positions. It was found that all the projecting points, naturally strong, were rendered still stronger by the presence of ditches, walls, and embankments. Three groups of ruins are mentioned especially, and their location is marked on the map. At Pueblito there was, at an early day, plainly to be seen, the foundation of a large, rectangular building. The walls were built of stone laid in clay.

At Canoas, in the northern part of the State, there is a steep and strongly fortified hill, but particulars in regard to it are very meager. "There are, in all, forty-five defensive works on the hill, including a wall about forty feet in height, and a rectangular platform with an area of five thousand square feet."[1] Ranas, the most northern one of the three sites mentioned, is regarded as the center of population in early times. "A small lake and a perennial spring are supposed to have been the attractions of this locality in the eyes of the people. On all the hills about are still seen vestiges of their monuments."

If we look at the map we will notice that we have gone but a little ways north of the valley of Anahuac. Yet, with the exception of the Gulf-coast, there are but few striking aboriginal ruins in Northern Mexico. At the time of the conquest the whole northern section was the home of tribes not generally considered to be as far advanced as those who lived in the section we have already described, and in regions further south. Yet it is certainly hard to draw the line betweeen the culture of the two people. We are told that, these Northern tribes though styled "dogs," and "barbarians," by the Southern tribes, were yet "tillers of the soil, and lived under systematic forms of government, although not apparently much given to the arts of agriculture and sculpture."

[1] Bancroft's "Native Races," Vol. IV, p. 550.

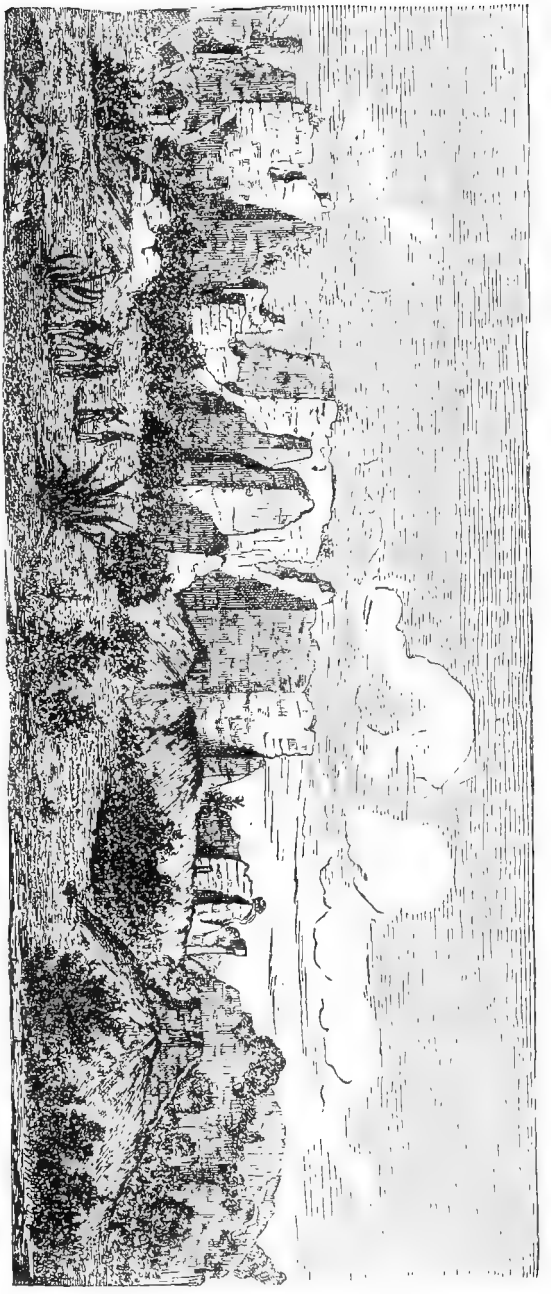
This point is of considerable interest to us, theoretically; for it is a question from whence came the various Nahua tribes. We would naturally think, if they came from the North, we ought to find evidence of their former presence in the various Northern States of Mexico. We must remember, however, that a migrating people are not apt to leave monuments until they reach the end of their migration. Neither has the territory been as carefully explored as it should be. What accounts we can obtain of the remains in this section are certainly very meager. But one place in Sonora do ruins occur, and they have never been examined by competent personages.[1] In Chihuahua occur ruins, evidently the works of the same people as built the separate houses to the west of the Rio Grande, in New Mexico.

These ruins have received the same name as those on the Rio Gila—that is, "Casas Grandes," meaning "Great House." This cut represents a view of these ruins. The river valley is here about two miles wide, and is said to be very fertile. Mr. Bartlett thinks there is no richer valley to be found from Texas to California. This valley was once the seat of a considerable population. Mounds are here found in considerable numbers. Over two thousand are estimated as occurring in a section of country sixty miles long by thirty in width.[2] We wish we knew more about the mounds. They are said to contain pottery, stone axes, and other implements. It is possible, then, that these mounds are ruins of separate houses. At any rate, such are the only kind of ruins noticed in the upper part of this same valley by Mr. Bandelier.

The ruins in question are undoubtedly those of a rich

[1] Bandelier: "Fifth Annual Report Arch. Inst.," p. 86.
[2] Bancroft's "Native Races," Vol. IV, p. 610.

and prosperous pueblo. They are so placed as to command a very extensive view. The river valley is cut through a plain, and has precipitous sides about twenty-five feet in height. The ruins in question are found partly in the bottoms and partly on the upper and more sterile plateau. The walls were made of adobe, and in consequence of their long exposure to the elements are very far gone in ruins; so much so that Mr. Bartlett was unable to make out the plan. But enough was seen



Casas Grandes.

to show that this was a pueblo much like the structure already described. They properly belong to the Arizona group of ruins.

We are told they face the cardinal points, and consist of fallen and erect walls. The portions still standing are from fifty to sixty feet high, or rather were that height in 1851. It is doubtful whether any thing more than a mound of adobe mud now marks the spot. The walls were highest in the center of the mass. At the distance of a few miles was a hill said to be fortified. But the descriptions of it are conflicting. Some represent it as crowned with a stone-built fortress two or three stories high. Others more reasonable, represent it as the site of a watch-tower, or sentry station, and that at regular intervals on the slope of the hill are lines of stone, with heaps of loose stones at their extremities.[1] Probably the same fate overtook the tribes of this valley as did the sedentary tribes of the North. They would not willingly abandon a place so well suited to their needs. The presence of an invading foe, cruel and vindictive, alone accounts for this group of ruins.

In Sinaloa we have no very definite account of ruins. However, Mr. Bandelier says, the existence of ancient villages in that section is certain, and that from "Sinaloa there are ample evidences of a continuous flow Southward."[2] There are no ruins worth mentioning in any of the other States, excepting Zacatecas, where we find a ruin of great interest. This is at Quemada, in the southern part of the State. The name is taken from that of a farm in the near neighborhood. The ruins are situated on the top of a hill, which is not only naturally strong, but the approaches to it are fortified. The hill ascends from the plain in a gentle

[1] Bancroft's "Native Races," Vol. IV, p. 613.
[2] "Fifth Annual Report," p. 86.

slope for several hundred yards, it then rises quite precipitously for about a hundred and fifty feet. The total height of the hill above the plain is probably not far from eight hundred feet.[1]

At all points where the approach to the top of the hill is not steep enough to form a protection of itself, the brow is guarded by walls of stone. This is especially true of the northern end of the hill. One peculiar feature of this place is the traces of ancient roads, which can still be clearly distinguished crossing each other at various angles on the slope we have mentioned. They can be followed for miles, and are described as being slightly raised and paved with rough stones. In places on the slope, their sides are protected by embankments.

Considerable speculations have been indulged in as to the purposes for which these roads were used. It has been suggested that they were the streets of an ancient city which must once have existed on the plains; and that the fortified hill, with the ruins on its summit, was the citadel, the residence of their rulers, and the location of their temples. But we think a more reasonable view is that all of the city that ever stood in that neighborhood was on the hill summit, and that these streets were for religious purposes, reminding us in this respect of the graded ways and traces of paved streets sometimes met with in the Mississippi Valley. In proof of this view, it is said that many of them, after being followed for a long distance, are found to terminate in a heap of stones, which are evidently the ruins of a regular pyramid. In opposition to both of these views, it has been suggested that the surrounding plain was low and marshy, and that the object of these causeways

[1] Bancroft's "Native Races," Vol. IV, p. 581. These dimensions are different in different accounts, as may be seen by consulting Mr. Bancroft's work.

was to secure a dry passage, which explanation is certainly very reasonable.

Of the top of the hill, it may be sufficient to state that it is of irregular shape, half a mile in length from north to south, and of varying width, but on an average one thousand feet wide. The approach to the top of the hill was strongly guarded. Although buildings were observed covering the whole top of the hill, yet they were in two principal groups. This cut, though but one of many, will give us very good ideas of all the ruins. It is seen to be an inclosure. It is on a small scale. It was one hundred and fifty feet square. We notice terraces on three sides. These terraces are three feet high by twelve wide, and in the center of each side are steps by

Quemada.

which to descend to the square.[1] Each terrace is backed by a wall, portions of which are seen in the engraving. These walls are twenty feet high by eight or nine in thickness. The openings seen in the wall are not properly doors, as they extend to the top of the wall.

This court, encompassed by terraces, is a peculiar feature. It is different from any thing we know of, either north or south.[2] Courts, surrounded by buildings located on terraces, are common enough, but all accounts of these ruins say nothing of buildings. We remember the inclosures that surrounded the houses clustered in groups on the Rio Gila. We think this comes near to being a development of the same idea. The low walls of the former inclosure are here quite pretentious pieces of masonry. In some cases two or more of these inclosed courts are joined by openings.

The opening in the wall on the right of the engraving leads into a perfect inclosed square of two hundred feet. In one case a range of pillars was noticed parallel with the walls, and distant twenty-three feet. These are supposed to have supported the roof of the portico, and houses of a rude description might have been ranged along under this roof, which has since completely vanished. Back of this square, but not very well shown in the drawing, rises a precipitous hill. A pyramid is placed in the center of the side towards the hill. It is only nineteen feet high,[3] but is divided into five stages or stories.[4]

This pyramid will serve as an example of numerous

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[1] *Lyons's Journal.* From Mayer's "Mexico As It Was," p. 243.

[2] There is something of a similarity between these ruins and those of the coast tribes of Peru.

[3] Another authority states that it is thirty feet square and thirty feet high. Bancroft: "Native Races," Vol. IV, p. 587, note.

[4] As seen in the Drawing. Mr. Lyons states there are seven stories.

other pyramids scattered over the summit of the hill. They are made of stone. The largest one, whose dimensions are given, is fifty feet square, and the same in height. In front of the pyramid, and in the center of the square, are the remains of an altar. In view of the altar and pyramid, within the inclosed square, we may suppose this to have been dedicated to their religion. As if to confirm this belief, is the statement that on the hill to the back of the pyramid are numerous tiers of seats, either broken in the rock or built of rough stone. The people seated on them would be conveniently located as regards both sight and hearing of what transpired there.

From an Indian's point of view, this hill was very strongly fortified. It would be almost impossible for an enemy to capture the settlement on its summit. The surrounding country was probably fertile, and a large body of Indians could have lodged within the fortified inclosures. It has some peculiar features, which have been pointed out. There is now no water on the hill, but traces of what is psuppose to be an aqueduct are observed, as well as several tanks, and at one place a well. There is not an appearance of great antiquity about these ruins, and yet native traditions are silent in regard to them, and but one of the early writers refers to them, and he had not seen them.[1]

West of the central basin the remains are more numerous than to the north, but they are not very striking, and it is scarcely worth our while to stop and examine them. About sixty miles in a south-easterly direction from Mexico is the modern town of Cholula. This has grown at the expense of the ancient city of Cholula, grouped around the famous pyramid of that name. This was the Mexican "Tower of Babel." The traditions in regard to it smack

[1] This was Clavigaro. Mayer's "Mexico As It Was," p. 245.

so strongly of outside influence that but little reliance can be placed on them. They are evidently a mixture of native traditions and Biblical stories. Like Teotihuacan and Tulla, this is regarded as a relic of Toltec times. This is but another way of saying that it is older in time than the majority of ruins.

At the time of Cortez's march to Mexico Cholula was a very important place. In his dispatches he says: "The great city of Cholula is situated in a plain, and has twenty thousand householders in the body of the city, besides as many more in the suburbs." He further states that he himself counted the towers of more than four hundred "idol temples."[1]

We must remember that this is a Spanish account, and therefore exaggerated. Still, after making due allowance for the same, it would remain an important aboriginal settlement. We have no reliable data of the population at the time of the conquest. From documentary evidence Mr. Bandelier has shown that while Cholula was certainly a populous Indian pueblo, it is a misnomer to call it a city. It was a group of six distinct clusters, gathered around a common market. He estimates that its population may possibly have been thirty thousand.[2] All explorers have mentioned the fertility of the plain in the midst of which this monument is found.

But this plain is almost destitute of easily defended positions; which fact has an important bearing on the purpose for which the great mound was erected. At a distance it presents all the appearance of a natural hill. The casual observer would not believe it was entirely the work of men. "In close proximity," says Mr. Bandelier, "the mound pre-

[1] Thompson's "Recollections of Mexico," p. 29.
[2] "An Archæological Tour in Mexico," p. 163.

sents the appearance of an oblong conical hill, resting on projecting platforms of unequal length. Overgrown as it is with verdure and partly by trees, and with a fine paved road leading to the summit, it looks strikingly like a natural hill, along whose slopes the washing of the rains and slides have laid bare bold bluffs, and into whose bulk clefts and rents have occasionally penetrated."

This celebrated mound or pyramid has lately been the subject of a very careful study by Mr. Bandelier. The illustration we present gives us a very good idea of the present appearance of the mound. The mass is probably solid throughout, and if there is a natural hill in its center, it must be a very small one. The height of the central higher mass is very nearly two hundred feet.[1] The present appearance of the summit is entirely due to the Spaniards. At the time of the conquest the summit was convex; the friars had it leveled in order to plant a cross. The area of this upper platform is not far from two-thirds of an acre. It is now paved and surrounded by a wall.

In the illustration we detect the appearance of terraces. These are level areas, not all of the same height; neither do they extend entirely around the mound. In fact, the present appearance indicates three projections, or aprons, surrounding and supporting a conical hill, and separated from each other by wide depressions. This central mound, with its three projections, rests upon a very extensive platform, which was probably cross-shaped. This platform seems to have been about twelve feet high, and covered an area of at least sixty acres.

The object for which this great pile was erected is a topic that has exercised the thoughts of many scholars.

[1] The altitude varies according to the side where the measurement is taken. The average height is about one hundred and seventy feet.

PYRAMID OF CHOLULA

Some have supposed it was a burial mound. Some years ago, while in constructing a road from Pueblo to Mexico, the first terrace or story was slightly dug into, and disclosed a chamber, which contained two skeletons, two idols, and a collection of pottery." Yet, before deciding it to be a burial mound, it will be necessary to show the presence of tombs near the center.

We have referred to the results of Mr. Bandelier's explorations. He made a very thorough study of this great pyramid—more complete than any that had hitherto been made—and his results should have corresponding weight. He finds that the materials of which the adobe brick is composed are exactly the same as that of the surrounding plain. This does away with one old tradition, that the bricks were manufactured at a distance, and brought several leagues to their destination by a long line of men, who handed them along singly from one to another.

From the manner in which the bricks are laid, and from their variation in size, he concludes that the structure was not all erected at one time, but that the mound is the accumulation of successive periods of labor. From this it follows that it was built to serve some purpose of public utility, and not as a token of respect for some individual. Wherever found, these great works show the same evidence of not being all completed at once. This was true of the North; we shall also find it true of the South. Charney noticed the same thing in the house at Tulla. Nothing is more natural than that an Indian community would increase their buildings as the tribe increased.

Mr. Bandelier's final conclusion in regard to the purpose of its erection is one of great interest, but not at all surprising. "If we imagine the plateaus and aprons around it covered with houses, possibly of large size, like those of Uxmal

and Palenqué,[1] or on a scale intermediate between them and the communal dwellings of Pecos and many other places in New Mexico,[2] we have then, on the mound of Cholula, as it originally was, room for a large aboriginal population. The structure, accordingly, presents itself as the base of an artificially elevated, and therefore, according to Indian military art, a fortified, pueblo."

But this does not remove from it the air of mystery. Long-fallen indeed are the communal walls. It was not simply a few years ago that these pueblo-crowned terraces were reared. The date of its erection is hid in the dim traditions of the past. The traditions of the Nahua tribes, who came at a far later date, speak of it as even then standing on the plain. Scattered over the plain are other ruins of a somewhat different nature from the general ruins in the valley. These may be the ruins of works erected by the same class of people as built the mounds. Especially is this thought to be true of ruins found on the slopes of neighboring volcanoes.

To the south-west of Cholula are the ruins of Xochicalco, which, by some, are pronounced to be the finest in Mexico. There are many points of resemblance between this ruin and Tezcocingo. The meaning of the word is "Hill of Flowers." The hill is a very regular, conical one, with a base nearly three miles in circumference, and rises to a height above the plain of nearly four hundred feet.[3] The hill is considered to be entirely a natural formation; but it probably owes some of its regular appearance to the work of man. Around the base of the hill had been dug a wide and deep ditch. When Mr. Taylor visited the place, the side of this moat had fallen in, in many places, and

[1] To be described hereafter. [2] See chapter xi.

[3] Different explorers give different figures.

in some quite filled up—but it was still distinctly visible.[1] The whole surface of this hill was laid off into terraces.

Five of these terraces, paved with blocks of stone laid in mortar, and supported by perpendicular walls of the same material, extend, in oval form, entirely around the whole circumference of the hill, one above the other. From the accumulation of rubbish, these terraces are not easy to detect in all places. Probably, at one time, there was some easy means of access from one terrace to the other, but they have disappeared—so that now the explorer has to scramble up intervening slopes of the terraces as best he can. It is probable that defensive works once protected these slopes.

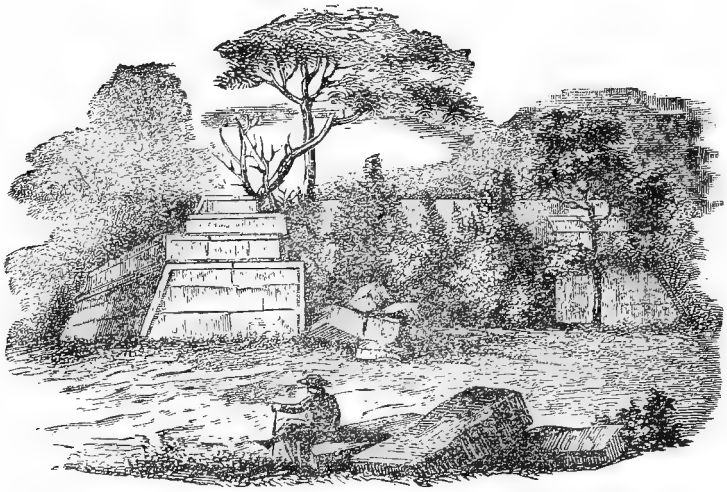
Mr. Mayer says: "At regular intervals, as if to buttress these terraces, there are remains of bulwarks shaped like the bastions of a fortification."[2] "Defense seems to have been the one object aimed at by the builders." The top of the hill is leveled off. Some writers represent that a wall of stone was run along the edge of the summit; but others think that the whole top of the hill had been excavated, so as to form a sunken area, leaving a parapet along the edge. This summit-platform measured two hundred and eighty-five feet by three hundred and twenty-eight feet. Within this area were found several mounds and heaps of stones. The probabilities are that it was once thickly covered with ruins. In the center of this sunken area are the remains of the lower story of a pyramid, which the inhabitants in the viciniity affirm to have been once five stories high.

To judge from the ruins still standing, this must have formed one of the most magnificent works of aboriginal

[1] Taylor's "Anahuac," p. 184.

[2] "Mexico as It Was," p. 180.

skill with which we are acquainted. This cut gives a general idea of the ruins from the west. We presume the broken appearance presented by this side is in consequence of the removal of stones by planters in the vicinity for their own use. It seems they have used this monument as a



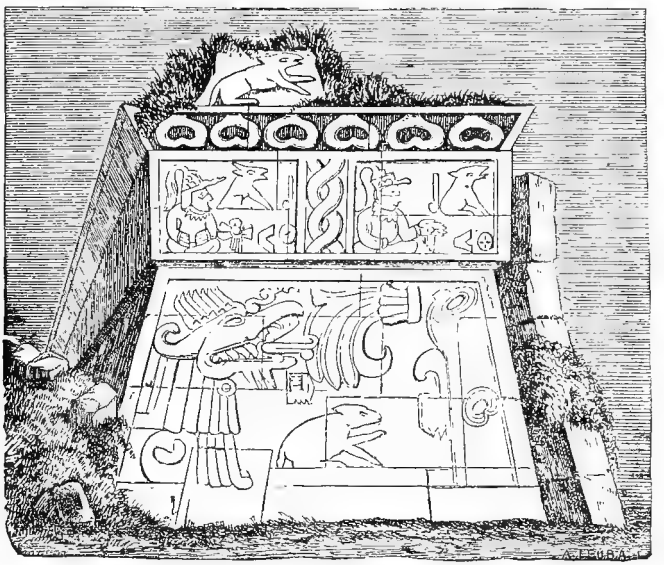
Xochicalco.

stone-quarry. This pyramid, or the first story of it, was nearly square—its dimensions being sixty-four feet by fifty-eight.

The next cut is an enlarged drawing of the north-west corner seen in the first drawing. Notice the grotesque ornamentations on it. The ornaments are not stucco-work, but are sculptured in bas-relief. As one figure sometimes covers parts of two stones, it is plain they must have been sculptured after being put in position. The height of this front is nearly fifteen feet. In the left-hand corner of this sculpture will be perceived the head of a monstrous beast with open jaws and protruding tongue. This figure is constantly repeated in various parts of the façade. Some have sup-

posed it to be a crocodile. The rabbit is another figure that constantly reappears in portions of the wall.

We can scarcely realize the labor involved in the construction of this pyramid and the terraced slope. Some idea may be formed of the immense labor with which this building was constructed from measurements made of several of the masses of porphyry that compose it. One stone was



Enlarged View of Ruins at Xochicalco.

nearly eight feet long by three broad. The one with the rabbit on is five feet by two and a half. When it is recollected that these materials were not found in the neighborhood, but were brought from a great distance, and borne up a hill more than three hundred feet high, we can not fail to be struck with the industry, toil, and ingenuity of the builders, especially as the use of beasts of burden was, at the time, unknown in Mexico. Nor was this edifice, on the summit, the only portion of the architect's labor. Huge rocks were brought to form the walls supporting the terraces that sur-

rounded the hill, a league in circumference, and the whole of that immense mass was cased in stone. Beyond these terraces, again, there was still another immense task in the ditch, of even greater extent, which had to be dug and regularly embanked.[1]

Now, what was the object of all this labor? This must have been the center of a large settlement. It seems that the surrounding hills—or, at least, some of them—were also terraced. Mr. Taylor says: "On the neighboring hills we could discern traces of more terraced roads of the same kind. There must be many miles of them still remaining." In a Mexican book we are told "adjoining this hill is another higher one, also covered with terraces of stone-work in the form of steps. A causeway of large marble flags led to the top, where there are still some excavations, and among them a mound of large size." Mr. Latrobe, from the top of the "Hill of Flowers," saw that it was the center towards which converged several roads, which could be traced over the plain. The road he examined was "about eight feet in breadth, composed of large stones tightly wedged together." It is extremely probable that in Xochicalco we have another instance of a strongly fortified hill, on the top of which was their pueblo, arranged around their teocalli, or temple.[2]

In our description of this ruin we must not forget to mention some curious underground chambers, excavated in the hill itself. On the northern slope, near the foot, is the entrance to two galleries, one of which terminated at the distance of eighty feet. The second gallery is cut in solid

[1] Mayer: "Mexico as It Was," p. 184.

[2] This is in strict keeping with what we have seen to be true of their pueblo sites. This is the conclusion of Mr. Bandelier, who discusses this subject in his essay on "Art of War Among the Mexicans." Peabody Museum Reports, Vol. II, p. 146, note 186.

limestone, about nine feet square, and has several branches. The floors are paved with brick-shaped blocks of stone. The walls are also, in many places, supported by masonry, and both pavement, walls, and ceilings are covered with lime-cement, which retains its polish, and shows traces, in some parts, of having had originally a coating of red ocher. The principal gallery, after a few turns, finally terminated, or appeared to, in a large room eighty feet long, in which two pillars were left to support the roof. In one corner of this room there was a dome-shaped excavation in the roof, from the apex of which a round hole about ten inches in diameter extended vertically upwards.

The natives say there are still other excavations. We have seen no good explanation of the uses of these excavations. The labor in constructing them must have been very great. In the province of Oaxaca we shall find several groups of ruins. In all probability those known and described are not more numerous than those unknown. The class of ruins represented by Quemada, Tezcocingo, and Xochicalco (that is, a hill strongly fortified, with traces of a settlement on the summit, mounds, foundations of communal houses, and pyramidal structures) are also to be found here. At Quiotepec we have very meager accounts of such a ruin. The hill is over two miles in circumference and a thousand feet high. A running stream has rendered one side of the hill very steep and precipitous, but the other sides are terraced.

One of the terrace-walls at the summit is about three hundred and twenty feet long, sixty feet high, and five and a half feet thick.[1] On the summit of the hill are found great numbers of mounds, foundations of small buildings, as well as ruins of statelier buildings, called by some palaces,

[1] Bancroft: "Native Races," Vol. IV, p. 419.

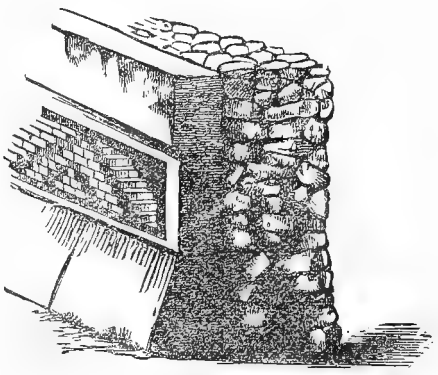
but which were probably regular communal structures; also the pyramid base of a temple. At different points near the summit of the hill are three tanks or reservoirs, one of which is sixty feet long, twenty-four feet wide, and six feet deep, with traces of steps leading down into it.

Still further south, near the center of the state at Monte Alban, is a more extensive group of ruins on the same general plan as the one just described. In this case, from the banks of a stream, there rises a range of high hills with precipitous sides. At their summit is an irregular plateau half a mile long by nearly a quarter of a mile wide. M. Charney states that a portion of this plateau is artificial. He represents the whole surface as literally covered with blocks of stone—some sculptured—the ruined foundations of buildings, terraces, and so forth. He regards it as one of the most precious remains of aboriginal work, and this is the view of Mr. Bandelier also. It is to be regretted that we have not more details of such interesting ruins. We, however, would learn but little new from them. One ruin is spoken of as an immense square court, inclosed by four long mounds, having a slight space between them at the ends. It is extremely probable that these mounds once supported buildings.

The most celebrated ruin in Oaxaca is Mitla. These are the first ruins we have met that, by their strange architecture and peculiar ornamentation, suggest some different race as their builders. The present surroundings are of the gloomiest character. The country is barren and desert. The valley in which the ruins are located is high and narrow, but surrounded by bleak hills. The soil is dry and sandy, and almost devoid of vegetation. The cold winds, blowing almost constantly, sweep before them great clouds of sand. A small stream flows through this dreary waste, which,

during the rainy season, is a raging torrent. "No birds sing, or flowers bloom," around these old ruins. Appropriately enough, tradition speaks of this as the "Place of Sadness," or "Dwelling of the Dead." As to the extent of territory covered by the ruins, we have not been able to learn further than the general statement that at the time of the conquest they covered an immense area.[1]

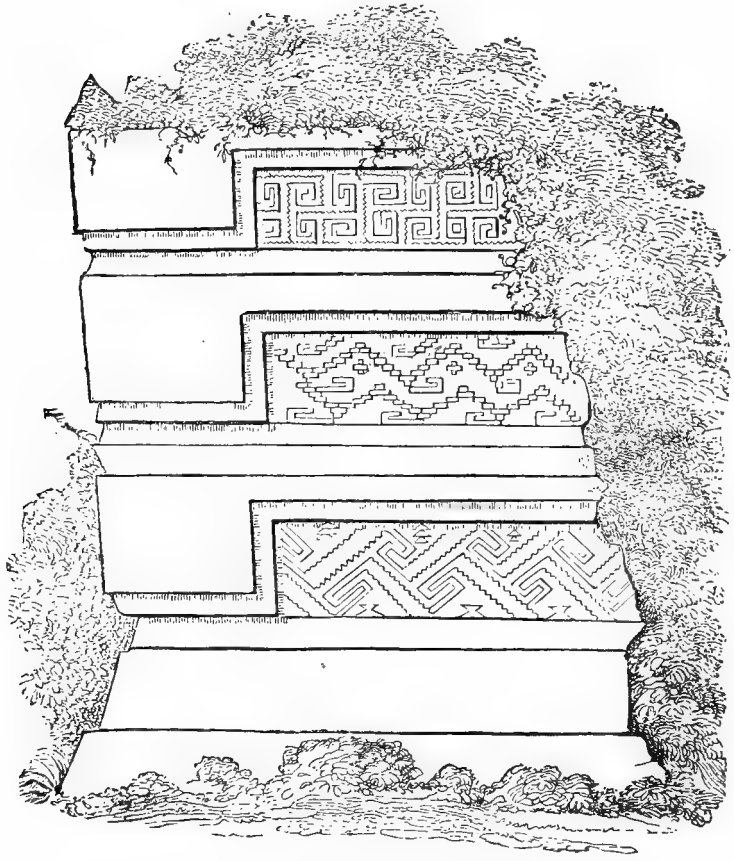
Mr. Bandelier found, besides two artificial hills, traces of thirty-nine distinct edifices, and, as he thinks these are all the buildings that ever stood there, it is manifest that this was not a city in our sense of the word. Two or three of the buildings were constructed of adobe, plastered, and painted red. The others were built of stone. Of these latter the greater part stands upon the ground, but a few are built upon elevated terraces, composed of stone and earth heaped together and faced with stone. In one group of four buildings the terraced foundation contained a basement—in one case, at least—in the form of a cross. The purpose of this cellar or basement left in the artificial foundation is unknown. Some think they were used for burial purposes, but it is more likely they were general store-rooms. The arrangement of these buildings was the same as elsewhere. That is, so placed as to inclose a court. This illustration shows us the method of constructing the walls of the building. We notice two distinct parts. The inner part is built of broken



Wall at Mitla.

[1] Bancroft's "Native Races," p. 393, note.

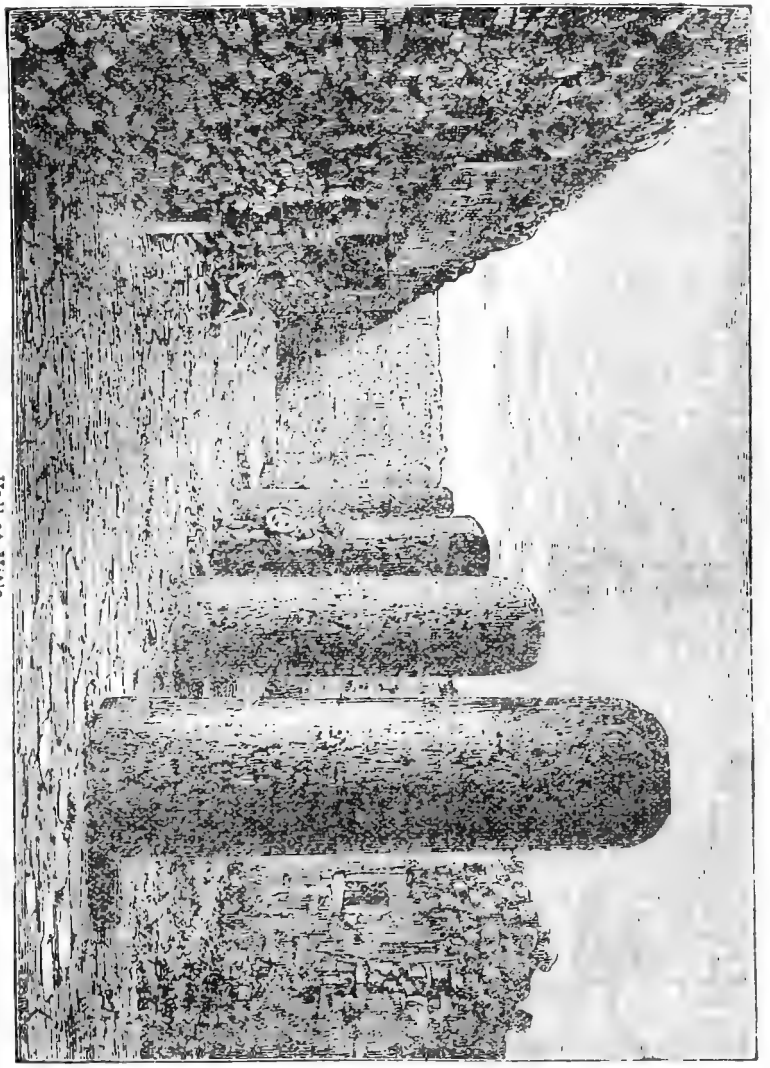
stones laid in tolerably regular courses in clay. There was no mortar used. This inner core is much the same sort of work as the masonry in the pueblos of Arizona. A facing was put on over this inner core, which served both for ornament



Ornamentation at Mitla.

and for strength. This illustration is a corner of one of these buildings, and gives us an excellent idea of the peculiar ornamentation employed at Mitla. Mr. Bancroft gives us a clear idea of how this facing was put on: "First, a double tier of very large blocks are placed as a base along the surface

of the supporting mound, projecting two or three feet from the line of the wall, the stones of the upper tier sloping



Hall at Mitla.

inward. On this base is erected a kind of frame-work of large, hewn blocks with perfectly plain, unsculptured fronts,

which divide the surface of the wall into oblong panels of different dimensions."[1]

It would, then, seem as if the panels were thickly coated with clay. Into this clay was then driven small, smoothed blocks of wedge-shaped stones, in such a way as to cover them with geometrical ornamentations, which, though not absolutely symmetrical, present a striking and agreeable appearance. Each section of the wall presents a different pattern, but this difference is so slight that the general effect is harmonious.[2] This mosaic ornamentation is found in some of the inner facings of the walls as well. In general, however, the walls on the inside were covered with mortar and painted.

Some of the blocks of stone forming the basement, the frame-work of the panels, and the lintels of the door are of great size, and the lintels were in some cases sculptured. One of the largest rooms at Mitla is represented in the preceding cut. The peculiar feature about it is the range of columns seen in the drawing. The inner plastering has fallen, exposing the rough wall. The columns are simple stone pillars, having neither chapter nor base. It is generally supposed that these pillars supported the roof. As in the pueblo buildings to the north, as well as the Toltec house at Tulla, the roof was probably formed of the trunks of small-sized trees laid close together and covered with clay and cement.

We have as yet not seen any thing in these ruins sufficiently striking to justify the somewhat extravagant assertion made about them. The ornamentation is indeed peculiar and tasteful, but aside from that, we see no reason to speak of them as magnificent structures. The buildings are low

[1] Bancroft's "Native Races," Vol. IV, p. 395.

[2] Bandelier: "An Archæological Tour in Mexico," p. 295.

and narrow; the rooms are small, dark, and illy ventillated. "Light could only have been admitted from one side, and the apertures for this purpose were neither lofty nor broad." Mr. Bandelier fittingly characterizes the ruins as the "barbaric effort of a barbarous people." Those scholars who think we have in Mexico the ruins of a highly civilized, powerful empire, regard these ruins as in some way set aside for mourning purposes of the royal family. "According to tradition," says Mayer, "They were . . . intended as the places of sepulture for their princes. At the death of members of the royal family, their bodies were entombed in the vaults beneath; and the sovereign and his relatives retired to mourn over the departed scion in the chambers above these solemn abodes, screened by dark and silent groves from the public eye." Another tradition devotes the edifices to a sect of priests, whose duty it was to live in perfect seclusion, and offer expiatory sacrifices for the royal dead who reposed in the vaults beneath.[1]

With all due respect to traditions, we think a much more reasonable explanation can be given. One reason why Mitla has been regarded as such an important place, is because it has been assumed that there were no other ruins like it, especially in Mexico. This, according to Mr. Bandelier, is a mistake. He examined one or two quite similar ruins in the near vicinity, and at another place he found a group of ruins in every way worthy of being compared to Mitla, but he was not able to examine them. So we must either decide there were a number of these "Sepulchral Palaces," or else adopt some simpler explanation. But still stronger is the fact, that at the time of the conquest, Mitla was an inhabited pueblo. We have the account of a monk who visited it in 1533. He mentions in particular

[1] Mayer: "Mexico As It Was," pp. 251–2.

the ornamentation of the walls, the huge doorways, and the hall with the pillars. It is extremely probable that if it was devoted to any such purpose, some mention would have been made of it. We think Mr. Bandelier is right when he concludes that these structures are communal buildings, but little different from others.

As for the other ruins in Oaxaca, we will not stop longer to examine them. At Guingola, in the southern part of the State, was found a ruined settlement. The principal ruins were located on the summit of a fortified hill, which, from a brief description, must have been much like those we have already described.

We will now turn our attention to the Gulf-coast. The whole coast region abounds in great numbers of ruins. It is in this section, however, that tribes of people belonging to a different family than the Nahua tribes, were living at no very distant time in the past. So it is not doubted but that many of these ruined structures, perhaps the majority of them, were the works of their hand. When Cortez landed on the coast, in the neighborhood of Vera Cruz, he was received by the Totonacas. These were a Nahua tribe, but both to the north and south of them were Maya tribes.[1] We will, however, describe the ruins in the present State of Vera Cruz under one head.

We notice, on the coast, the Gulf of Tampico, into which pours the river Panuco. From an antiquarian point of view, this is a most interesting locality. It was here that a feeble remnant of De Soto's disastrous expedition found a refuge in 1543. And it was here that, at a far earlier period, according to the dim, uncertain light of tradition, the ancestors of some of the civilized nations of Mexico made their first appearance; of this, more hereafter. Certain it

[1] Valentine, in "Proceedings Am. Antiq. Soc.," Oct., 1882.

is that, commencing at this river, we find ourselves in a land of ruins.

It is to be regretted, however, that our information is not definite in regard to them. We are told, in general terms, of a great field of ruins, but in the absence of cuts, can scarcely give a clear description of them. On the northern bank of the Panuco, Mr. Norman found at one place the ground "strewn with hewn blocks of stone and fragments of pottery and obsidian."[1] They were found over an area of several square miles. Many of the blocks of stone were ornamented with sculpture. They imply the presence, in former times, of some kind of buildings. We can not form an opinion as to the number, style, etc. Mr. Norman regards them as the ruins of a great city, the site of which is now covered with a heavy forest.

Amongst these ruins are about twenty mounds, both circular and square, from six to twenty-five feet in height. Some authorities think that the Mound Builders went by water from near the mouth of the Mississippi to this region. To such as place any real reliance on this theory, these mounds are full of interest. But some details of construction would seem to indicate a different people as their builders than those who reared mounds in the Gulf States of the Mississippi Valley. The main body of the mound is earth, but they are faced with hewn blocks of sandstone, eighteen inches square and six inches thick. Although one of the mounds is quite large, covering two acres, yet in but one instance was a terraced arrangement noticed. As a general thing, the facing of stone had fallen to the ground, and some of the smaller mounds had caved in; showing, perhaps, that they were used as burial mounds. In other cases the mounds had entirely disappeared, leaving the stone facing

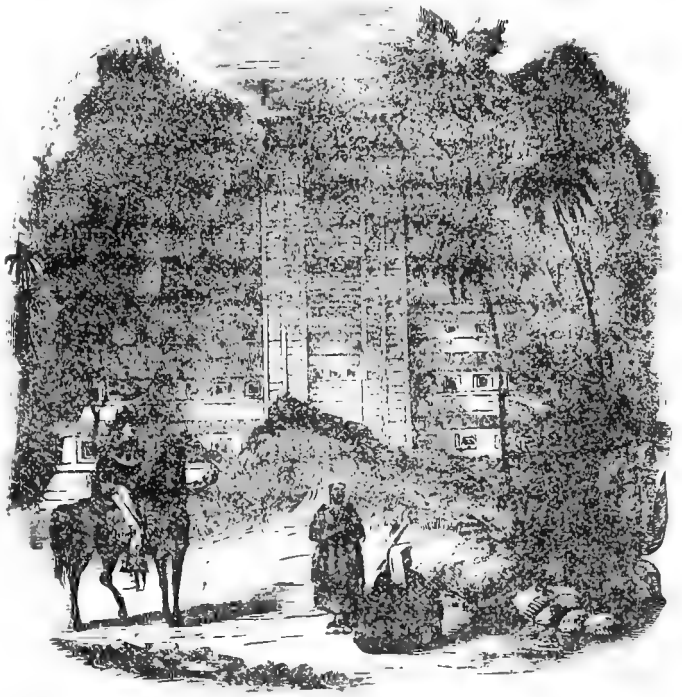
[1] Bancroft's "Native Races," Vol. IV, p. 595.

on the surface. This may account for some of the stones scattered over the surface. A few miles away there is another group of circular mounds.

Across the river in Vera Cruz, from very slight mention, we gather that, substantially, the same kind of ruins occur. At Chacuaco the ruins are said to cover three square leagues—but we have no further account of them than that. Small relics of aboriginal art are said to be common, and mention is made of mounds. The antiquities of Vera Cruz are a topic about which it is very difficult to form correct ideas. It will be noticed that it presents a long stretch of country to the Gulf. The land near the coast is low, and very unhealthy. About thirty miles from the coast we strike the slope of the mountains bounding the great interior plateau. This section is fertile and healthy, and was, evidently, thickly settled in early times. We must remember that it is always in a mountainous section of country that a people make their last stand against an invading foe. It was in these mountain chains where the Maya tribes made their last stand against the invading Nahua tribes, and even this line was pierced through by the Tonacas.

It is not strange, then, to find abundant evidence of former occupation in all this section of country. One thing in its favor was the number of easily defended positions. The country is cut up by deep ravines. The early inhabitants used all the land that was at all available for agricultural purposes. On steep slopes they ran terraces to prevent the soil from washing. In the smaller ravines they located great numbers of water-tanks, from which, in the dry season, they procured water to irrigate their land. Of this section, we are told, "there is hardly a foot of ground in the whole State of Vera Cruz in which, by excavation, either a broken obsidian knife, or a broken piece of pottery,

is not found. The whole country is intersected with parallel lines of stones, which were intended, during the heavy showers of the rainy season, to keep the earth from washing away. The number of these lines of stones shows clearly that even the poorest land, which nobody in our day would cultivate, was put under requisition by them."[1]



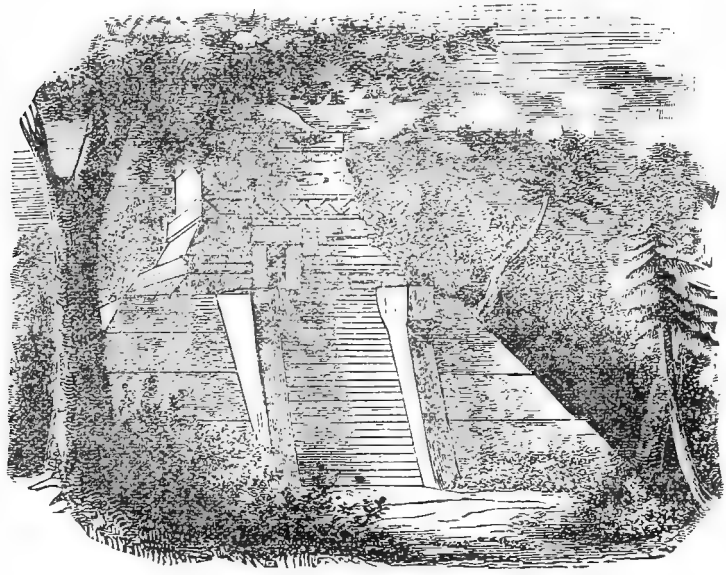
Papantla.

They no less conclusively show that a considerable body of people had here been pressed by foreign invasion into a small, contracted space. It is useless to attempt a more particular description of these ruins. In the absence of cuts, the description would only prove tiresome. Pyramids, both with and without buildings on their summits, are comparatively frequent. As they would be noticed where other

[1] "Smithsonian Report," 1873, p. 373.

ruins would be overlooked, we have some cuts of the more remarkable ones. The preceding cut is the pyramid at Papantla.

The base is ninety feet square, and the pyramid has seven stories, as seen in the engraving. Only the last one contains apartments; with this exception, the pyramid is solid. Stairways in front lead up to the top. Mr. Mayer says "there is no doubt, from the mass of ruins spread over the plain, that the city was more than a mile and a half in circuit." But we have no further description of them. Other



Tusapan.

localities with pyramids and ruins are known. At Tusapan occurs this ruin, which may be taken as a type of all the pyramids in this region. This was the only building remaining standing at Tusapan; but, from the ruins lying about, this is not supposed to have been the grandest structure there.

This will complete what we have to say of the ruins in

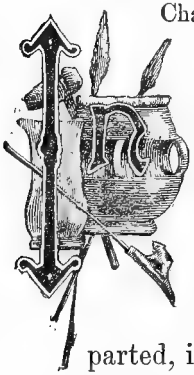
territory occupied by the Nahua tribes. Other remains of their handiwork we will examine when we treat of their customs and manners. We will now turn our attention to the ruins in the territory of the Mayas. As the culture of these two people is so similar, we will devote but one chapter to the two. Comparison is the great means we have of fixing in the mind points we wish to keep. We have to admit that the treatment of the Nahua ruins is not very satisfactory; but it is difficut to obtain accurate information in regard to them. We think what resemblance can be traced, is more in the direction of the Pueblo tribes than of the Mound Builders. The first ruin found in Mexico, Casa Grandes, in Chihuahua, is evidently but another station of Pueblo tribes.

The fortified hill at Quemada is apparently but a further development of the clustering houses with the little inclosures noticed on the Gila. Mounds are, indeed, mentioned in a number of localities, but they seem to be more nearly related to the terraced foundation of buildings observed in Arizona than to the mounds of the Mississippi Valley. Surely as striking a ruin as any is at Mitla, but Mr. Bandelier does not hesitate to compare it with some in the Pueblo country. Now, it is very unsafe and very unsatisfactory to trace resemblances of this kind, and we do not assign any especial value to them. But it only shows that, so far as this method is of use, it points to a closer connection with the Pueblo tribes than with the Mound Builders.

# CHAPTER XIV.

## THE MAYA TRIBES.

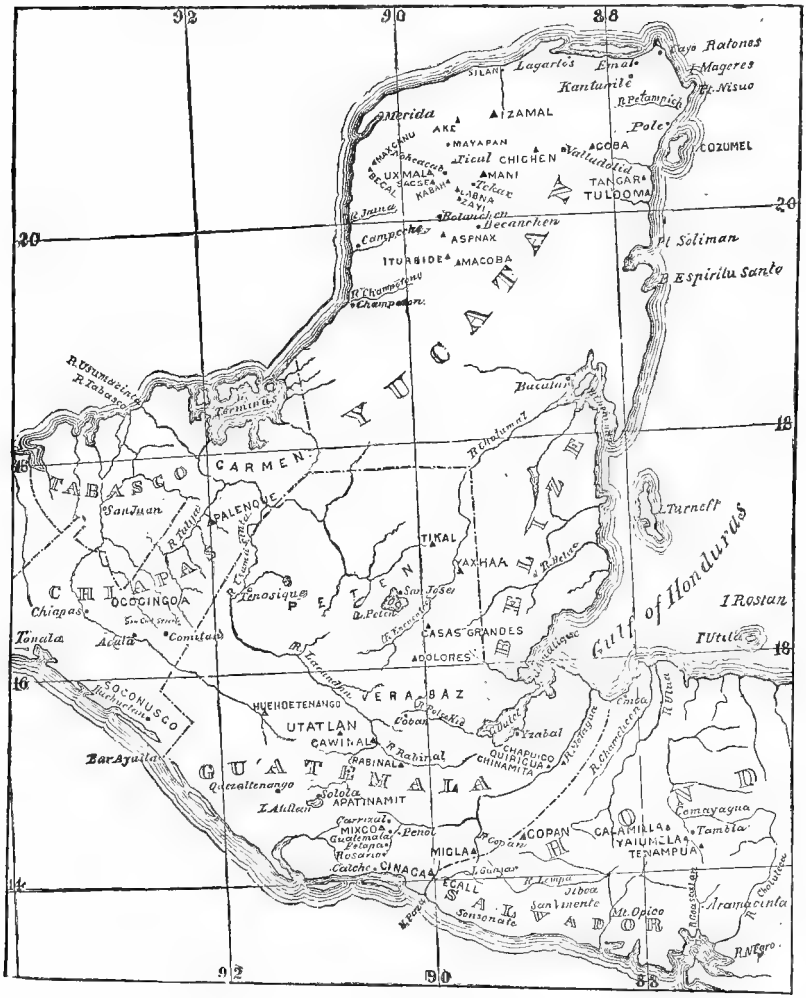
THE geographical location of the Maya tribes—Description of Copan—Statue at Copan—Altars at Copan—Ruins at Quiriga Patinamit—Utatlan—Description of Palenque—The Palace at Palenque—The Temple of the Three Inscriptions—Temple of the Beau-relief—Temple of the Cross—Temple of the Sun—Maler's Temple of the Cross—Significance of the Palenque crosses—Statue at Palenque—Other ruins in Tobasco and Chiapas—Ruins in Yucatan—Uxmal—The Governor's House—The Nunnery—Room in Nunnery—The sculptured façades—Temple at Uxmal—Kabah—Zayi—Labna—Labphak—Chichen Itza—The Nunnery—The Castillo—The Gymnasium—M. Le Plongon's researches—The tradition of the Three Brothers—Chaac-Mal—Antiquity of Chichen.



THE Central American region of the Western Continent are found the ruins of what are pronounced by all scholars to be the highest civilization, and the most ancient in time, of any in the New World. There it arose, flourished, and tottered to its fall. Its glory had departed, its cities were a desolation, before the coming of the Spaniards. The explorer who would visit them finds himself confronted with very great difficulties. Their location is in a section of the country away from the beaten track of travel. Their sites are overspread with the luxuriant vegetation of tropical lands, through which the Indian's machete must carve a passage. The states in which they are situated are notorious for anarchy and misrule, and the climate is such that it is dangerous for those not acclimated

to venture thither during a large part of the year. So it is not strange that but few have wandered among these ruins, and described them to the world at large.

But the accounts thus presented are interesting in the




Map of Central America.

extreme, though they have raised many questions that have thus far defied solution. There is no doubt but what there

exist large groups of ruins not yet described, structures and monuments which might, perhaps, throw some light on a past that now seems hopelessly lost. But the ruins thus far described are so numerous, their similarity is so evident, that we feel we have but little to hope from such undiscovered ruins. There are, doubtless, richly ornamented façades, grotesquely sculptured statues, and hieroglyphic-covered altars, but they would prove as much of an enigma as those already known. Our only hope is that some fortunate scholar will yet discover a key by whose aid the hieroglyphics now known may be read. Then, but not until then, will the darkness that now enshrouds ancient Maya civilization be dissipated.

As will be seen from a glance at the map, the most important ruins are in the modern states of Honduras, Guatemala, Chiapas, and especially Yucatan, the northern portion of this peninsula being literally studded with them. The river Usumacinta and its numerous tributaries flowing in a northern direction through Chiapas is regarded as the original home of the civilization whose ruins we are now to describe. From whence the tribes came that first settled in this valley is as yet an unsettled point. We notice that we have here another instance of the influence that fertile river valleys exert upon tribes settling therein. The stories told us of the civilization that flourished in primitive times in the valleys of the Euphrates and the Nile are not more wonderful—the ruins perhaps not more impressive—than are the traditions still extant, or the material remains fallen in picturesque ruins, of the civilization that once on a time held sway in the Usumacinta Valley.

One of the most famous groups of ruins in this section of the country is that of Copan, situated in Honduras, but very near the Guatemala line. This is commonly spoken

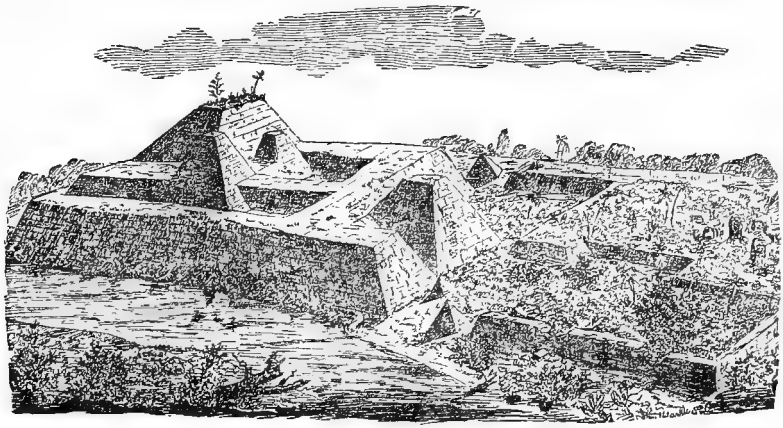
of as "the oldest city in America,"[1] and has some evidence to substantiate this claim. Whatever be its relative antiquity, it is doubtless very old, as it was probably in ruins at the time of the conquest. There are several facts going to prove this assertion. When Cortez, in 1524, made his march to Honduras, he passed within a few leagues of this place. He makes no mention of it, which he would have been very apt to do had it been inhabited. Fifty years later Garcia De Palacio made a report on these ruins to the king of Spain. According to this report, it was then in much the same state as described by modern travelers, and the same mystery surrounded it, showing that it must have been in ruin much longer than the short space of time from the conquest to the date of his report. But few travelers have visited Copan, and fewer still have left a good description of it. Mr. Stephens, accompanied by Mr. Catherwood, explored it in 1839, and this constitutes our main source of information.[2]

We feel that here is the place to speak a word of caution. In common with other writers, we have used the word cities, in speaking of the ruins of Maya civilization. In view of the criticisms that have been freely expressed by some of the best scholars of American ethnology, as to the generally accepted view of the civilization of the Mexican and Central American races, it is necessary to be on our guard as to the language employed. In the case of Copan, for instance, all the remains known, occur in an irregularly inclosed space of about nine hundred by sixteen hundred feet, while but a portion of such inclosed space is covered by the ruins themselves. Now it can, of course, be said that this space contains simply the remains of public

[1] Bancroft: "Native Races," Vol. V, p. 78.

[2] Stephens's "Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan," Vol. I, p. 113, *et seq.*

buildings, so to speak—such as temples, palaces, and others—while the habitations of the great body of the common people, poorly built, and located outside of this area, may have vanished away. But, on the other hand, it may also be that in this small area we have the ruins of all the buildings that ever stood at Copan. In which case the word city is a misnomer; pueblo would be more appropriate. But looking at them in the simplest light, we shall find there is still a great deal to excite astonishment. Fragments of the wall originally inclosing the



Ruins of Copan.

area in which are located the temple pyramids and statues, are still to be found. Very few particulars have been given of this wall. It was made of blocks of stone, and seems to have been twenty-five feet thick at the base, but the height is not given. The northern half of this area is occupied by a large terrace, somewhat irregular in outline, and impressed Mr. Stephens with the idea that it had not all been erected at the same time, but additions had been made from time to time. Instead of describing the ruins in full, we will let the illustration speak for itself. The dimensions of this terrace are, six hundred and twenty-four feet by eight hun-

dred and nine feet. The side fronting on the river was perpendicular. The other three sides consist of ranges of steps and pyramidal structures. All these steps and pyramidal sides were once painted. The general height of the terrace was about seventy feet above the surface of the ground.

Though Mr. Stephens warns us that this terrace was not as large as the base of the Pyramid of Ghizeh, still it must have required an immense amount of work, since careful computations show that over twenty-six million cubic feet of stone were used in its construction. This stone was brought from the quarries two miles away. We must not forget that this work was performed by a people destitute of metallic tools.

On the terrace were the ruins of four pyramids, one rising to the height of one hundred and twenty-two feet. The surface of the terrace was not continuous. In two places there were court-yards, or sunken areas. The larger is ninety by one hundred and forty-four feet, and has a narrow passage-way leading into it from the north. Whatever buildings that once stood on this terrace, have vanished away. At one place only, on the terrace, fronting the river, are the remains of small, circular towers, thought to have been watch towers. The whole terrace was thickly overgrown by trees of a tropical growth. Mr Stephens noticed two immense Ceiba trees growing from the very summit of one of the pyramids. This structure has been called the Temple, and a great many surmises have been made as to the scenes once enacted there. If analogous to other structures in Central America, this terrace was surmounted with buildings. They may have been temples or palaces, or they may have been communal houses, not unlike those of New Mexico, to the north.

But of more importance than the ruins of this temple,

are the statues and altars peculiar to this region. Mr. Stephens found fourteen of them. It seems very singular, indeed, to come upon these statues in the depth of a Central American forest, and they give us an idea of the state of advancement of these old tribes that nothing else does. They raise many queries. Why is it that so many are found here—so few elsewhere? Are they statues of noted personages, or idols? We are powerless to answer these questions. These secrets will only be yielded up when the hieroglyphics with which they are covered shall be read.

The places where these statues are found is seen to the right of the main body of ruins. It will be seen that only one is within the terrace area of the temple. Three others are situated near it, but the majority are near the southern end of the inclosure. We are not given the dimensions of all, but the smallest one given is eleven feet, eight inches high, by three feet, four inches width and depth; the largest, thirteen feet high, four feet wide, and three feet deep. No inconsiderable part of the labor on the statues must have been that of quarrying the large blocks of stone out of which they were carved, and transporting them to the place where found. They came from the same quarry as the other stones used in building; and so were transported a distance of about two miles. Mr. Stephens found, about midway to the quarry, a gigantic block, "which was probably on its way thither, to be carved and set up as an ornament, when the labors of the workmen were arrested."

There is such a similarity in all these statues that a representation of one will suffice. This is the representation of one of the largest statues. It is seen to be standing on a sort of pedestal. A face occupies a central position on the front. Some of the faces have what may be a rep-

COPAN STATUE. 571
(Bureau of Ethnology.)

resentation of a beard. In all but one, the expression is calm and peaceful. They were once painted red. Traces of color were still visible at the time of Mr. Stephens's visit. In all but one the hands are represented as placed back to back on the breast.

The complicated head-dress and the ornaments on the robes utterly defy description. The sides and back of the statues are covered with hieroglyphics, though now and then a face is introduced. A side view of another statue shows this feature. All are convinced that we have in these hieroglyphics an explanation of each statue, but what it is, is yet unknown. Mr. Stephens says: "Of the moral effect of the monuments themselves, standing as they do, in the depths of a tropical forest, silent and solemn, strange in design, excellent in sculpture, rich in ornament, different from the works of any other people; their uses and purposes—their whole history—so entirely unknown, with hieroglyphics explaining all, but perfectly unintelligible, I shall not pretend to convey any idea. Often the imagination was pained in gazing at them. The tone which pervades the ruins is that of deep solemnity."

In front of most of the statues is what is called an altar, which would seem to imply that these monuments are really idols. "The altars, like the idols, are all of a single block of stone. In general, they are not so richly ornamented, and are more faded and worn, or covered with moss. Some were completely buried, and of others it was difficult to make out more than the form. All differed in position, and doubtless had some distinct and peculiar reference to the idols before which they stood."

These altars are strongly suggestive of sacrificial scenes. The altar before the idol found in the court-yard on the terrace of the temple, is one of the most interesting objects

STATUE, COPAN.

found at Copan. It is six feet square and four feet high. The top is divided into thirty-six tablets of hieroglyphics,

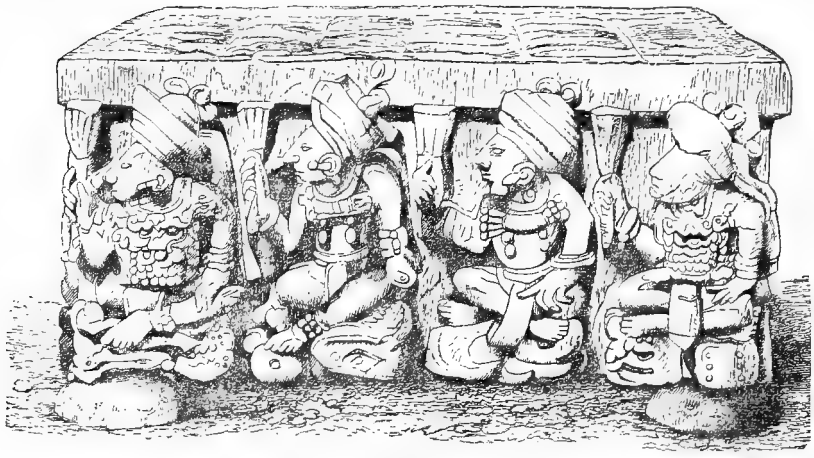
which we may well imagine records some events in the history of this mysterious people. Each side has carved on it four human figures. They are generally all represented as facing the same way. We give an illustration of the east side. Each individual is sitting cross-legged on a hierglyphic, and has a ponderous head-dress.

Hieroglyphics, top of Altar.

Mr. Stephens found the quadrangle at the south-east corner of the plan to be thickly strewn with fragments of fine sculpture. Amongst the rest was a "remarkable portrait." (Page 577) "It is probably the portrait of some king, chieftain, or sage. The mouth is injured, and part of the ornament over the wreath that crowns the head. The expression is noble and severe, and the whole character shows

a close imitation of nature." Colonel Gallindo, who visited Copan in 1835, discovered a vault very near where the circular towers are located, on the terrace fronting the river. This vault was five feet wide, ten feet long, and four feet high. It was used for burial purposes. Over fifty vessels of red pottery, containing human bones, were found in it.[1]

In this hasty sketch we do not feel that we have done justice to Copan. It is, however, all the space we can de-



Bas-relief, East Side of Altar.

vote to this interesting ruin. We call special attention to the hieroglyphics on the altar and the statues. We will find other hieroglyphics at Palenque, and in Yucatan, evidently derived from these.[2] They have been made the subject of very interesting study, and we will refer to them again at another page. We also notice especially the fact that we have no ruined buildings at Copan. In this respect it stands almost alone among the Central American ruins. The distinguishing features, however, are the carved obe-

[1] Bancroft's "Native Races," Vol. IV, p. 95.

[2] "Report of Bureau of Ethnology," Vol. I. Mr. Holden's article.

lisks. They are evidently not the work of rude people. Mr. Stephens, who was every way qualified to judge, declares that some of them "are in every way equal to the finest Egyptian workmanship, and that with the best instruments of modern times, it would be impossible to cut stone more perfectly."

Portrait, Copan.

A dark mystery hangs over these ruins. Their builders are unknown. Whether we have here some temple sacred to the gods of the Maya pantheon, or some palace made resplendent for royal owners, who can tell? Whether these are the ruins of the more substantial public buildings of a great city, of which all other buildings have vanished—or whether this is the remains of a prosperous pueblo, whose communal houses crowded the terraces, with sacrificial altars on the lofty pyramids—who knows? At long intervals a passing traveler visits them, ponders over their fast disappearing ruins, and goes his way. The veil drops, the tropical forest more securely environs them—and thus the years come and go over the ruins of Copan.

Nearly north from Copan (see map), about half-way to the coast, on the bank of the river Montagua, is found a small hamlet, by the name of Quiriga. Mr. Stephens, when traveling in the country in 1840, after many careful inquiries, heard of ruins near that place. Though not able to explore them himself, his companion, Mr. Catherwood, did.

The result of this gentleman's exertion makes us acquainted with another group of ruins, in many respects similar to those of Copan, though apparently much farther gone in decay. His visit was a very hurried one; and he was not able to clear the moss away from the statues so as to draw them as it should be done.[1]

We must notice that, though called a city, all the monuments and fragments thus far brought to light are scattered over a space of some three thousand square feet. No plan has been given. We gather, however, from Stephens's work, that a pyramidal wall inclosed the ruins, as at Copan.[2] No dimensions of this wall are given. Within the inclosure (if such it was) was a terrace. Here, again, dimensions are not given; but we are told it was about twenty-five feet to the top, and that the steps were, in some places, still perfect. It was constructed of neatly cut sandstone blocks. No monuments or altars were observed on the terrace, but in close proximity to it were fragments of sculpture. At another place near the wall, Mr. Catherwood mentions eight standing statues, one fallen one, and saw fragments of at least thirteen others. They are represented as being very similar to those of Copan, but two or three times as high. The hieroglyphics are pronounced identical with those already described.

There are no traditions extant of these ruins. No thorough exploration has been made. A city may have stood there; but, if so, its name is lost, its history unknown.

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[1] Fourteen years later, these ruins were visited and described by an Austrian traveler, Dr. Scherzer. His account, though much more complete than Mr. Stephens's, has not yet appeared in English. Mr. Bancroft, in "Native Races," Vol. IV, p. 118, *et seq.*, gives a *résumé* of all information known as to these ruins.

[2] "Central America," Vol. II, p. 122. We are not sure about this inclosure. But Mr. Catherwood mentions a wall; and we are told the ruins are, in all respects, similar to those of Copan.

"For centuries it has lain as completely buried as if covered with the lava of Vesuvius. Every traveler from Yzabel to Gautemala has passed within three hours of it. We ourselves have done the same; and yet there it lay, like the rock-built city of Edom, unvisited, unsought, and utterly unknown."

A large extent of territory in Gautemala and Yucatan is as yet an unknown country, or at least has never been thoroughly explored. Strange stories have flitted here and there of wonders yet to be seen. The country swarms with savages, living in much the same state as they were when the Spaniards invaded the country. They have never been conquered, and, in the rugged fastnesses of their land, bid defiance to all attempts to civilize them. From all we can learn, there are numerous groups of ruins scattered here and there—but of their nature we are, as yet, mostly in the dark.

We have, indeed, historical notices of a few places; but, as the color of an object is the same as that of the medium through which it is viewed, we can not help thinking that the glamour of romance, which the early Spanish writers threw around all their transactions in the New World, has woefully distorted these sketches. This same effect is to be noticed in all the descriptions of the ruins. Where one party sees the ruins of imperial cities, another can detect but the ruins of imposing pueblos, with their temples and pyramids. It can be truthfully stated, that this is a land of ruins. Every few leagues, as far as it has been explored, are the remains of structures that excite astonishment.

The meager reports given us raise our curiosity, but fail to satisfy it. Almost all explorers relate stories of the existence of an aboriginal city. The location of this city shifts from place to place; always, however, in a section of country where no white men are allowed to intrude. The Curé of Santa Cruz, in whom Mr. Stephens expressed con-

fidence, declared that he had, years before, climbed to the summit of a lofty sierra, and then "he looked over an immense plain, extending to Yucatan and the Gulf of Mexico, and saw, at a great distance, a large city, spread over a great space, with turrets white and glittering in the sun." We are afraid a search for this mythical city would be attended with much the same results as rewards the child's pursuit of a golden treasure at the end of the rainbow.

As a sample of known ruins, we might cite two in the immediate neighborhood of Quirigua. At the distance of a few leagues, both above and below this latter place, are the remains of former settlements. The accounts are very brief. Of the ruins below, we are informed that they consist of the remains of a quadrilateral pyramid, with traced sides, up which steps lead to the summit platform, where *débris* of hewn stone are enveloped in dense vegetation." Of the ruins located above Quirigua, we are simply told "of a large area covered with aboriginal relics—in the form of ruined stone structures, vases and idols of burned clay, and monoliths, buried for the most part in the earth."

These descriptions will serve as samples of many others, and, though they are interesting in their way, we are afraid they would grow tiresome by repetition. We will, therefore, only make mention of one or two important points; premising, however, that, beyond a doubt, similar ruins are scattered up and down the river valleys of the entire country.[1]

Two cities of ancient Guatemala especially mentioned by Spanish writers are Utatlan and Patinamit. Here, if we may believe their recitals, were the capitals of two powerful monarchies. The pictures they draw for us are those of cities of Oriental magnificence. The system of govern-

[1] For full information consult Bancroft's "Native Races," Vol. IV, pp. 115 to 139.

ment they describe is that of absolute monarchy, founded on feudalism. We will briefly glance at the remains of these "imperial cities." Their location is seen on the map. The approach to Patinamit is very difficult, indeed. Situated on a high table-land, it commands an almost boundless view. On every side are immense ravines, and the only way of entering it was by a narrow passage cut in the side of the ravine, twenty or thirty feet deep, and not wide enough for two horsemen to ride abreast.

Mr. Stephens mentions coming to a wall of stone, but broken and confused. The ground beyond was covered with mounds of ruins, and in one place he saw the foundations of two buildings, one of them being one hundred and fifty by fifty feet. He does not give us the area covered by the ruins, but there is nothing in his description to make us think it very large in extent. He also quotes for us Fuentes's description of this same place, written, however, one hundred and forty years earlier. In this he speaks of the remains of a magnificent building, perfectly square, each side measuring one hundred paces, constructed of hewn stones, extremely well put together. In front of the building is a large square, on one side of which stand the ruins of a sumptuous palace; and near to it are the foundations of several houses.[1] He also asserts that traces of streets could still be seen, and that they were straight and spacious, crossing each other at right angles. Fuentes certainly had remarkable eyes. He wrote a description of Copan which not only differs from all accounts of modern travelers, but also from the still earlier description by Garcia De Palacio.[2]

[1] "Central America," Vol. II, pp. 152-3.

[2] Brasseur De Bourbourg styles Fuentes's description of Copan "La description menteuse de Fuentes." Bancroft: "Native Races," Vol. IV, p. 80, note.

Patinamit means "The City," and is represented as the capital city of the Cakchiquel "monarchy." The site of the city was certainly admirably chosen for defense, and we have no doubt but what here was the head-quarters of a powerful tribe of Indians; but, until scholars have settled some very disputed points about the civilization of the Central American nations, we must be cautious in the use of the words monarchy and palaces as applied to these old people or these ruins.

Thirty-five or forty miles north-eastward from Patinamit we come to the ruins of the most renowned city in Guatemala at the time of the conquest. This was Utatlan, the Quiche capital, a city which the Spaniards compared to Mexico in magnificence, and which, at the time of its destruction, was at its zenith of prosperity. The location was very similar to that of Patinamit. It also stood on an elevated plateau, with immense ravines on every side. It was approached only at one point, and guarding this one point of approach was a line of fortifications. They consisted of the remains of stone buildings, probably towers. The stones were well cut and laid together. These fortifications were united by a ditch.

Within this line of towers stood a structure, generally regarded as a fort, directly guarding the line of approach. Steps led up a pyramidal structure having three terraces, one over the other. The top was protected by a wall of stone, and from the center rose a tower. Beyond this fort was the ruins of the city. Mr. Stephens describes a large ruin which is called The Palace. It is said, in round numbers, to have been eleven hundred by twenty-two hundred feet. As this area is more than fifty-five acres in extent, we can see it was not a palace in our sense of the word. The stones of which it was composed have been

largely removed to build the modern town of Santa Cruz. But the floor could still be traced, and some remains of partition walls. The floor was still covered with hard cement.

Adjoining the palace was a large plaza or court-yard, also cemented, in the center of which was the ruins of a fountain. Another structure still remaining was a small pyramid, at the top of which was probably a temple, or, at least, a place of sacrifice. No hieroglyphics or statues have been found here. A few terra-cotta figures have been found, and one small gold image. It would seem from this description that the ruins simply consist of a few large structures. For aught we know, they may have been communal houses.

Mr. Stephens, however, condenses Fuentes's account, which is truly wonderful. According to him, the center of the city was occupied by the royal palaces, around which were grouped the houses of the nobles. The extremities were inhabited by the plebeians. He tells us there were many sumptuous buildings, the most superb of which was a seminary, where between five and six thousand children were educated at royal expense. The palace was formed of hewn stones of various colors. There were six principal divisions. In one was lodged the king's body-guard, in the second the princes and the relatives of the king, and so forth.

It is not necessary to remind the reader that it is very doubtful whether such a state of things ever existed. It is related, for instance, that the king marched from Utatlan with seventy-two thousand warriors to repel the attack of Alvarade. This would indicate a total population of between two and three hundred thousand souls. It seems to us that a city of that size would not so completely disappear

in a little over three centuries that a careful explorer could find only the ruins of a few large buildings.

We do not feel that we have done near justice to the ruins of Guatemala. As we have before remarked, there are, doubtless, many ruins not yet brought to light. They are rapidly disappearing, and we do not know that we will ever possess a description of them, or understand their real import. The light of history, indeed, fell on the two groups of ruins last described. But the Spanish writers were totally unacquainted with Indian society, and may, therefore, have widely erred in applying to their government terms suited only to European ideas of the sixteenth century. And it is not doubted but that their estimate of the population of the towns, and of the enemies with which they had to contend, were often greatly overdrawn. In short, the remains themselves are remarkable, but every ruined pyramid is not necessarily the remains of a great city, nor every large building in ruins necessarily a palace.

Going northward out of Guatemala, we pass into the modern state of Chiapas. This is described a country of great natural beauty and fertility. And here it is that we meet with a group of ruins which have been an object of great interest to the scientific world. They have been carefully studied and described, and many theories have been enunciated as to their builders, their history, and civilization. The place is supposed to have been deserted and in ruins when Cortez landed in the country. At any rate, he marched within a few leagues of it, but, as in the case of Copan, he is silent in regard to it.

They take their name from the modern town of Palenque, near which they are located. This town was founded in 1564. It was once a place of considerable importance, but its trade has died away, and now it would not be known

were it not for the ruins of a former people located near it. Though distant from the village only some eight miles, nearly two centuries went by before their existence was known. Had they been visited and described at the time of the founding of the village, no doubt much that is now mysterious in regard to them would have been cleared away. But for two centuries they were allowed to sleep undisturbed in the depths of the forest, and in that time the elements played sad havoc with the buildings, inscriptions, and ornaments. What are left are not sufficient to impart full information. Imagination is too apt to supply the details, and these ruins, grand in proportion, wonderful in location, enwrapt by dense forests, visited by the storms of tropical lands, are made to do service in setting forth a picture of society and times which we are afraid has but little real foundation to rest upon.

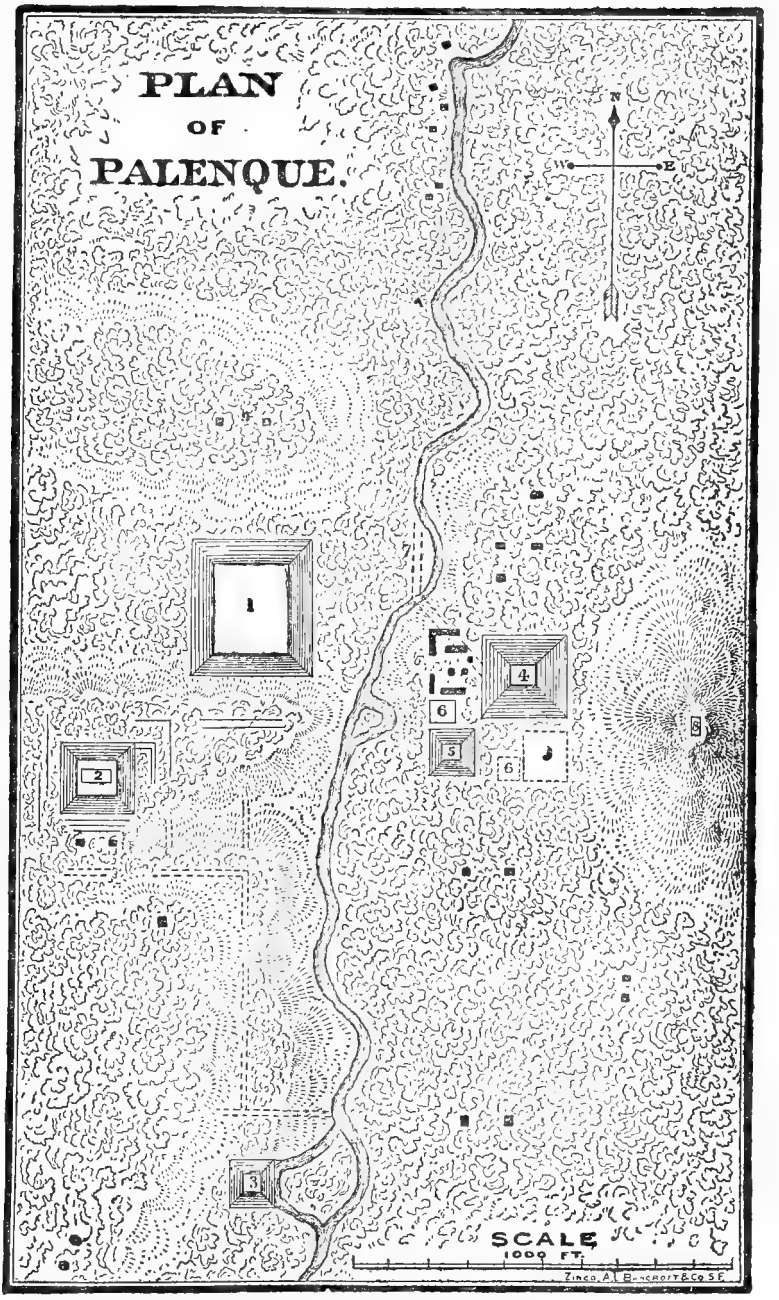
The ruins of Palenque are the first which awakened attention to the existence of ancient ruins in America, and, therefore, it may not come amiss to state more particularly the circumstances of their first discovery. The existence of an aboriginal city in this locality was entirely unknown; there were no traditions even that it had ever existed. Of course the natives of the modern town of Palenque must have known of their existence, but no account of them was published. They are said to have been discovered in 1750 by a party of traveling Spaniards. This statement Mr. Stephens doubts. The first account was published in 1784. The Spanish authorities finally ordered an exploration. This was made under the auspices of Captain Del Rio, who arrived on the ground in 1787. His report was locked up in the government archives, and was not made public until 1822.

The reception of this report illustrates how little interest is taken in American antiquities. It was scarcely noticed

by the *Scientific World*. As Mr. Stephens remarks, "If a like discovery had been made in Italy, Greece, Egypt, or Asia, within the reach of European travel, it would have created an interest not inferior to the discovery of Herculaneum, or Pompeii, or the ruins of Pæstum." But, from some cause, so little notice was taken of this report that in 1831 the explorations of Colonel Galindo, whose works we have referred to at Copan, was spoken of as a new discovery. In the meantime another government expedition under the direction of Captain Dupaix explored these ruins in 1807. Owing to the wars in Europe and the revolution in Mexico, his report was not published until 1835. Mr. Stephens visited the ruins in 1840. His account, profusely illustrated, was the means of making known to a large class of readers the wonderful nature of the ruins, not only at Palenque, but in Yucatan as well.

In this outline we have given an account of the early explorations at Palenque. Private individuals have visited them, and governments have organized exploring expeditions, and by both pencil and pen made us familiar with them. As to the remains actually in existence, these accounts agree fairly well, but we have some perplexing differences as to the area covered by the ruins. Where the early explorers could trace the ruins of a large city modern travelers can find but a few ruined structures, which, however, excite our liveliest interest. One of the earliest accounts speaks of the ruins of over two hundred buildings. Another speaks of them as covering an area of many square miles. Mr. Stephens thinks a few acres would suffice.

From the researches of M. Charney, it would seem that the ruins are really scattered over quite an area. His exploration made in 1881, seems to confirm the older writers. With abundant means at his command, he was enabled to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explore the forest, and he found many ruins which escaped the other observers. According to him, the ruins are scattered over an area extending about one mile and a quarter from north to south, and about one and three-fourths from east to west. Throughout this space, the ruined structures were in all respects similar to those previously described, consisting altogether of what he calls palaces and temples.[1]

There seems to be no especial order in the arrangement of the buildings. They are separated by quite an interval, excepting to the south of the palace, where there are groups of buildings near together. The fact that such careful explorers as Stephens and Waldeck failed to notice these additional ruins, gives us a faint idea of the density of the forest.

The plan represents the distribution and relative size of the ruins of which we have definite descriptions. Those having no numbers are some of the groups that were passed by as of no account. We must understand that so dense is the forest that not one of these structures is visible from its neighbors. Where the trees are cut down, as they have been several times, only a few years are necessary for it to regain its former density, and each explorer must begin anew.

The largest structure, marked one on the plan, is known as the palace. This is only a conjectural name. We have no reason, except its size, to suppose it the residence of a royal owner. Its base is a pyramid which, Mr. Stephens tells us, is of oblong form, forty feet high, three hundred and ten feet in front and rear, and two hundred and sixty feet on each side. The pyramid was formerly faced with stone, which has been thrown down by the growth of trees, so that its form is hardly distinguishable. The sides may

[1] Charney, in *North American Review*, 1881.

once have been covered with cement, and perhaps painted. Dupaix, who examined these ruins in 1808, so represents them. Mr. Stephens expressly states that the eastern front was the principal entrance. Mr. Waldeck, however, detected traces of stairways on the northern side. M. Charney has settled the point, that the principal entrance was on the northern side.

The principal bulk of this pyramid seems to have been earth; the facing only being composed of stone. Mr. Bancroft thinks he has discovered evidence that there were four or more thick foundation-walls built from the surface of the ground to support the buildings on top of the pyramid; that the space between these walls was subsequently filled with earth, and that sloping embankments, faced with stones, were built upon the outside.[1] The summit platform of this pyramid supports the building, or collection of buildings, known as the palace. Though generally spoken of as one building, we think we have here the ruins of a number of buildings.

Probably the original inhabitants built a continuous structure close to the edge of the platform, leaving the interior for an open court. Subsequently, as population increased, rather than resort to the labor necessary to raise a new pyramidal structure, they erected other buildings on this court. From the plan, as given by Mr. Stephens, there seems to have been no less than five such put up, besides the tower. Thus covering the platform with a somewhat confused mass of buildings, and, instead of the large open court, there were left only three narrow courts, and one somewhat larger—seventy by eighty feet.[2] The building erected near the edge of the platform, inclosing the court,

[1] "Native Races," Vol. IV, p. 300, *et seq.*

[2] Morgan's "Contribution to N. A. Ethnology," Vol. IV, p. 268.

was some two hundred and twenty-eight feet on its east and west sides, by one hundred and eighty feet on its north and south sides, and about thirty feet high.

Our general view, taken from Mr. Stephens's works, represents the ruined eastern front of this building, surmounting the pyramid. Trees are seen growing all over the ruins. The outer wall is pierced by numerous door-ways which, being somewhat wider than the space that separates them, gives to the whole the appearance of a portico with wide piers: no remains of the doors themselves have been discovered. Drilled holes in the projecting cornice, immediately above the doorway, gave Mr. Stephens the impression that an immense cotton curtain, perhaps painted in a style corresponding with the ornaments, had been extended the whole front, which was raised or lowered, according to the weather. The lintels of the doors were of wood. They had long since vanished, and the stones over the doorway fallen down. Of the piers separating the doorways, only fifteen were found standing, but the crumbling remains of the others were readily traced on the ruins.

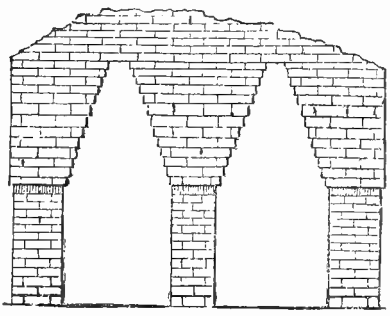
Bas-relief, Palenque.

Each of the standing piers, and presumably all the others, was ornamented with a bas-relief in stucco. This cut

GENERAL VIEW OF PALACE.

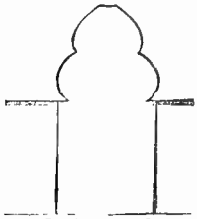
gives us a good example of this style of ornamentation. We notice portions of a richly ornamented border. This stucco work consists of human figures in various attitudes, having a variety of dress, ornaments, and insignia. The stucco is said to be nearly as hard as the stone itself. Traces of paint, with which the figures were once ornamented, were still to be seen. The conjectures in regard to these figures, have been innumerable. Vividly painted, and placed in a conspicuous place on the wall, we may be very sure they were full of significance to the builders. Three hieroglyphics are placed over the head of each group, but so far, they are as little understood as the figures themselves. We can imagine the effect, when the building was still perfect and entire, and all the piers were thus ornamented.

Passing to the top of the pyramid, we find the construction of the building whose outer wall we have been describing, to be substantially as follows: Three parallel walls, from two to three feet in thickness, composed of hewn stones, were erected about nine feet apart. At the height of ten feet, the walls commenced approaching each other; not, however, in an arch, for this was unknown, but in a triangular manner, the stones in each course projecting a little farther out. This cut represents a cross-section of the buildings, and shows also the slight cornice. All inequalities in the surface, as here represented, were then filled with cement, thus furnishing a smooth surface, which was then painted. The two outer walls were plentifully supplied with doorways;



Cross-section Palace, Palenque.

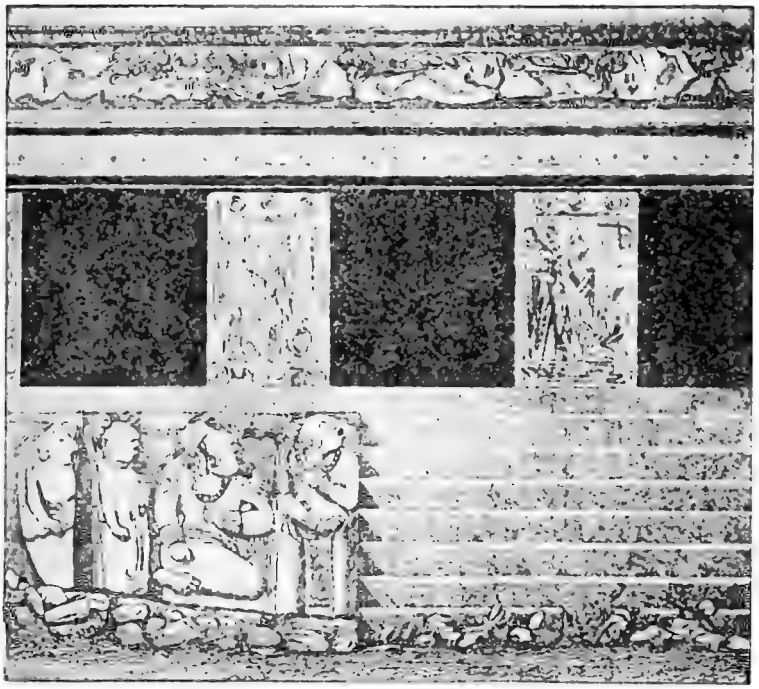
the central wall had but few. We are only given the description of one, which may not apply to all. This one, opposite the entrance on the east side, has a trefoil-shaped arch over the door, thus giving it this shape. Besides the few doorways, the central wall had numerous depressions, or niches, some of which served for ventilation, others for the support of beams, and perhaps others as receptacles for torches or idols. This principle of construction is substantially the same for all the buildings in the interior of the court, and indeed for all the buildings at Palenque.


Trefoil Arch.

Passing through the doorway just described, we come into the second corridor, and continuing through that, we come to what was once a large court; but, as we stated, it was subsequently built over so as to leave only a few courts. The largest one, eighty by seventy feet, is immediately before us, with a range of steps leading down into it. On each side of the stairway is sculptured, on stucco, a row of grim and gigantic figures. The engraving opposite represents the same. "They are adorned with rich headdresses and necklaces, but their attitude is that of pain and trouble. The design and anatomical proportions of the figures are faulty, but there is a force of expression about them which shows the skill and conceptive force of the artist." From this small court stairways lead to the other buildings situated around it.

Stucco ornaments were plentiful. In one room, rather more richly ornamented than the others, was found a stone tablet, which is the only important piece of stone sculpture about the palace. We are told it is of hard stone, four feet long by three feet wide, and the sculpture is in bas-relief. It is set in the wall, and around it are the re-

mains of a rich stucco border. Its significance is unknown. (Page 596.) We must notice the small medallion, containing a face, suspended by a necklace of pearls from the neck of the principal figure. Mr. Stephens conjectures that it may represent the sun. Mr. Waldeck gives a drawing of this same subject; but instead of a face, he represents a cross.[1]



Entrance to Principal Court.

In the general view we see a tower rising up from the mass of ruins. Mr. Stephens speaks of this tower as follows: "This tower is conspicuous by its height and proportions, but an examination in detail is found unsatisfactory and uninteresting. The base is thirty feet square, and it has three stories. Entering over a heap of rubbish at the base, we found within another tower distinct from

[1] Bancroft's "Native Races," Vol. IV, p. 319.

the outer one, and a stone staircase, so narrow that a large man could not ascend it. The staircase terminated against a dead stone ceiling, closing all further passages, the last step being only six or eight inches from it. For what purpose a staircase was carried up to such a bootless termination we could not conjecture. The whole tower was a

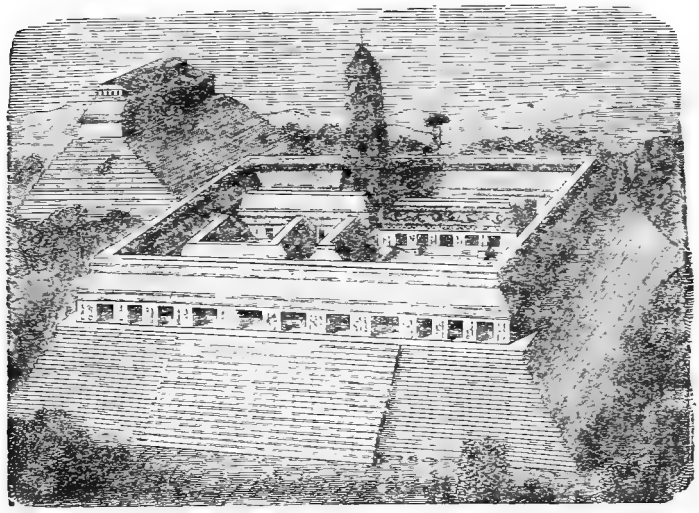
Stone Tablet.

substantial stone structure, and in its arrangements and purposes about as incomprehensible as the sculptured tablets."

At the best we can do, it is hard to give such a description of this ruin that it can be readily understood, so we will present a restoration of it by a German artist,[1] taken,

[1] Armin: "Das Heute Mexico."

however, from Mr. Bancroft's work.[1] This is very useful to us, since it conveys an idea of how the palace looked when it was complete. This view also includes a second structure, which we will examine soon. We notice the numerous doorways leading into the first corrider, the ornamental pier-like portions of the wall separating the doors,

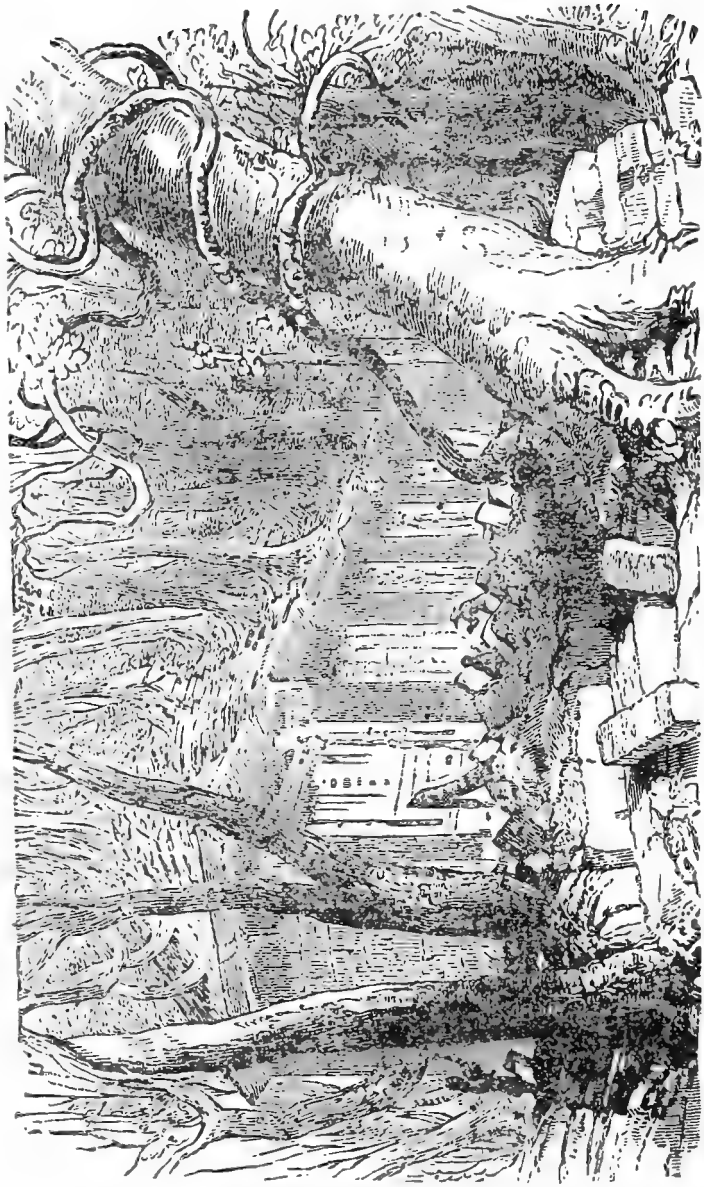


Palace, Palenque.

and the several buildings on the court; rising over all, the tower, which would have been better if the spire had been omitted.

This may have been a real palace. Its rooms may have been the habitations of royalty, and its corridors may have resounded with the tread of noble personages. M. Charney thinks the palace must have been the home of priests, and not kings—in fact, that it was a monastery, where the priests lived who ministered in the neighboring temples. He thinks Palenque was a holy place, a prehistoric Mecca. We must be cautious about accepting any theory until

[1] Native Races, Vol. IV.



Ruined Temple of the Three Tablets.

scholars are more agreed about the plan of government and society among the Central American tribes. But, whatever it was, many years have passed by since it was deserted.

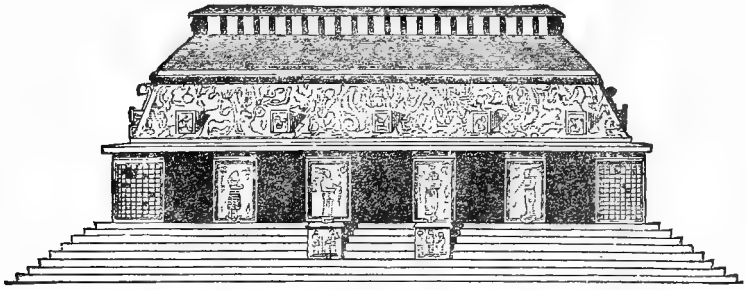
For centuries tropical storms have beat against the stuccoed figures. The court-yards and corriders are overrun with vegetation, and great trees are growing on the very top of the tower. So complete is the ruin that it is with difficulty the plan can be made out. The traveler, as he gazes upon it, can scarcely resist letting fancy restore the scene as it was before the hand of ruin had swept over it. In imagination he beholds it perfect in its amplitude and rich decoration, and occupied by the strange people whose portraits and figures may perhaps adorn its walls.

We must now describe the more important of the remaining structures of Palenque. Glancing at the plan for a moment, we see to the south-west of the palace a ruin marked 2. This is the site of a pyramidal structure known as the "Temple of the Three Tablets," or "Temple of Inscriptions." The pyramid is not as large in area as the palace, though of a greater height. It measures in height one hundred and ten feet on the slope, but we are not given the other dimensions. All the sides, which were very steep, seem to have had steps. Trees have grown up all over the pyramid and on the top of the building. This illustration, taken from Mr. Stephens's work, can not fail to impress on us the luxuriant growth of tropical vegetation, and we can also see how such a growth must accelerate the ruin. The stone steps leading up the sides of the pyramid have been thrown down, and such must be in time the fate of the building itself. The building on the summit platform does not cover all the area. It is seventy-six feet front by twenty-five feet deep and about thirty-five feet high.

This small cut is a representation of the same building on a small scale, but cleared of trees and vines. The roof is seen to consist of two parts, sloping at different angles.

The lower part was covered with stucco ornaments, which, though too much injured to be drawn, gave the impression that, when perfect and painted, they must have been rich and imposing. The upper slope is of solid masonry. "Along the top was a range of pillars, eighteen inches high and twelve apart, made of small pieces of stone laid in mortar and covered with stucco, having somewhat the appearance of a low, open balustrade."

In this wood-cut the front wall, as in the palace, presents more the appearance of a row of piers than any thing else. Each of the corner piers contains on its surface hiero-



Elevation Temple of the Three Tablets.

glyphics, each of which contains ninety-six squares. The other piers have ornaments of stucco similar to those we have already examined on the palace. In the building itself we have the usual three parallel walls. In this case, however, the second corrider is divided into three rooms, and there is no opening in the third wall, unless it be three small openings for air. The central wall is four or five feet thick.[1] The interior is very plain.

The principal point of interest about the building, from whence the name is derived, is three tablets of hieroglyphics. One on either side of the principal doorway of the middle wall, and the third in the rear wall of the middle room.

[1] Bancroft's "Native Races," p. 326.

Being so similar to other tablets, it is not necessary to give separate cuts of them. The similarity to those of Copan is very great, the differences being in minute points, which only critical examination would detect. Mr. Stephens tells us that the Indians call this building a school. The priests

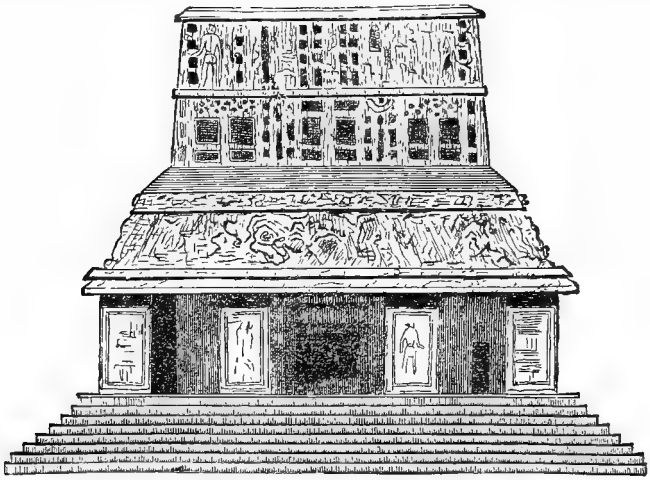
The Lau-he-uf.

who came to visit him at the ruins called it a temple of justice, and said the tablets contained the law. We do not think either are very safe guides to follow.

At number three on the plan are the ruins of an edifice which is fast disappearing. The outer wall had already

fallen at the time of Mr. Stephens's visit. It stands on the bank of the stream. The pyramid base is one hundred feet high on the slope. The building on the top is twenty-five feet front by eighteen feet deep. In the inner corridor could be dimly traced the outlines of a beautiful piece of stucco work. At the time of Waldeck's visit it was still complete, so we are enabled to give a cut of it.

We are sure the readers will not fail to notice the many points which make this such an exceptionally fine piece of



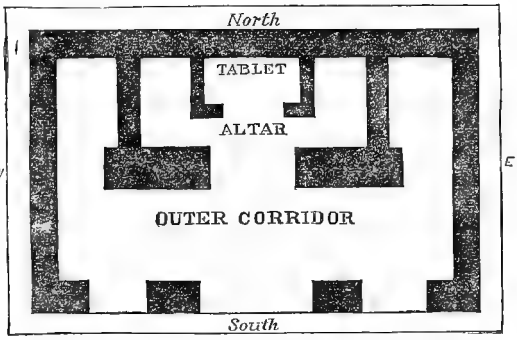
Temple of the Cross. (Smithsonian Institute.)

work. "In the original drawing the grace of the arms and wrists is truly matchless, and the chest muscles are displayed in the most perfect manner. The embroidered girdle and folded drapery of the figure, as well as the drapery around the leopard's neck, are arranged with taste. The head-dress is not unlike a Roman helmet in front, with the addition of numerous plumes. The sandals of the feet are secured by a cord and rosette, while the ornaments on the animal's ankles seem secured by leather straps."[1] Mr.

[1] Short's "North Americans of Antiquity," p. 389.

Waldeck, however, who drew this sketch, is supposed to have drawn at times better than his model.[1] This is generally called the "Temple of the Beau-relief." Mr. Holden, in his able article already referred to, comes to the conclusion that this figure represents the god Quetzalcohuatl, the nature god of the Mayas.

Eastward from the palace, and across the creek, are seen on the plan the location of two other structures. The one marked 4 is a somewhat famous structure, which, for reasons that will soon appear, is called the "Temple of the Cross." The pyramid in this case is one hundred and thirty-four feet on the slope. It, however, stands on a terrace about sixty feet on the slope. The forest is so dense that, though other structures are but a short distance from it, yet they can not be seen. The last two engravings represent the building and the ground plan. This is not a fanciful sketch, but is a restoration, "from such remains and indications that it is impossible to make any thing else out of it."

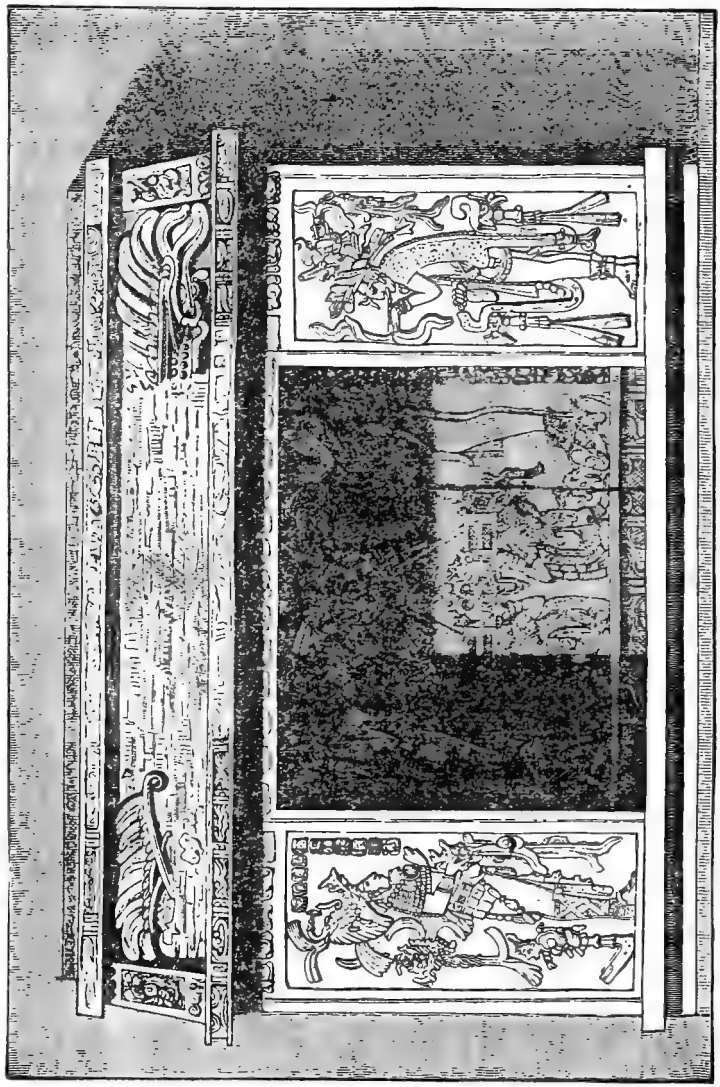


Plan of Temple. (Smithsonian Institute.)

"The building is fifty feet front, thirty-one feet deep, and has three door-ways. The whole front was covered with stucco ornaments. The two outer piers contain hieroglyphics." We notice a new feature about the roof. It is similar to the roof of the temple of the "Three Tablets," in having two different slopes—the lower one covered with

[1] Holden, in "First Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology."

stucco ornaments, but the range of pillars along the roof is here replaced by a peculiar two-storied arrangement nearly sixteen feet high. Mr. Stephens says: "The long sides of this



ALTAR IN TEMPLE OF THE SUN.—(Bureau of Ethnology.)

narrow structure are of open stucco-work, formed into curious and indescribable devices, human figures with legs and arms

spreading and apertures between, and the whole was once loaded with rich and elegant ornaments in stucco relief. Its appearance at a distance must have been that of a high, fanciful lattice. It was perfectly unique—different from the works of any other people with which we are familiar, and its uses and purposes entirely incomprehensible."

It was evidently added to the temple solely for the sake of appearance. One writer[1] believes the roof structures were erected by some people that succeeded the original builders of the temple. The plan of the temple gives us a clear idea of the arrangement of the inner rooms. Our principal interest centers in the altar, which we notice placed in the center of the back room. We give an illustration of a similar altar-form in the temple, at number 5 of the plan. In form it is that of an inclosed chamber, having a roof of its own. The altar in the Temple of the Cross was very similar to this. Mr. Stephens's description is as follows: "The top of the doorway was gorgeous with stuccoed ornaments, and on the piers at each side were stone tablets in bas-relief. Within, the chamber is thirteen feet wide and seven feet deep."

The room was plain within, and right against the back was the famous "Tablet of the Cross." This tablet was six feet four inches high, ten feet eight inches wide, and formed of three stones. The right-hand one is now in the National Museum in Washington. The central one, though torn from its original place, is still at the ruins. The next cut gives us only the sculptured part of the tablet. On both the right and left-hand were tablets of hieroglyphics. A long chain of ornaments hung suspended from the cap of the right-hand figure. The two figures are regarded as priests. The cross is very plainly outlined, and is the regular Latin one. Con-

[1] Brasseur De Bourbourg.

siderable discussion has arisen as to what supports the cross. Dr. Brinton thinks it a serpent.[1] Others think it a human skull.[2] We must also notice the bird on top of the cross. It is almost impossible to make out the species. The right-hand figure is offering it something.

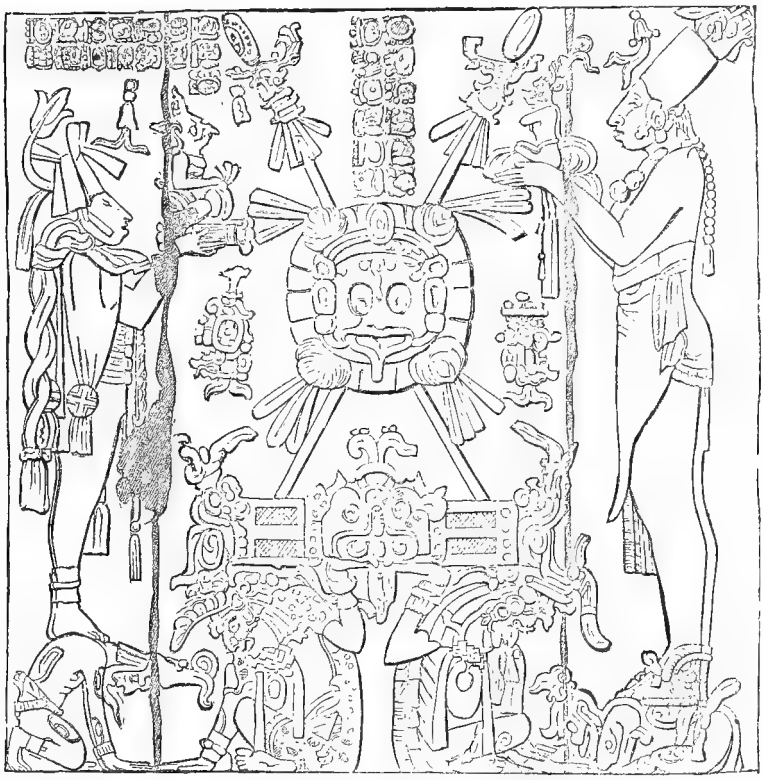
Tablet of the Cross.

We must refer to some more tablets found at Palenque before proceeding further. At number five of the plan was a temple but little smaller than the one just described.

[1] "Myths of the New World."

[2] Holden, in "First Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology."

There is, however, such a similarity between the buildings, that it is not necessary to give illustrations. The temple, also, had an inclosed altar; and against the back of that was placed the tablet which was very similar to the one just described. This illustration represents the sculptured portions. On each side were tablets of hieroglyphics. It



The Sun.

needs but a glance to show that the priests are, evidently, the same personages as in the other tablet.

The one on the left is standing on the back of a human being. The one on the right is, perhaps, standing on a beast; or, if a human being, he is crushed beneath the

weight of the priest. Two other human figures support a platform, from which rise two bâtons crossed like a St. Andrew's cross. These support a mask, from the center of which a hideous human face looks out. The Aztecs sometimes represented the sun by such a mask, and hence the name "Temple of the Sun."

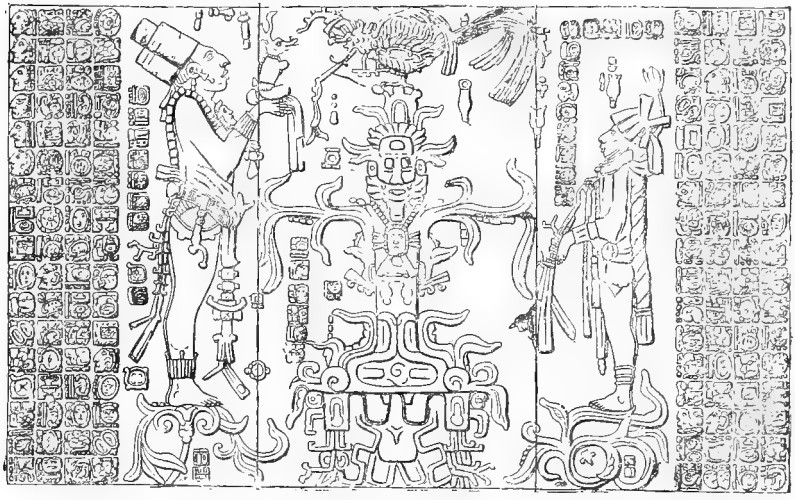
In still another temple, situated but a short distance from the others, was discovered a third tablet, which is shown in the cut opposite. We give all the tablet, showing the hieroglyphics as well. We must compare this with the first tablet given. The priests are, evidently, the same—but, notice, they stand on different sides of the cross. The same priest is making the offering as in the first, and the same bird is seen on the top of the cross. The priests stand on flowered ornaments. The support of the cross resembles the same thing as in the first; but whether it is a human skull, or a serpent, is hard to tell. The cross itself is not as well outlined. The two arms are floral ornaments. We must also notice the two faces seen on the upright part.[1]

These tablets are all of great interest That of the cross, the first one given, has attracted more attention than almost any other in the field of American antiquities. This is largely owing to the cross. As far as the sacred emblem itself is concerned, we do not think this tablet of more significance than that of the sun. It is well known that the cross, as a sacred emblem, had peculiar significance in the ancient religions of the world. Its use as such has come down to us from time immemorial. On the first expedition of the Spaniards, in 1518, to the coast and islands of Yucatan, they discovered that the cross was of some signifi-

[1] This tablet is named after its discoverer. The building in which it is situated was but a short distance from the others; yet, owing to the density of the forest, neither Waldeck nor Stephens discovered it. A cast of it is now in the National Museum at Washington.

cance to the natives. In the island of Cozumel they found a large cross, to which the natives prayed for rain[1]

Mr. Brinton thinks that the source of this veneration of the cross, like the sacredness of the number four, of which he gives numerous illustrations, is the four cardinal points.[2] From these points blow the four winds which bring the fertilizing rains, and thus render the earth fruitful; and hence the cross, in so many and widely separated portions of the earth, is used as the symbol of the life-giving, creative, and



Maler's Cross.

fertilizing principle in nature.[3] He thinks this is, perhaps, the significance of these Palenque crosses. It is true we have different forms of the cross; but in ancient sculpture they seem to have been of equal importance.[4]

The results of these inquiries into the hidden meaning of these tablets are not devoid of interest; but, thus far, but few conclusions of value have been obtained. They

[1] Rau, in "Smithsonian Contribution to Knowledge," Vol. XXII, p. 40.
[2] "Myths of the New World," p. 95.
[3] Bancroft's "Native Races," Vol. V, p. 506.
[4] See, also, "American Encyclopedia," Art. "Cross."

have been made to do service in support of some far-fetched theories. The early Spanish writers on these subjects concluded that the crosses found in Central America were positive proof that St. Thomas had traveled through the country preaching the doctrines of Christianity. The padres, who came to visit Mr. Stephens at the ruins, "at the sight of it, immediately decided that the old inhabitants of Palenque were Christians, and fixed the age of the buildings in the third century."

Wilson finds in the tablets of the cross a strong argument for the existence of a great Phœnician empire in Central America. This tablet represents, he thinks, the sacrifice of a child to Astarte,[1] also called Ashtoreth, the great female deity of the ancient Semitic nations on both sides of the Euphrates, but chiefly of Phœnicia. The original meaning of this word was "Queen of Heaven." Modern scholars do not think these early speculations of the slightest worth. Dr. Charles Rau[2] concludes that as reasonable a conjecture as any is the supposition that it represents a sacrifice to the god of rain, made, perhaps, at a time of drought, apparently influenced to that conclusion by the fact that the natives of Cozumel regarded a cross in such a light,[3] and further that a cross represents the moisture-bearing winds.

E. S. Holden[4] has made a critical study of the hieroglyphics of Copan and Palenque. Though far from complete, most interesting results have been obtained. We can not do more than set forth the results of his investigations.[5] He concludes, from a careful study of the tablets

[1] "Conquest of Mexico," p. 160.

[2] "Smithsonian Contribution to Knowledge," Vol. XXII.

[3] Bancroft's "Native Races," Vol. III, p. 470.

[4] "Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology," Vol. I.

[5] Mr. Holden uses, as an important link in his arguments, a figure engraved on a chalchiute (a sacred stone). He concludes it to be a representative of

of the cross and of the sun, that in both the left-hand priests are representatives of the god of war,[1] the right-hand priests being in both representatives of the god of rain and water.[2] In Mexico these deities frequently occupied the same temple.[3] He does not state his conclusions in regard to the central figures in the tablets. Mr. Brinton thinks the central figure in the tablet of the cross is a rebus for the nature god Quetzalcohuatl. The cross was one of the symbols of Quetzalcohuatl, as such signifying the four winds of which he was lord. Another of his symbols was a bird. We notice the two symbols present in the tablet. Mr. Holden also finds that the glyph standing for this god occurs several times in the tables of hieroglyphics belonging to this figure.

According to these last views, then, the old Palenquians seem to have been a very religious people, and Quetzalcohuatl, the god of peace, seems to have been their principal deity, differing in this regard from Mexico, where all honor was paid to the god of war. We are not given any explanation of the Temple of the Three Tablets, but the other temples have to do with the worship of this benign deity. The beautiful stucco-work in the Temple of the Beau-relief, Mr. Holden thinks, also represents him. At the Temples of the Cross, if we be right as to the meaning of the central figure, the priests of the god of war and the god of rain do honor to him.[4]

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Huitzilopochtli, the god of war, or rather the Maya representative of the Mexican god of that name. It is unfortunate that Prof. Valentine gives to this same figure a different significance. In the "Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society," for April, 1884, in a paper on that subject, he concludes it to be a representation of a victorious warrior giving sacrifice to his god. The only persons entitled to speak on such subjects are those thoroughly acquainted with Maya Archæology. [1] Huitzilopochtli. [2] Tlaloc.

[3] Bancroft's "Native Races," Vol. III, p. 324.

[4] While such seem to us to be the results of Mr. Holden's labors, it must not be understood that he vouches for them. They must be regarded as per-

Statue. Palenque. (Smith. Inst.)

Mr. Bandelier makes a statement in regard to the cross which, if it be accepted, clears away a number of theories. He remarks: "The cross, though frequently used previously to the conquest by the Aborigines of Mexico and Central America as an ornament, was not at all an object of worship among them. Besides, there is a vast difference between the cross and the crucifix. What has been taken for the latter on sculptures, like the 'Palenque tablet,' is merely the symbol of the 'New-fire,' or close of a period of fifty-two years. It is the fire drill more or less ornamented." According to this view, these interesting tablets have reference to the ceremonies observed by the Mayas at the expiration of a cycle.[1]

It now only remains to describe some miscellaneous relics obtained from Palenque. But few specimens of pottery have been found. One of the early explorers speaks of finding an earthen vessel about a foot in diameter. Waldeck made an exploration in a portion of

sonal views which we express with some mental forebodings. In this matter we must abide by further investigations.

[1] Bandelier: "An Archæological Tour in Mexico," p. 184.

BAS-RELIEF ON THE LEFT-HAND OF THE ALTAR OF THE CROSS.
(Bureau of Ethnology.)

the palace area, and found a gallery containing hewn blocks of stone and earthen cups and vases, with many little earthen balls of different colors. He also speaks of a fine specimen of terra-cotta.[1]

The only statues known were found near the Temple of the Cross. There were two of them, and they supported a platform before the central doorway. One was broken to pieces; the other is here represented. (Page 612.) Many writers point out resemblances between this figure and some Egyptian statues.

In the village of Palenque, built in the wall of a church,[2] are two stone tablets which once stood on each side of the doorway of the altar containing the tablet of the cross.[3] Mr. Stephens was under the impression that they were originally placed on the altar of the tablet of the sun, and they are so represented in the cut on page 604. This plate represents the left-hand figure. The only explanation which we have met is contained in that oft-quoted article by Mr. Holden. He regards it as the representation of the Maya god of war. We are warned that the weak part of Mr. Holden's method is his assumption that the mythology of the Mayas was the same as that of the Aztecs, when the evidence is not strong enough to assert such a fact.[4]

We feel that we have been somewhat lengthy in describing the ruins of Palenque. But it is one of the most important groups of ruins that this continent possesses. The most faithful work on the part of the scholars of all lands has not as yet succeeded in clearing up the mystery connected with it. We can tread the courts of their ancient

[1] Bancroft's "Native Races," Vol. IV, p. 345.

[2] See Charney, in *North American Review*, 1881. They were formerly in a house.

[3] Bancroft's "Native Races," Vol. IV, p. 332.

[4] Brinton's "Contribution to North American Ethnology," Vol. V, p. 36. "Introduction to Study of Manuscript Troano," by Prof. Thomas.

citadel, clamber up to the ruined temples and altars, and gaze on the unread hieroglyphics, but, with all our efforts, we know but little of its history. There was a time when the forest did not entwine these ruins. Once unknown priests ministered at these altars. But cacique, or king, and priest have alike passed away. The nation, if such it was, has vanished, and their descendants are probably to be found in the savage tribes of Yucatan to-day. "In the romance of the world's history," says Mr. Stephens, "nothing ever impressed me more forcibly than the spectacle of this once great and lovely city, overturned, desolate, and lost, discovered by accident, overgrown with trees for miles around, without even a name to distinguish it. Apart from every thing else, it was a mournful witness to the world's mutation.

> "'Nations melt
> From power's high pinnacle, when they have felt
> The sunshine for awhile, and downward go.'"

The ruins at Palenque have been so well known, that but little attention has been given to other ruins in the States of Tobasco and Chiapas; and yet, according to M. Charney, imposing ruins of great extent exist in the western part of Tobasco. At a place about thirty-five miles from San Juan, in a north-westerly direction, he found veritable mountains of ruins "overgrown with a luxuriant vegetation."[1] In the absence of cuts, we can not do more than give a general idea of these ruins.

He asserts that the whole State of Tobasco, and part of Chiapas, is covered with ruins. One landed proprietor informed him that, on his estate, he had counted over three hundred pyramids, all of them covered with ruins. In this connection he refers to the assertions of some of the early

[1] *North American Review*, February, 1881, p. 187.

Spanish voyagers, that, when skirting the shores of Tobasco, they "saw on the shore, and far in the interior, a multitude of structures, whose white and polished walls glittered in the sun." On one large pyramid, one hundred and fifteen feet high, he found the remains of a building two hundred and thirty-five feet long.

This building is named the palace. In this building we met with the type that we have learned is the prevailing one further south—that is, three parallel walls, forming two rows of rooms. In general, the rooms are not well arranged for comfort, according to our opinion; but they were, doubtless, well adapted to the communal mode of life prevalent among the Indians. M. Charney seems to have been strongly impressed with the number and importance of the ruins in this State; but, strangely enough, others have not mentioned them.[1] He says: "I am daily receiving information about the ruins scattered all over the State of Tobasco, hidden in the forests. . . . The imagination fails to realize the vast amount of labor it would involve to explore even a tithe of these ancient sites. These mountains of ruins extend over twelve miles. We still see the hollows in the ground whence the soil was taken for the construction of these pyramids. But they did not consist merely of clay; bricks, too, entered into their construction, and there were strengthening walls to make them firmer. These structures are more wonderful than the pyramids and the other works at Teotihuacan, and they far surpass the pyramids of Egypt."

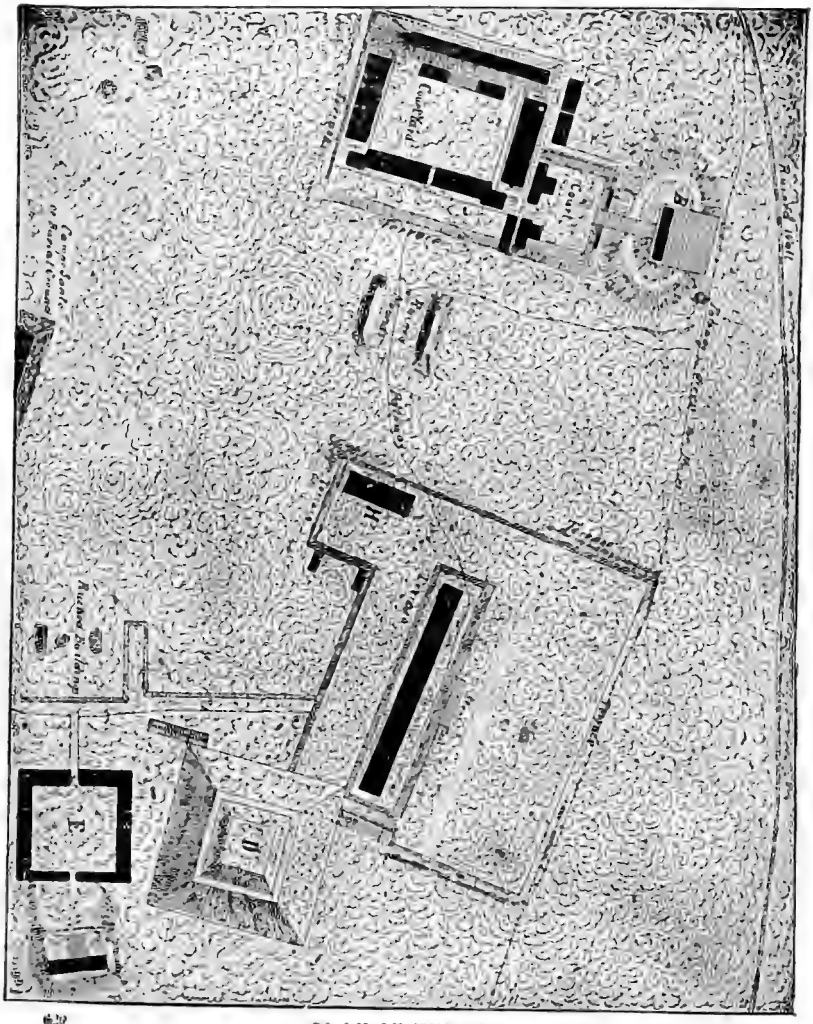
In the neighboring State of Chiapas, we find the location of several groups of ruins. At Ocosingo, we have the evident traces of a large settlement. Mr. Stephens mentions four or five pyramids crowned with buildings. Immediately

[1] Bancroft's "Native Races," p. 287.

beyond these pyramids he came upon an open plateau, which he considered to have been the site of the city proper. It was protected on all sides by the same high terraces, overlooking for a great distance the whole country around, and rendering it impossible for an enemy to approach from any quarter without being discovered. "Across this table was a high and narrow causeway, which seemed partly natural and partly artificial, and at some distance on which was a mound, with the foundation of a building that had probably been a tower. Beyond this the causeway extended till it joined a range of mountains. . . . There was no place we had seen which gave us such an idea of the vastness of the works erected by the aboriginal inhabitants."[1]

The ruins at Palenque are considered by some to belong to the ancient period of Maya architecture; those we are now to examine are regarded as of more modern date. This is at least true with respect to the time of their abandonment. Though the efforts of explorers in Yucatan have been attended with rich results, still few places have been fully described. The country is fairly dotted with sites of aboriginal settlements. In all probability there are many that are yet unknown. Hidden in tropical jungles, they are fast falling into meaningless mounds of *débris*. The early Spanish explorers, skirting the coasts of Yucatan, gazed in astonishment at the views they occasionally obtained of pyramids crowned with temples and imposing buildings. But this gleam of historic light was but momentary in duration. It served but to throw a sunset glow over the doomed tribes and civilization of the Mayas. By the aid of that dim, uncertain light, we are asked to recognize a form of government and society which, under the clearer light of modern

[1] "Central America," Vol. II, p. 261. At this time Mr. Stephens had not seen the ruins at Palenque, and those in Yucatan.




PLAN OF UXMAL.

researches, is seen to bear an equally strong resemblance to institutions more in keeping with the genius of the New World.

The few travelers who visit the country are generally content to revisit and describe places already known. This is not strange, considering the difficulties that have to be overcome. The country swarms with savage Indians, who are jealous of the intrusions of strangers. We have, however, this consolation: those ruins already brought to light show such a uniformity of detail, that it is not probable that any new developments are to be expected. The ruins that are already known are sufficient to illustrate all the points of their architecture; and we can draw from them, doubtless, all that can be drawn from ruins, throwing light on the civil organization of the Mayas of Yucatan.

We can not do better than to describe some of the more important ruins, and then notice wherein others differ. Examining the map, we see that Uxmal[1] is one of the first ruins that would meet us on arriving in the country. It is more fully described than any other, though perhaps not of greater importance than those of some other localities. As at Palenqué, while the principal ruins are said to be situated in a small area, the whole section abounds in mounds and heaps of *débris*, and it may well be said that buildings as imposing as those already described are concealed in the forest not far removed from the present ruins. A plat of ground seventeen hundred feet long by twelve hundred feet wide would include the principal structures now known.

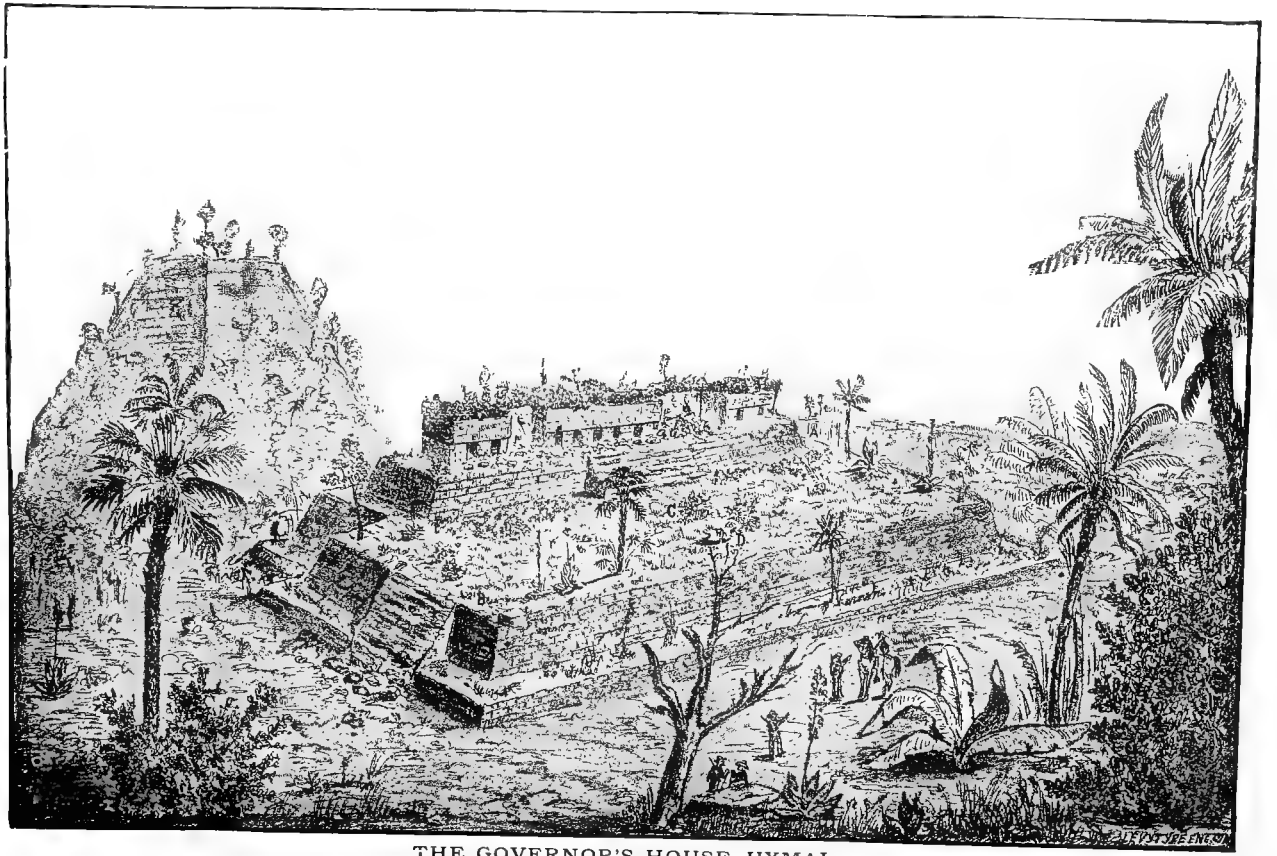
The most imposing single edifice here is that called the Governor's House. The only reason for giving it this name is its size. Being of large size, and located on a terraced pyramid, it has received a name which may be very inappro-

[1] Pronounced "oosh-mal."

priate. We will first notice the pyramid on which the building stands. At Palenque the pyramid rises regularly from the ground. Here the pyramid is terraced. In order to understand clearly the arrangement of these various terraces, we introduce this drawing. The base is a somewhat irregular figure, though nearly a square. Another pyramid cuts into one corner of the terrace. The first terrace is about three feet high, fifteen feet broad, and five hundred and seventy-five feet long. The second terrace is twenty feet high, two hundred and fifty feet wide, and five hundred and forty-five feet in length. The third terrace, on which the building stands, is nineteen feet high, and its summit platform is one hundred by three hundred and sixty feet. The height of this platform above the general surface is a little over forty feet.[1]

The material of which the pyramid is composed, is rough fragments of limestone, thrown together without order; but the terraces were all faced with substantial stone work. At the time of Mr. Stephens's visit the facing of the second terrace was still in a good state of preservation. Charney believes the platform was paved with square blocks. This pyramid was not entirely artificial—they took advantage of a natural hill, as far as it went. No stairway or other means of ascent to the first terrace is mentioned. From its low height, probably none was needed. The second terrace being twenty feet high, some means of ascent was required. This was afforded, as seen in the drawing, by an inclined plane, at the south side one hundred feet broad. From the second terrace a grand staircase, one hun-

[1] Our principal authority on the ruins of Yucatan is Mr. Stephens, whose work, "Incidents of Travel in Yucatan," in two volumes, is all that can be desired. Mr. Bancroft, in "Native Races," Vol. IV, has gathered together whatever of worth there is in the writings of various explorers.



THE GOVERNOR'S HOUSE, UXMAL.

dred and thirty feet wide, containing thirty-five steps, led up to the summit of the third terrace.

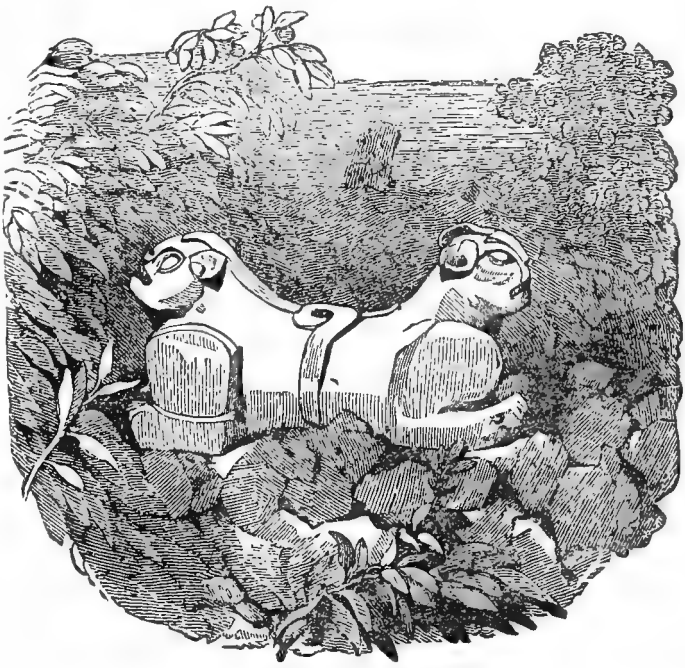
No buildings or other ornaments are mentioned as having been found on the lower terrace. The wide promenade of the second one supported some structures of its own, but they were in too dilapidated a condition to furnish a clear idea of their original nature, except in one instance—that is of the building at A of the drawing. This building was ninety-four feet long, thirty-four feet wide, and about twenty feet high.

The roof had fallen in, so that we do not know the arrangement of the rooms in the interior. The simplicity of ornaments on the outer wall is commented on. Instead of the complicated ornaments, so apparent on the buildings of Yucatan, the only ornament in this case was a simple and elegant line of round columns, standing close together, and encircling the whole edifice. At regular intervals on the upper cornice appeared a sculptured turtle. From this circumstance, the building was named "The House of Turtles." No steps lead to the terrace below or to the one above. "It stands isolated and alone, seeming to mourn over its own desolate and ruinous condition."

At B, along the south end of the terrace, there was a long, low mound of ruins, and arranged along its base was a row of broken columns about five feet high and nearly five feet in circumference. Some have supposed, from this, that columns extended along the entire promenade of the second terrace. This would indeed give it a very grand appearance; but there is no foundation for such a view. East of the central stairway at C, was a low, square inclosure. This contained a standing pillar, now in a slanting position, as if an effort had been made to throw it over. It was about eight feet above the surface of the ground, and five below.

The Indians called it a whipping-post. Mr. Stephens thinks it was connected with the ceremonial rites of an ancient worship. He found a similarly shaped stone in connection with other buildings at Uxmal, and at other places in Yucatan.

Still further east, at D, he found a rude, circular mound of rough stones. On excavating this, he was rewarded by the discovery of a double-headed monument. It was carved

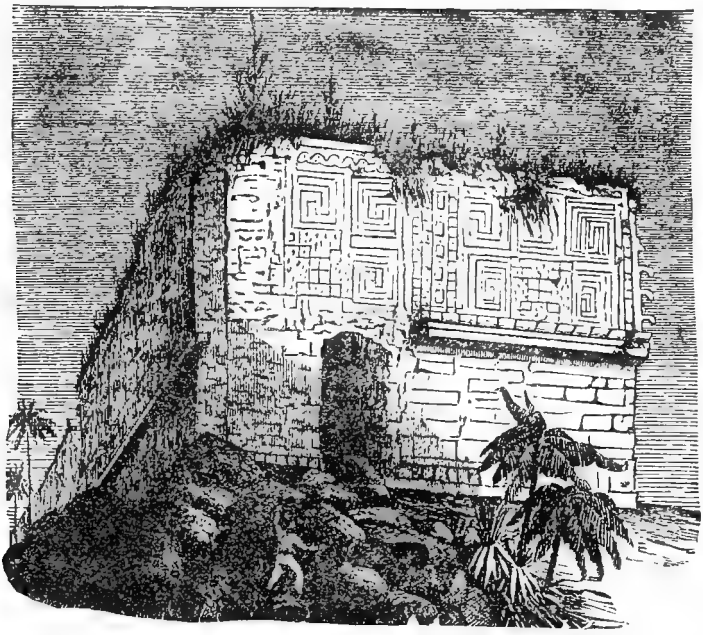


Two-headed Monument, Uxmal.

out of a single block of stone. The probabilities are that it was purposely buried when the natives abandoned Uxmal, to prevent the Spaniards from destroying it. Scattered about over this platform were found excavations much like well-made cisterns in shape. As it is something of a mystery where the inhabitants obtained water, it is a reason-

able supposition that these were really cisterns. Similar excavations were discovered all over the area of the ruins.

Leaving the second terrace, and passing up the ruined stairway, we find ourselves on the summit platform of the third terrace, and see before us one of the long, low, richly ornamented buildings of Yucatan. This cut presents us an



End View.

end view, but gives us a good idea of the building as a whole. It does not occupy the entire summit; there is a wide promenade all around it. Its length is three hundred and twenty-two feet; its width, thirty-nine feet, and its height twenty-six feet.

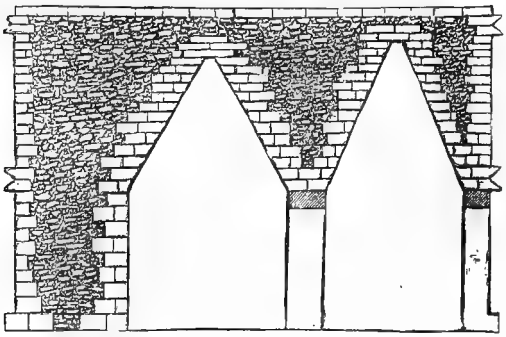
In order to understand clearly the arrangement of the rooms, we will here give the ground-plan. The two end portions may have been additions to the original structure.

There are, at any rate, reasons for supposing the small rooms in the two recesses of later construction. We must notice that we have here the usual three parallel walls and

Ground Plan.

two rows of rooms. All the walls are massive, the rear wall especially so. It is nine feet thick throughout, and so are the transverse walls of the two recesses. Supposing the rear wall might contain rooms, Mr. Stephens made an opening through it. He found it to be solid.

The stones facing the walls and rooms are smooth and square, and the mass of the masonry consists of rough, irregular fragments of stone and mortar. This cross-section makes this meaning plain. We can but notice what an immense amount of useless labor was bestowed on the walls and ceilings of this building. We gather more the idea of galleries excavated in a rocky mass, than of rooms inclosed by walls. The rooms are very plain; no attempt at decoration was observed. In one or two instances the remains of a fine coat of plastering was noticed. "The floors were of cement, in some places hard, but by long exposure broken, and now crumbling under foot." The arches supporting the roof are of the same style as those at Palenque—that is, triangular,—though, in this case, the ends of the projecting stones were



Cross-section of Uxmal.

beveled off so as to form a smooth surface. At Palenque, we remember, the inequalities were filled with cement. Across the arches were still to be observed beams of wood, the ends buried in the wall at both sides. The supposition is that they served to support the arches while building, and afterwards for the suspension of hammocks.[1]

There are no openings for light and ventilation, consequently some of the rear rooms are both damp and dark. The lintels over each doorway were of wood. This was the common and ordinary material employed for lintels in Yucatan, though in one or two instances stone was used. They used for this purpose beams of zapote, a wood noted for its strength and durability. Some inner lintels still remain in place. The one over the central doorway of the outer wall was elaborately carved, the others were plain.

The outside of the building is also of interest to us. By a careful examination, we notice a cornice just above the doorway. The wall below the cornice presents a smooth surface of limestone, no traces of plaster or paint appearing; above the cornice the façade is one solid mass of rich, complicated, and elaborately sculptured ornaments. This is not stucco work, as at Palenque, but the ornaments are carved on stone. Mr Stephens tells us, "Every ornament or combination is made up of separate stones, each of which had carved on it part of the subject, and was then set in its place in the wall. Each stone, by itself, is an unmeaning fractional portion, but placed by the side of others, makes part of a whole which, without it, would be incomplete."

It is not possible to give a verbal description of all of

[1] Mr. Stephens thinks they were for the support of the arches, while building. As, however, it is almost certain they constructed this arch over a solid core of masonry, which they afterwards removed (see "Contributions to N. A. Ethnology," Vol. IV, p. 262), they could not have been intended for such use.

the ornaments; we can notice but few. Over each doorway was represented a person apparently seated on a sort of throne, having a lofty head-dress, with enormous plumes of feathers falling symmetrically on each side. Though the figures varied in each case, in general characteristics they

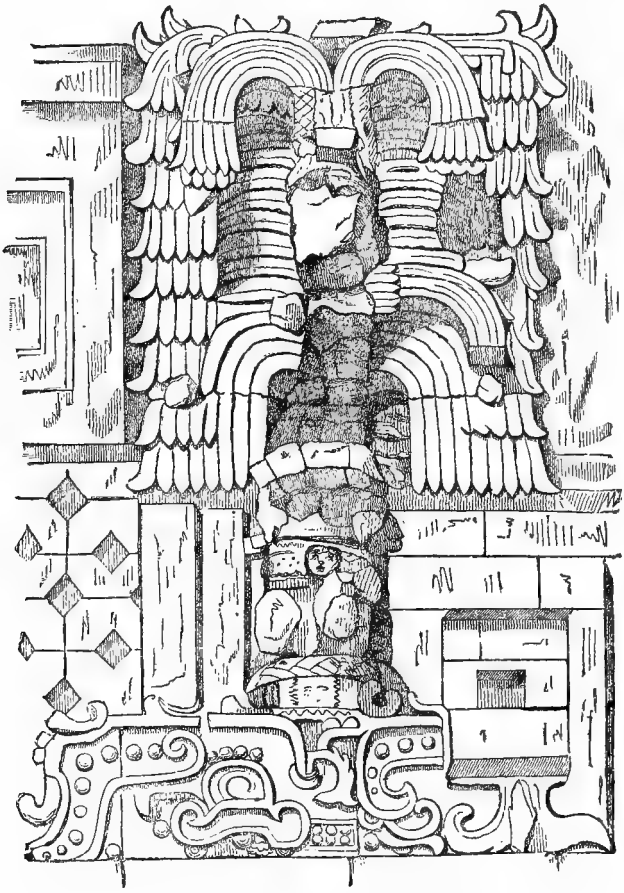
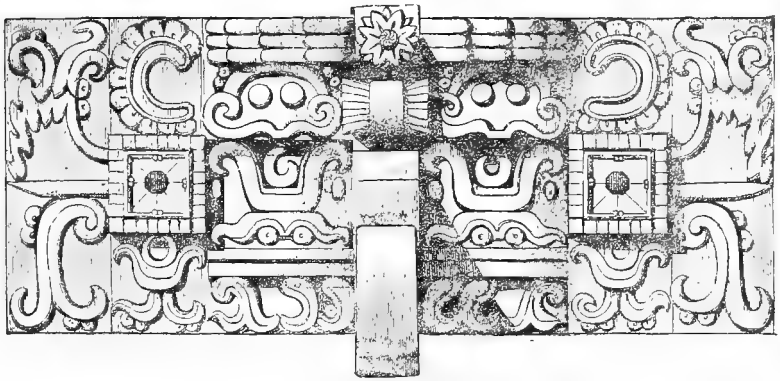


Figure over the Doorway.

were the same as the one here represented, which was the figure over the central doorway of the building.

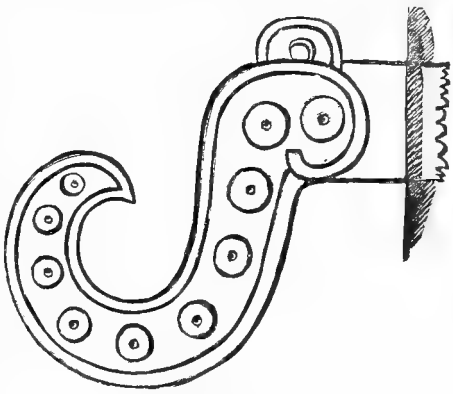
Among the most commonly reappearing ornaments at Uxmal, and at other places, is one that has received the

name of the "Elephant's Trunk," and has given rise to no little discussion. One occurs immediately above the figure. Part of this ornament is represented in this plate. The



Ornament over the Doorway.

central part of this figure, which appears as a plain band, is in reality a curved projecting stone, which, when looked at sideways, has the appearance given in this cut. Though requiring a little imagination, the majority of travelers see in this some monster's face. The eyes and teeth are seen in the first engraving. This projecting stone is the nose.



Elephant's Trunk.

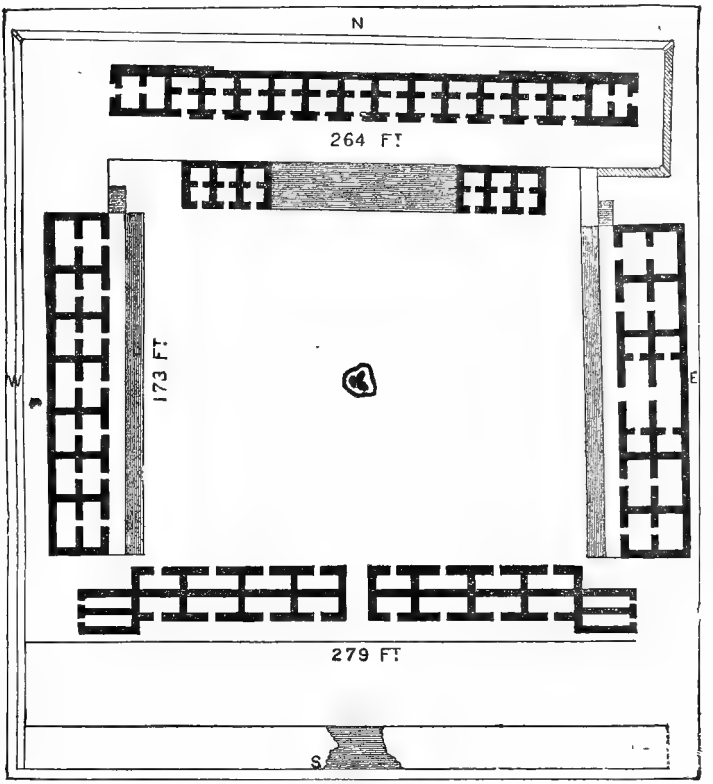
We stand in amazement before this sculptured façade. We must reflect that its builders were not possessed of metallic tools. It extends entirely around the building, though the end and rear walls are not as elaborately decorated as the front. A little calculation shows that it contains over ten thousand square feet of carved stone. The roof of

the building was flat. It had been covered with cement. But vegetation had somehow acquired a foothold, and the whole is now overgrown with grass and bushes. Such is a brief description of this "casa." Hastening to ruins, it appeals powerfully to the imagination. It is a memorial of vanished times. We wonder what of the strange people that pressed up these stairs and entered these rooms? For many years it has been abandoned to the elements. Year by year portions of the ornamented façade fall. Though the walls are massive and the roof is strong, it is but a question of time when a low mound of ruins will alone mark its site.

Like the palace at Palenque, this structure has given rise to conflicting theories as to its use. While many of the writers on this subject claim that it was the residence of royalty, there are, on the other hand, those who think it is simply a communal house of village Indians, or the official house of the tribe. In whatever light we shall ultimately view it, it is surely an interesting monument of native American culture. The labor necessary to rear the terraced pyramid, even though advantage was taken of a natural eminence, must have been great. The building itself, though not of great dimensions, except in length, must have required the labor of a large number of Indians for a long time. For purposes of defense, the location, from an Indian point of view, was an excellent one, since with them elevation constitutes the principal means of defense. The terraces could be easily ascended from but one point, where an enemy could be easily resisted. In a general way, it may be regarded as a representative of Yucatan buildings, and so we will be able to more rapidly describe the remaining structures.

On the general plan we see, to the north of the structure

we have just described, a group of ruins marked "C." This is regarded as the most wonderful collection of edifices in Yucatan, and as exhibiting the highest state of ancient architecture and sculpture in North America. They are known as the "Nunnery," which we think is a very absurd




Plan of Nunnery.

name. The pyramid on which they stood is also terraced, though on one side only. We give a drawing showing the position on the summit platform of the four buildings forming this group. Since we have so many ruined structures to describe, we must avoid such details as will prove tiresome. We will give in a note the dimensions of these buildings,

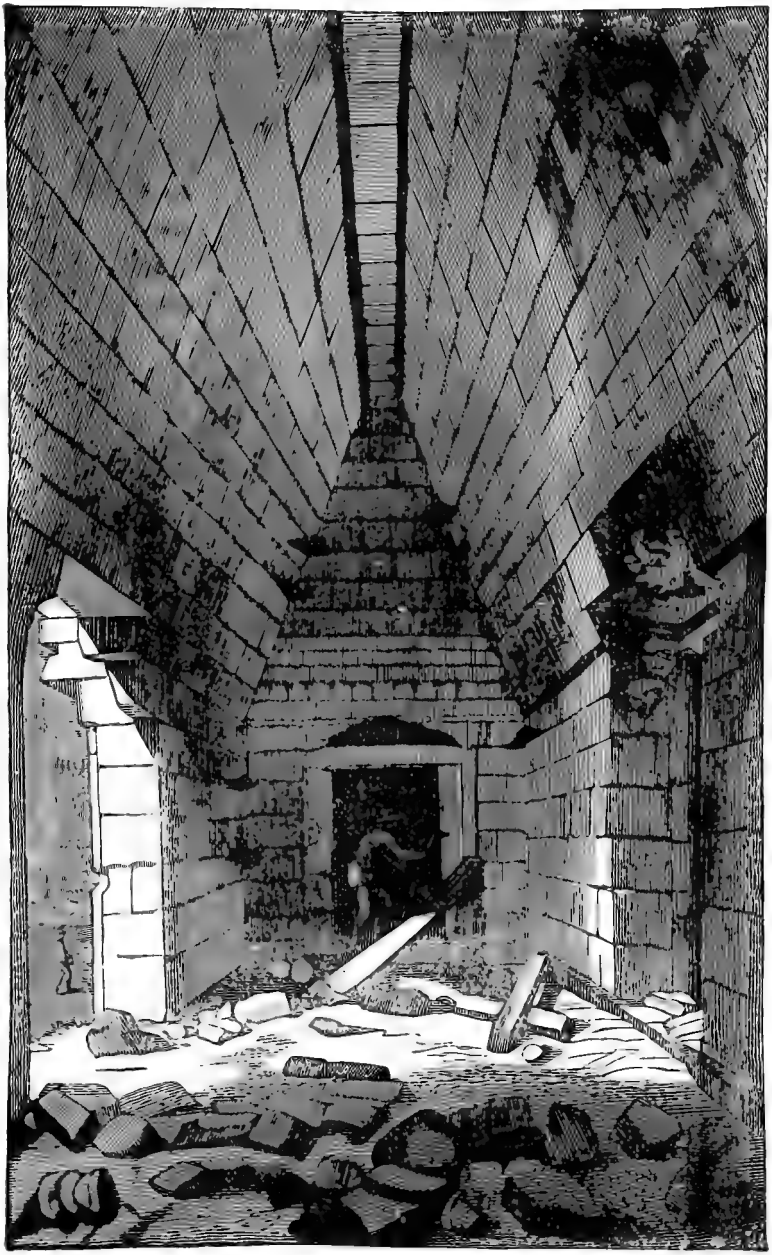
and of the pyramid, and pass at once to some points of special interest.[1]

Traces of stairways are mentioned as leading up to the terrace, but none of the steps remained in place. The southern building is seen to have doors in both the court and terrace walls, but in this case the middle wall is unbroken. All the rooms of this building are single. In the plan it appears divided into two buildings; the opening is, however, but a triangular arched doorway, through which access was had to the court.

There is no one to dispute our right of way, and so, climbing up the ruined stairs, and passing through the deserted gateway, we emerge into a court-yard, now silent and deserted and overgrown with bushes and grass. It was once paved and covered with cement, and in the center are the remains of a stone pillar, similar to that in front of the governor's house. When the houses were all occupied this court must have presented an animated scene. But, now that the buildings are tenantless and going to ruin, it must impress all beholders with a sense of the changes wrought by time.

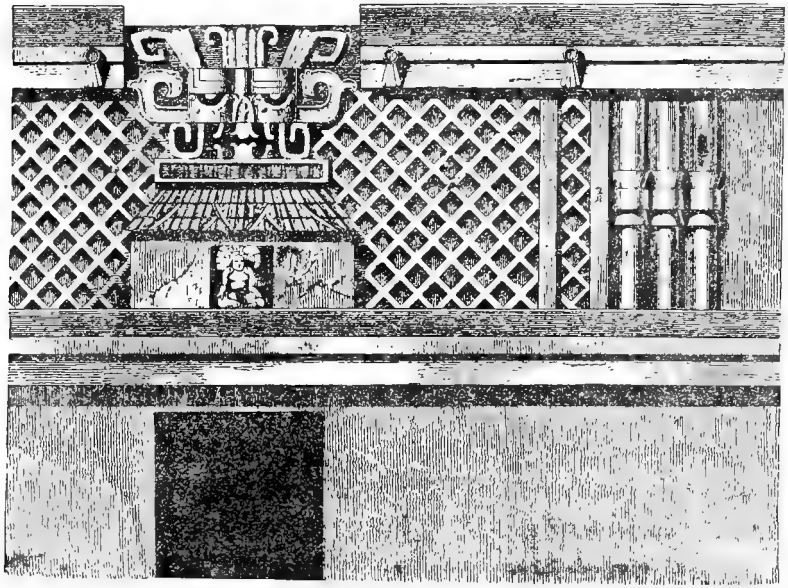
It will be noticed that the northern building does not

[1] The pyramid is three hundred and fifty feet square at the base and nineteen feet high. The terraces are along the south side. The lowest terrace is three feet high and twenty feet wide. The second is twelve feet high and forty-five feet wide. The third is four feet high and five feet wide. The building on the south side is two hundred and seventy-nine feet long, twenty-eight feet wide, and eighteen feet high. The north one is two hundred and sixty-four feet long, twenty-eight feet wide, and twenty-five feet high. The eastern one, one hundred and fifty-eight feet long, thirty-five feet wide, and twenty-two feet high. The western one, one hundred and seventy-three feet long, thirty-five feet wide, and twenty feet high. (Bancroft's "Native Races," Vol. IV, p. 174.) The area of the court is two hundred and fourteen feet by two hundred and fifty-eight feet. It is about two and a half feet lower than the buildings on the eastern, western, and southern sides. There are seventy-six rooms in the four ranges of buildings, and twelve more in the facings of the terrace of the north building, to be described. In size the rooms vary from twenty to thirty feet long by from ten to twelve feet wide.



ROOM IN NUNNERY

stand in quite the same direction as the southern one, which detracts from the symmetry of the whole. It stands on a fourth terrace, twenty feet higher than the others. A grand, but ruined, staircase leads up the cetner of the terrace. At each end of this staircase, built against the terrace, could be distinguished the ruins of a small building. There is one unusual feature about the ruins in the eastern building. In general, only two rooms open into each other. In this

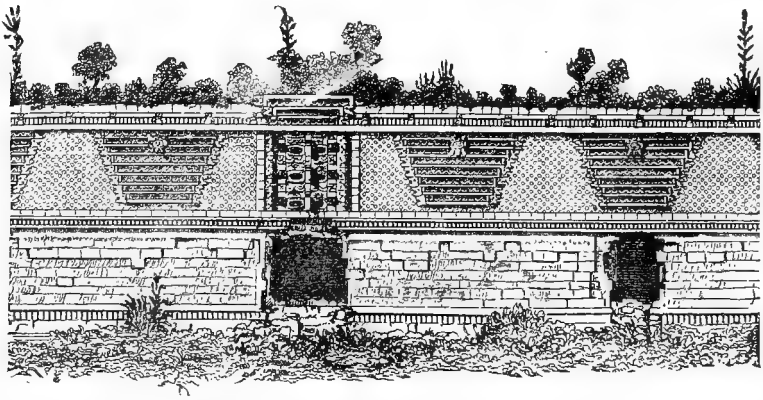


Façade, Southern Building.

building, however, six rooms form one suite, and, furthermore, all the doorways of this suite are decorated with sculpture. As this suite of rooms was evidently a place of interest, we will introduce this illustration, which gives us a good idea of the appearance of the rooms on the inside. We would do well to compare this cut with that of the room in Pueblo Bonito (page 471). The arched roof is not a true arch, but simply the triangular arch we have already spoken of.

The principal attraction about these buildings is the beautiful façades which overlook the court-yard. They are pronounced by all to be the finest examples of native American art. With one exception, they are neither complicated nor grotesque, but chaste and artistic. As in the Governor's House, the part below the cornice is plain, but the remaining part, both front and rear, is covered with sculpture. On entering the court-yard from the arched gateway of the southern building, we notice that its façade is composed of diamond lattice-work and vertical columns, while over each doorway is something that resembles a house, with a human figure seated in a doorway. This cut represents but a small portion of this façade, but it gives us an idea of the whole.

The façade of the eastern building was in the best state of preservation of any. We give a section of this also. It

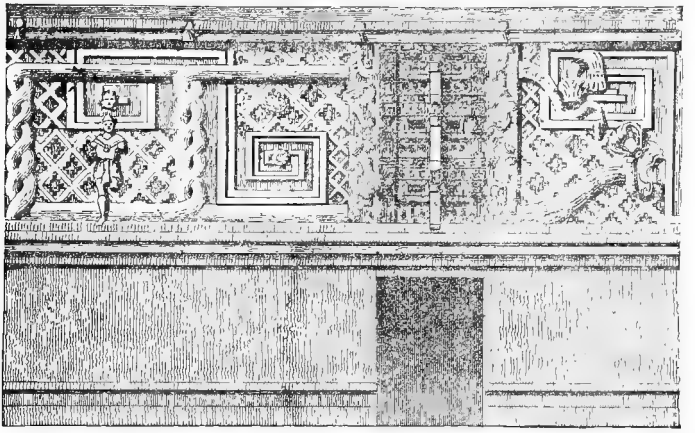


Façade, Eastern Building.

is the most simple in design also. The ornaments over the doorway, shown in the cut, consist of three of those mysterious masks, with the projecting curved stone, already described. "The ornaments over the other doorways are less striking, more simple, and more pleasing. In all of

them there is, in the center, a masked face, with the tongue hanging out, surmounted by an elaborate head-dress. Between the horizontal bars is a range of diamond-shaped ornaments, in which the remains of red paint are still distinctly visible, and at each end of these bars is a serpent's head, with the mouth wide open." It is necessary to examine the drawing attentively, to distinguish these features. Some think the masked face represents the sun.

The western façade is known as the Serpent Façade.



Serpent Façade, Western Building.

It was very much in ruins at the time of Mr. Stephens's visit. When entire, it must have been of great beauty. Two serpents are trailed along the whole front, and by the interlacing of their bodies divide the surface into square panels. In the open mouth of these serpents is sculptured a human head. The panels are filled with ornaments similar in design to those of the "Governor's House," and among the ornaments of each panel are found one or more human faces, while full-sized figures are not entirely absent. This cut represents but a small portion of the façade. It

gives us, however, an idea of the whole. We notice, over the doorway again, the elephant's trunk ornament.

The northern building, standing high above the rest, on its own terrace, was doubtless intended to have the grandest front of all. It was, however, in such a ruined state, and the few remaining fragments so complicated, that no drawings have been given us. Human figures are represented in several places; two are apparently playing on musical instruments. We recall that at Palenque, the roof of some of the temples bears a curious two-storied work, erected apparently for ornamental purposes. The same instinct reappears in this building. At regular intervals along the front they carried the wall above the cornice, forming thirteen turret-like elevations ten feet wide, and seventeen feet high. These turrets were also loaded with ornaments. Another curious feature about this building is, that it was erected over, and completely inclosed, a smaller building of an older date. Wherever the outer walls have fallen, the ornamented cornice of the inner building is visible.

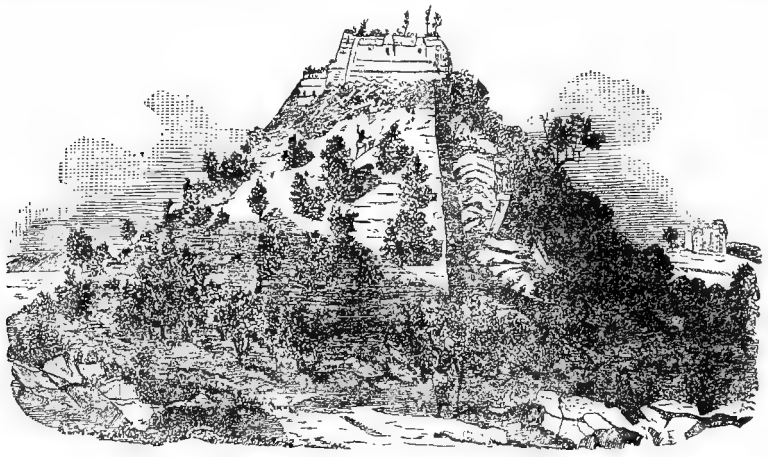
When we reflect on the patient labor that must have been expended on this pyramid and these buildings, we are filled with admiration for their perseverance and ingenuity. They had neither domestic animals or metallic tools. The buildings were massively built and richly ornamented. The sculptured portion covers over twenty-four thousand square feet.[1] The terraced mound supporting the house contained over sixty thousand cubic yards of materials, though this may not be wholly artificial. To our eyes, as these rooms had neither windows nor fire-places, they are not very desirable. But we may be sure that the builders considered them as models of their kind.

Leaving this interesting ruin, we will now visit one of

[1] Bancroft: "Native Races," Vol. IV, p. 179.

the temples. This is east of the Nunnery, and is marked "D" on the plan. The mound on which this building stands is high enough to overlook the entire field of ruins. This cut represents the eastern side of the mound, up which a flight of stone steps lead to the building on the summit. There are some grounds for supposing a grander staircase, supported on triangular arches, led up the western side.

The building on the top is not large—only seventy-two feet long, and twelve feet wide—and consists of but three rooms, none opening into each other. The front of the



Temple, Uxmal.

building, though much ruined, presented an elegant and tasteful appearance. There seems to be no doubt that this temple was the scene of idolatrous worship; perhaps of human sacrifices. In a legal paper which Mr. Stephens saw at Meridia, containing a grant of the lands on which these ruins stand, bearing date 1673, it is expressly stated that the Indians at that time had idols in these ancient buildings, to which, every day, openly and publicly, they burned copal. Nor is there any doubt that this was the continuation of an old custom. In the end room of this temple are

engraved two circular figures which, by some, are considered as proofs of the presence of Phallic worship.[1]

The buildings we have described will give us a very good idea of the structures of this ancient city. We have described but a few of them, but we have now only space to make some general observations. We wish to point out some resemblances to the ruins at Palenque. In both, buildings that served as temples were not large, but of small dimensions, and contained but few rooms. They occupy the summits of high pyramids. Such was probably the building on the summit of the pyramid at "F" (see plan). The buildings on the top of this pyramid, like that just described, had but three rooms. A very large pyramid is seen at "E." Our information in regard to it is very meager. A square platform was found on the summit. It is not unreasonable to suppose that this platform was intended to support a temple. But, before it was erected, the presence of the Spaniards put an end to all native building. There are, however, no proofs to be advanced in support of this statement; it is a mere suggestion.

We think the House of the Nuns illustrates the general plan of building employed at both places. That is as follows: They first erected a rectangular pyramid or mound, often terraced. Buildings were then put up parallel to the four sides, thus inclosing a court. At Palenque this court, as we have seen, was built over. Besides the House of Nuns, there are several other instances at Uxmal of courts with buildings on their sides. Looking at the plan, we see one at "G," and a still more ruined one between that and

[1] The dimensions of this mound are as follows: Length of base, two hundred and thirty-five feet; width of base, one hundred and five feet; height, eighty-eight feet. Though diminishing as it rises, it is not exactly pyramidal, but its corners are rounded. It is incased with stone, and is apparently solid from the plain.—Stephens's "Yucatan," Vol. I, p. 316.

"F." Such a court, with traces of ruined buildings, also exists between the nunnery and the temple, at "D." It is not improbable that groups of low ruins existing to the the westward of the structures described would be found, on examination, to reveal the same arrangements.

As for the grand terraced pyramid supporting the Governor's House, it may well be that other buildings would have been added in process of time, as population increased. It is not necessary to suppose they erected all the buildings around a court at once. It seems very reasonable to suppose the northern building of the House of Nuns the oldest. The direction is not quite the same as the others; it stands on a higher terrace; and, furthermore, the present exterior walls are simply built around the older building. It may be, however, that the great terraced mound of the Governor's House was intended to support but one building. As there is the best of reason for supposing that Uxmal was inhabited at the time of the conquest, there is nothing to forbid the conclusion that the erection of pyramids, temples, and buildings was still going on.

Hieroglyphics, which formed such an interesting feature at Palenque, are here almost entirely wanting. A few rows occur around the head of the figure over the principal doorway of the Governor's House. They are of the same general character as those already described, but are "more rich, elaborate, and complicated." As to the probable antiquity of these ruins, we must defer consideration until we become more acquainted with the ruins of Yucatan.

The places we have now described will make us acquainted with the general character of the ruins scattered all over Yucatan. We do not feel as if we would be justified in dwelling at any great length over the remainder, though one or two important places must be mentioned. A

word as to the frequency with which the ruins occur. We want to repeat that Yucatan, even to this day, is far from being thoroughly explored. Almost our only source of information is the writings of Mr. Stephens. But he only described a few places. In a trip of thirty-nine miles he took in a westerly direction from Uxmal he saw no less than seven different groups of ruins. Some of these, though in a very dilapidated state, presented points of great interest. When he started he knew of but few of those ruins. Some he heard of quite by accident while on his way, and some he first saw as he journeyed along the road. We must suppose the whole country equally well supplied.

After he had left Uxmal for good, at the village of Nochahab (see map), a little inquiry brought him information of so many ruins that he did not have time to visit them all. As to the question of use to which these buildings were applied, we must either suppose they had an immense number of temples and palaces—one or the other every few miles—or else they were the residences of the people themselves. And, though it may seem very strange that an imperfectly developed people should ornament so profusely and delicately their ordinary places of abode,[1] yet it is difficult to understand why they should rear such an abundance of temples and palaces.

At Kabah (see map) Mr. Stephens found a most interesting field of ruins, rivaling Uxmal in extent, if not surpassing it. One group of buildings, arranged much like the House of Nuns, has some interesting features about it. The highest terrace in this case is nearly square, and the building on its summit is nearly the same shape. We have here two rows of double rooms, separated by a middle wall, very massive, as if two of the typical Maya buildings had been

[1] See "Proceedings Am. Antiq. Society," April, 1880, p. 57.

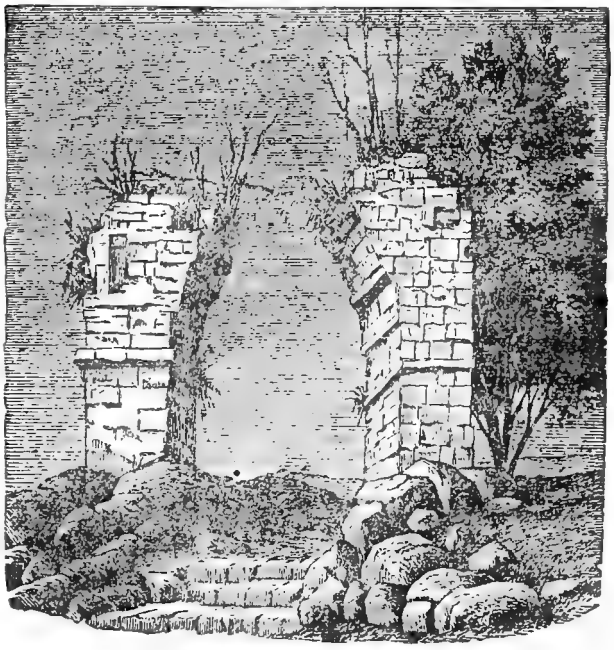
placed back to back. The front of this building was elaborately ornamented. In all the buildings at Uxmal the part above the cornice only was ornamented. Here the entire front was covered with carved stone. To make room for further ornaments the roof bore an additional appendage, like the second story of the Palenque temples. This building must have presented a wonderful appearance when entire.

Another feature at this place has reference to the pyramid. We are familiar with the idea of a terraced mound supporting buildings. In one of these Kabah structures the buildings are arranged in a different and suggestive way. That is, the pyramid was terraced off. There were three ranges of buildings, the roof of one range forming a promenade in front of the other. In another of the Kabah structures was found a wooden lintel, elegantly carved. Mr. Stephens tells us the lines were clear and distinct, and the cutting, under any test, and without any reference to the people by whom it was executed, would be considered as indicating great skill and proficiency in the art of carving on wood. At the expense of a great deal of hard work, he succeeded in getting this lintel out and removed to New York, where it was unfortunately destroyed by fire.

They worked stone to better advantage at Kabah than at Uxmal. For the first time we meet with lintels of stone and a doorway with carved jambs. The lintels were supported in the center by a pillar. The pillars were rude and unpolished, but they were not out of proportion, and, in fact, were adapted to the lowness of the building. We will only mention one more structure. This is a lonely arch, of the same form as all the rest, having a span of fourteen feet. It stands on a ruined mound, disconnected from every other structure, in solitary grandeur. "Darkness rests upon its

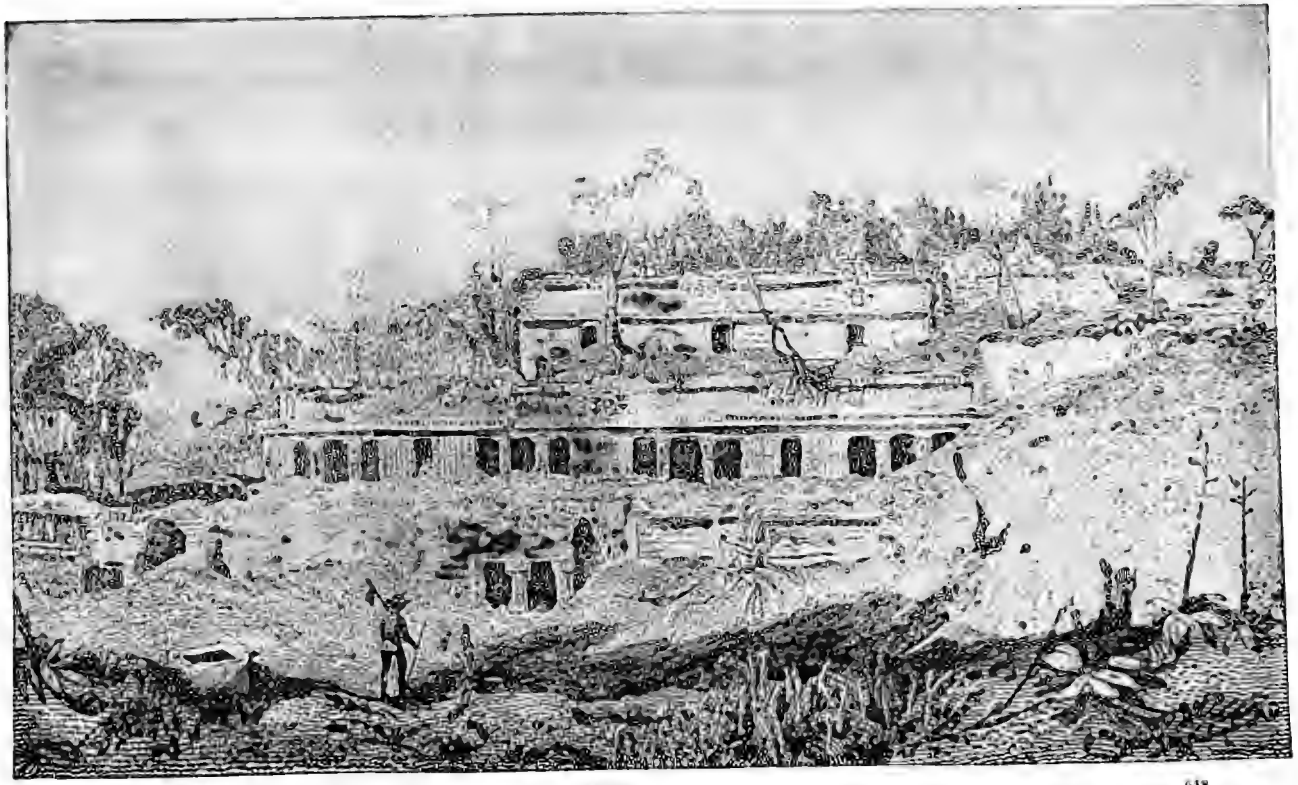
history, but in that desolation and solitude, among the ruins around, it stood like the proud memorial of a Roman triumph." There was the usual pyramid with a temple. In a plan given of the field of ruins seventeen groups are seen, and, without a doubt, many more exist in the immediate forest.

M. Charney has of late years made a discovery which conclusively shows that this was an inhabited place at the



Arch, Kabah.

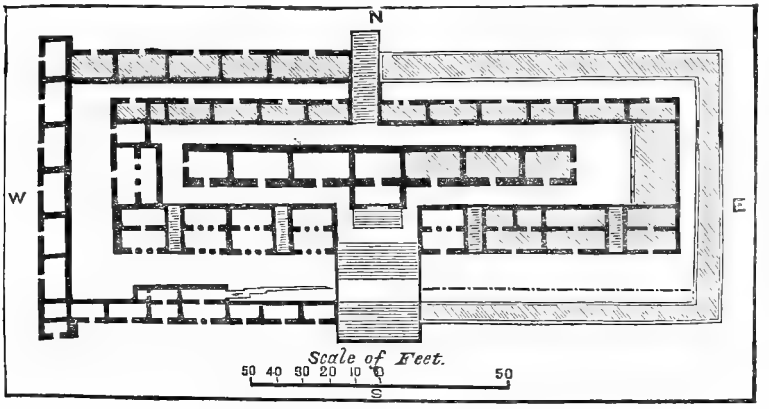
time of the conquest. In a room as ruined as the rest he discovered the stucco figure of a horse and its rider. They are formed after the Indian manner by an inexperienced hand guided by an over-excited imagination. Both figures are easily recognized. The horse has on its trappings. We can see the stirrups. The man wears his cuirass. We all know what astonishment the appearance of men on horse-



ZAYI. 648

back produced among the Indians, and so we are not at a loss to divine the cause which led to the construction of this figure. We must remember Mr. Stephens was hurried for time. Portions of this figure were mutilated, and other portions had been covered over by a layer of stucco, which Charney had to remove before the figure could be distinctly made out.[1]

Within a radius of ten miles from Kabah are located no less than six so-called cities. The general appearance of all is the same—low ranges of buildings on terraced mounds, and ornamented façades. One of these places, by the name of Zayi, is of interest to us, because it gives us a hint as




Plan of Zayi. (Bureau of Ethnology.)

to how these people constructed their buildings. Amongst other buildings they found one large terraced mound, with buildings arranged on it in a very significant manner. There were three ranges of buildings, one over the other—the roof of one range on a level with the foundation of the range above. A grand stair-way led up the mound. This feature is illustrated in the plate opposite. We can imagine what a grand appearance must have been presented by

[1] *North American Review*, 1882.

this great terraced mound, when its buildings were all perfect.

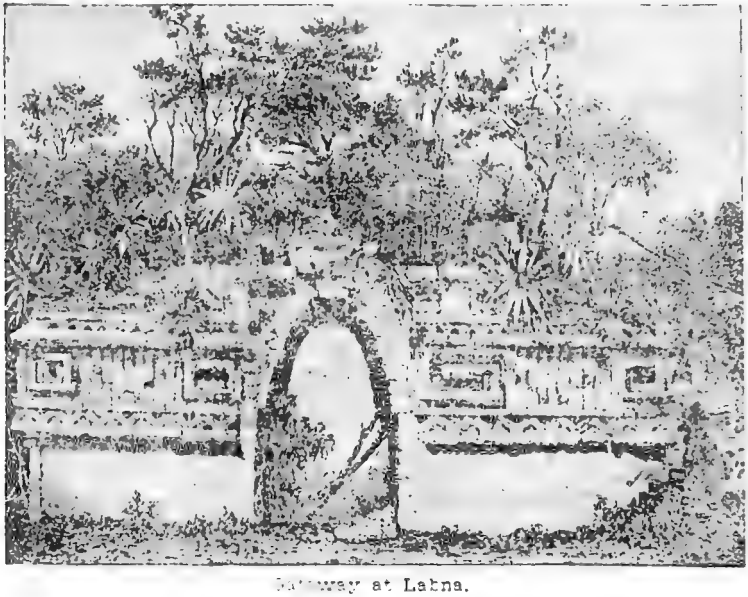
The plan of this mound and buildings is shown in the last cut. Ten rooms on the north side of the second range presented a curious feature. They were all filled up with a solid mass of stone and mortar, and this filling up must have gone on as fast as the walls rose, and the arched ceiling must have closed over a solid mass. A very reasonable explanation is given of this state of things by Mr. Morgan.[1] He considers that such was the rudeness of mechanical knowledge among these people that the only way they could construct their peculiar arched roof was to build it over an internal core of masonry. Once put together over such a core, and carried up several feet, the down weight of the arch would articulate and hold the mass together. Then the core of masonry would be cleaned out, and the room was ready for use. If this be true, it follows that these rooms were the last erected. They were not yet cleared out when the operations of the Spaniards put an end to all native building. We must notice the structures at Zayi are in as ruined a condition as the others—thus strengthening the conviction that their abandonment was at about the time of the conquest of the peninsula.

We have not space to follow Mr. Stephens in all his journey. Every few miles he came across one of these peculiar structures. A common design is apparent in all; but all are alike enveloped in mystery. At Labna he found an extensive field of ruins, equal in importance to any in Yucatan. The next illustration represents an arched gate-way, which reminds us of that in the "House of Nuns." Passing through this he found himself in a ruined court-yard, fronting which were the remains of buildings; but this was

[1] "Contributions to North American Ethnology," Vol. IV, p. 267.

only one of many groups of ruins, and Labna was but one of many places visited. At Labphak Mr. Stephens found "the tottering remains of the grandest structure that now rears its ruined head in the forests of Yucatan." This was a terraced mound, faced by buildings on three sides, leaving an immense stair-way occupying the fourth side.

Small interior stair-ways are mentioned in this building, but no particular description is given of them. At two



Gateway at Labna.

places sculptured tablets were found. These tablets are worthy of notice. They were the only ones Mr. Stephens found, except at Palenque. It will be seen, on the map, that this ruin is nearer Palenque than any of the places in Yucatan yet described. Stucco ornaments, so apparent at the latter place, were now becoming numerous again. At Uxmal stone for building could be had in the greatest abundance—it was not as plenty here. The builders, apparently, adapted their ornamentation to the material at hand; and, while at

Palenque they employed stucco in ornament, at Uxmal they carved stone.[1]

We must now leave this interesting section of Yucatan, though only a few places have been mentioned. The reader is well aware of the difference of opinion with which these ruins are viewed. Some of them are unquestionably temples. If we regard the others as palaces and the public buildings of great cities, we are at once puzzled to account for their great numbers. If we look on the majority of them as communal residences of the inhabitants, we are amazed at the mass of decorations with which they are adorned. But our admiration stops there—we are accustomed to speak of them as stately edifices. This is owing to their exterior ornaments, and their position on terraced mounds. The houses are often of great length, but not striking in other regards. The rooms, in the majority of cases, are small, low, dark, and ill ventilated. A great amount of useless labor was bestowed upon the walls, which were unnecessarily massive.

Near the center of the northern part of the peninsula is seen a place marked Chichen, to which is generally added the word Itza, making the entire name of the place Chichen-itza. In this case the ancient Maya name has come down to us with the ruins—Chichen meaning the "mouth of wells," having reference to two springs which supplied the place with water. Itza is the name of a branch of the Maya people. This place is of interest to us in several ways. It was, unquestionably, a renowned city in aboriginal times. Here the Spaniards met with a very severe repulse. As a ruin it attracted the attention of early writers, and it has been the subject of antiquarian research in recent times. The description of the buildings will not de-

[1] Stephens's "Yucatan," Vol. II, p. 164.

tain us long. They are, evidently, the work of the same people as those whose structures we have already described.

One of the most important buildings is known as the Nunnery, reminding us at once of the collection of buildings of that name at Uxmal. In this case, however, the pyramid is represented by a solid mass of masonry one hundred and twelve by one hundred and sixty feet, rising with perpendicular sides to the height of thirty-two feet. This is seen to be a departure from the method of constructing pyramids hitherto described. The proprietor of the estate on whose grounds these ruins are located used this mound as a stone-quarry. An excavation of thirty feet revealed no secret chambers.

The probabilities are that it is solid throughout. A grand staircase, fifty-six feet wide, leads up to the top of this mound. Mr. Stephens tells us that three ranges of buildings occupied the summit, and his drawings represent the same. The roof of the one forms a promenade in front of the one above. So each range of buildings rests on a foundation solid from the ground. Mr. Bancroft describes this mound as having but two ranges of buildings on the summit. Of these buildings the second range was, seemingly, the most important. Several of its rooms contained niches in the back wall, extending from floor to ceiling. From traces still visible, they were once covered with painted ornaments. One of the rooms was fifty-seven feet long and nine wide.

In the rear wall of this room were nine of these niches. "All of the walls of this room, from the floor to the peak of the arch, had been covered with painted designs, now wantonly defaced, but the remains of which present colors, in some places, still bright and vivid; and among these re-

mains detached portions of human figures continually reappear, well drawn, the heads adorned with plumes of feathers, and the hands bearing shields and spears." To this pile of masonry, at one end, a wing had been attached. This building was similar in design to other buildings in Yucatan. Theoretically we would expect this wing to be much later in time than the buildings on the mound. That it is so, is proven by the fact that in two rooms the internal core of masonry, as described at Zayi, had not been wholly removed.

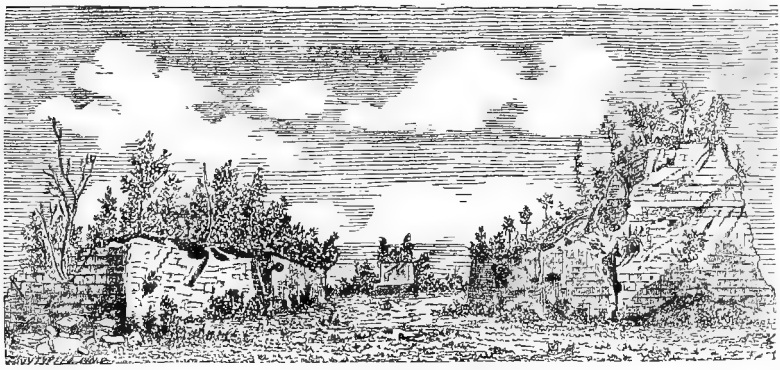
We have noticed in all these structures, the builders first threw up a mound or pyramid to support the building. In one of the Chichen edifices the earth had been excavated from all around it, so as to still present the appearance of a mound. Perhaps the most prominent object at this place is a stately pyramid, with an imposing building, represented in the plate opposite. The mound itself is nearly two hundred feet square, and rises to the height of seventy-five feet. On the west and north sides are ruined staircases.

On the ground, at the foot of the stairway on the north side, "forming a bold, striking, and well conceived commencement to this lofty range, are two colossal serpents' heads, ten feet in length, with mouths wide open, and tongues protruding. No doubt they were emblematic of some religious belief, and, in the mind of an imaginative people passing between them, to ascend the steps, must have excited feelings of solemn awe." The temple on the summit of this pyramid has some peculiar features about it. It is nearly square—forty-three by forty-nine feet—only one door in each side. In the room within, instead of partition walls supporting arches, were two immense beams, resting on square pillars, and supporting two arches—the only instance in the ruins of Yucatan of such use of beams.

We now wish to speak of one class of ruins which are

CASTILLO, CHICHEN-ITZA

present at Uxmal, but which we did not describe. They are two parallel walls. On the plan of Uxmal they are noticed between the Governor's House and the House of Nuns. This illustration represents this feature. These walls are each two hundred and seventy-four feet long, thirty feet thick, and twenty-six feet high. The distance separating them is one hundred and twenty feet. About one hundred feet from the north end, is seen a building fronting the open space between the walls. A building



Gymnasium, at Chichen-Itza.

stood in a like position at the south end. In the cut a stone ring is seen projecting from each side. On the rim and border of these rings were sculptured two serpents, represented on page 658. The general supposition is that this structure was used in the celebration of public games. Mr. Stephens refers us to the writings of Herrera, an early historian, for a description of a game of ball played at Mexico, where the surroundings must have been much the same as is here represented.

Most of the structures in Yucatan have been left in undisturbed quiet since the visit of Mr. Stephens. Five years after his visit, the Indians rose in revolt, and a large portion of country through which he traveled in perfect

safety has, since then, been shunned by cautious travelers. As he says, "For a brief space the stillness that reigned around them was broken, and they were again left to solitude and silence." At Uxmal, and some places near the coast, more recent travelers have investigated the ruins, wondered over them, and passed on, without materially adding to our knowledge respecting them. In 1873 a French scientist, Dr. A. Le Plongon, accompanied by his wife, visited Yucatan for the purpose of exploring the ruins. They spent a year in Meridia, thoroughly studying the customs of the country, and preparing for work

Ring.

Their first field of work was this ancient city, Chichen-Itza. As a result, he lays before us a picture of life and times not only vastly remote from us, but surpassing in wonder any thing hitherto presented. In the field of American antiquities we need scarcely be surprised at whatever conclusions are presented to us. We believe, however, we are not too harsh in saying that scholars, as a rule, consider Le Plongon as too much carried away by enthusiasm to judge coolly of his discoveries.[1] The most im-

[1] Short's "North Americans of Antiquity," p. 396; Charney: *North American Review*, October, 1880.

portant part of his discoveries seem to have been in the buildings in connection with the Gymnasium last described.

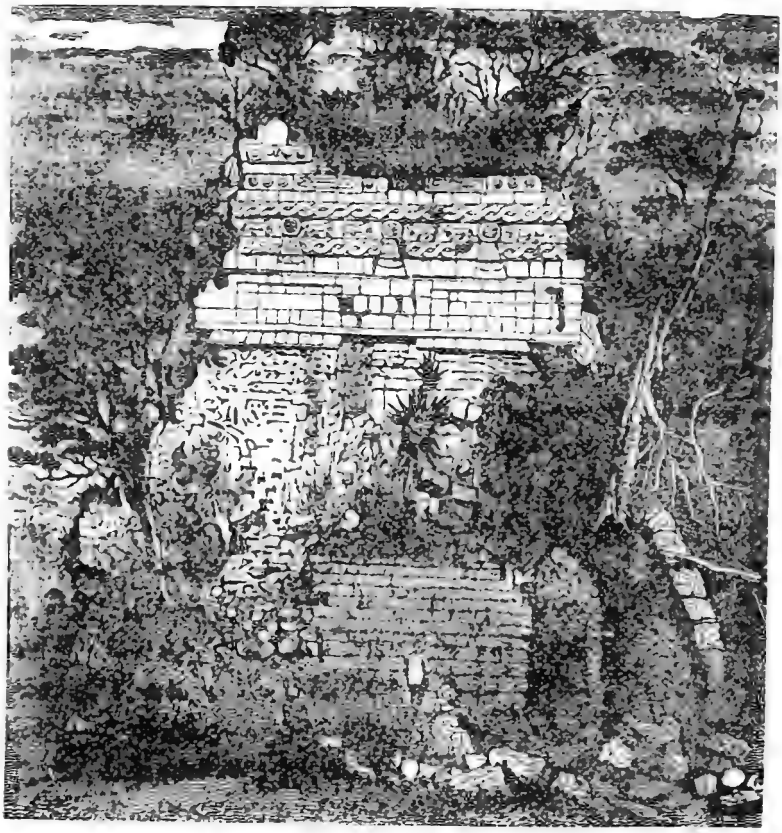
At the time of the Spanish conquest, a very common tradition among the natives was that, in ancient times, three brothers governed the country. This legend of three rulers in olden times, was not peculiar to the Mayas, but was found among all the Indian nations of Central America.[1] In our opinion this last statement at once shows we have here to deal with a question belonging to mythology and not to history. But M. Le Plongon considers the buildings at Chichen, especially those of the Gymnasium, illustrative of the lives of the three brothers, and of the queen of one of them. In brief, he tells us the names of these three brothers were, Chaac-Mol, Huuncay, and Aac. The first of these, Chaac-Mol, means Tiger King. It was he who raised Chichen-Itza to the height of its glory. M. Le Plongon would have us believe that the merchants of Asia and Africa traded in its marts, and that the wise men of the world came hither to consult with the H-men,[2] whose convent, together with their astronomical laboratory, is still to be seen. Aac was the younger brother of the three. He conspired against the life of Chaac-Mol, and finally killed him. The queen of Chaac-Mol then erected the buildings around the Gymnasium as his memorial.

At the south end of the eastern wall Mr. Stephens noticed two ruined buildings, an upper and a lower one, of which our next cut is a representation. He was struck with the remains of painting, which entirely covered the walls. He tells us the walls were everywhere covered with designs in painting, representing, in bright and vivid colors, human figures, battles, houses, trees, and scenes of domestic life. We

[1] "Proceedings Am. Antiq. Society," Oct., 1878, p. 73.

[2] Learned men of the Mayas.

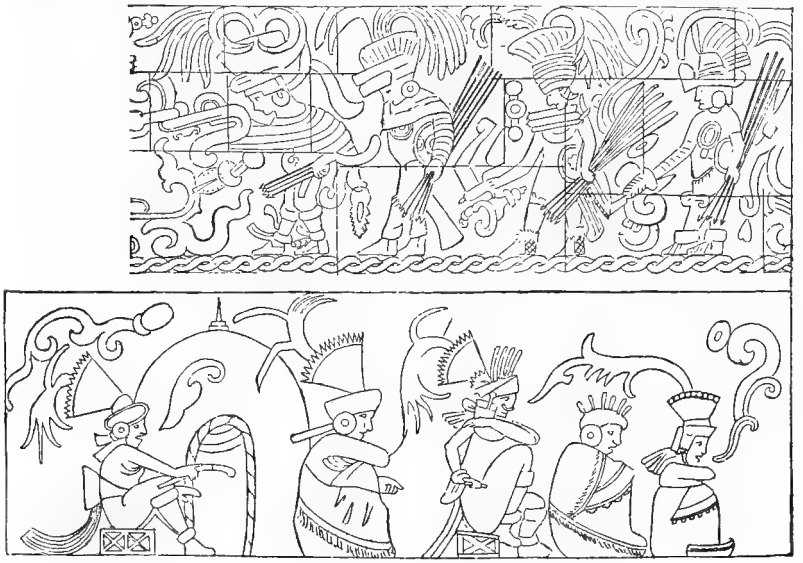
give, in a plate, detached portions of these figures. We must understand that, in the original, these were beautifully colored. The colors used were "green, yellow, red, blue, and reddish brown, the last being invariably the color given to human flesh." (Page 661.)



Building at end of Gymnasium.

M. Le Plongon contends that these paintings represent scenes in the lives of the three brothers and the Queen of Chaac-Mol, "in the funeral chamber." Says he: "The terrible altercation between Aac and Chaac-Mol, which had its termination in the murder of the latter by his brother, is

represented by large figures three-fourths life size."[1] And in another place he tells us: "The scenes of his death is impressively portrayed on the walls, which the queen caused to be raised to the memory of her husband, in the two exquisite rooms, the ruins of which are yet to be seen upon the south end of the east wall of the Gymnasium. The rooms were a shrine where the conjugal love of the queen worshiped the memory of her departed lover. She adorned



Painted Stucco-work.

the outer walls with his effigies, his totem-tiger, and his shield and coat-of-arms between tiger and tiger;[2] whilst on the admirably polished stucco, that covers the stones in the interior of the rooms, she had his deeds—his and her own life, in fact—painted in beautiful, life-like designs, superbly drawn, and sweetly colored."[3]

He tells us, further, that Aac, after the commission of

[1] American Antiquarian Society, October 1878.

[2] The tigers can be seen on the engraving of the gymnasium. (Page 660.)

[3] Proceedings American Antiquarian Society, April, 1877, p. 97.

his crime, fled to Uxmal for protection, where he built the edifice described as the "Governor's House." The seated figures over the central door-way (see page 630), he says, represents Aac. In the hieroglyphics around the head he finds the name. Although neither Mr. Stephens nor the other travelers mention any thing of the kind, he says that, under the feet of this figure, "are to be seen the bodies of three figures, two men and one woman, flayed."[1] Though

Queen Consulting the H-men.

the figures are headless, he has no doubt but that they represent Huuncay, Chaac-mol, and the queen, his wife. We are further told that the ruined structure on the second terrace, called the "House of Turtles," was Aac's private residence.

This wonderful story of the lives and adventures of the three brothers was revealed to the doctor by a careful study

[1] Proceedings American Antiquarian Society, April, 1877, p. 101.

of the detached painting mentioned by Mr. Stephens. One of the paintings which served him so good a turn is shown in the cut opposite, which he considers represents the queen, when a child, consulting one of the wise men as to her future destiny.[1]

Perhaps as interesting a portion of his discoveries as any, is finding sculptured figures of bearded white men on the pillars of the temple, and painted on the walls of Chaac-mol's chambers. He thinks they have Assyrian features. He also claims to have discovered figures having true Negro features.

As to the antiquity of this city he readily figures up nineteen thousand years; but this did not take him to the beginning. He arrives at this estimate in this way: To the north-east of the pyramid, we have described, are to be seen rows of small columns, which have excited the curiosity of all who have seen them. Mr. Stephens represents them in four rows, inclosing a rectangular area. M. Le Plongon says they surrounded three sides of a terraced pyramid, which once supported the main temple of the city. Mr. Stephens has no suggestions to offer as to their use.

Le Plongon claims they were used to measure time, and quotes from old authors to the effect, that each stone in them stands for twenty years; and, as there is always just eight stones in a column, each column means one hundred and sixty years. He counted one hundred and twenty of these columns—and then, as he says: "Got tired of pushing my way through the nearly impenetrable thicket, where I could see many more among the shrubs." From this number he computes nineteen thousand two hundred years.

[1] M. Le Plongon interprets the curved figures issuing from the throat of the wise-man. In the original, different parts of this figure were of different colors. The doctor frankly tells us, that "imagination does the greater part of the work" in his interpretation.

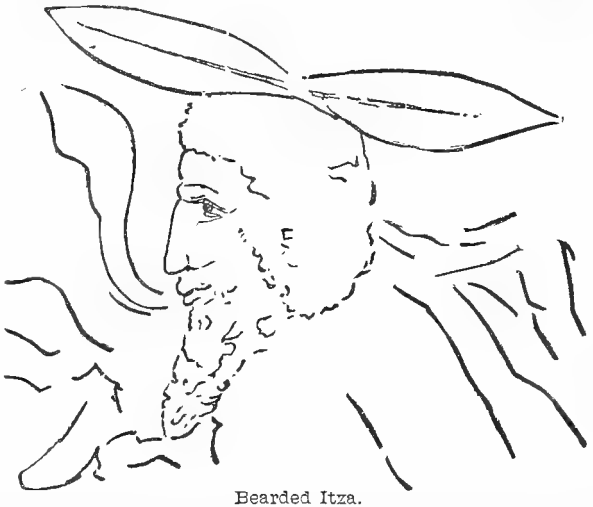
What shall we say to this story that M. Le Plongon brings us of ancient Maya civilization? It is unquestioned that he has expended a great amount of patient labor in his work, has braved many dangers, and is thoroughly in earnest. He has also spent years in the field, and ought to be well qualified to judge of the ruins. We believe, however, he is altogether wrong in his conclusions. The keystone of his discoveries—the one on which he relies to prove the accuracy of his methods—fails him. This was the discovery of the statue of Chaac-mol himself, which is here represented. He claims to have found it as the result of successfully rendering certain mural tablets in the funeral chamber, but a careful reading of his own account of the affair leaves us under the impression that the "instincts of the archæologist" had as much to do with it as any thing else.[1]

Chaac-mol.

Be that as it may, he certainly did find this statue buried in the ground. He is very positive it is Chaac-mol, claiming to have read the name readily in hieroglyphics on the ear-tablets. He says: "It is not an idol, but a true portrait of a man who has lived an earthly life. I have seen him represented in battle, in council, and in court receptions. I am well acquainted with his life, and the man-

[1] "Guided, as I have said, by my interpretations of the mural paintings, bas-reliefs, and other signs, . . . I directed my steps, perhaps inspired by the instincts of the archæologist, to a dense part of the thicket." Proceedings Am. Antiq. Society, April, 1877, p. 85.

ner of his death." This statue was seized by the Mexican Government, and taken to Mexico. Here a curious discovery was made. Another statue similar to this was already in the museum. This latter had been found not far from Mexico. Since then, still a third, smaller than the others, but evidently representing the same personage, has been discovered. In short, it has been shown that this is an idol, worshiped as well by the Astecs as by the Mayas, and,



Bearded Itza.

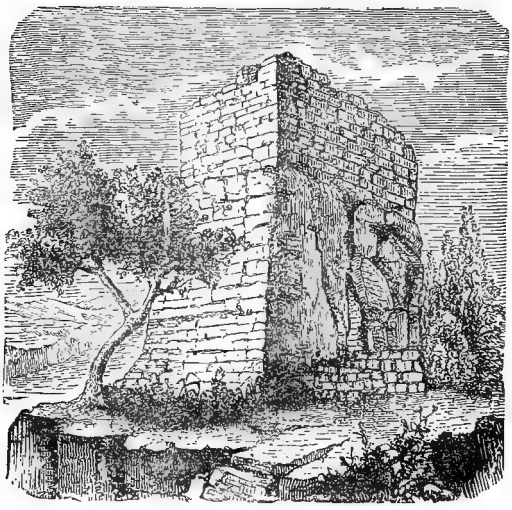
instead of being buried, as Le Plongon asserts, five thousand years ago, we have not much doubt it was buried to prevent its falling into the hands of the Spaniards.[1]

As to the antiquity with which Le Plongon would clothe Chichen, if his method be right, he has not more than made a beginning. Mr. Stephens counted three hundred and eighty of these same columns, and tells us there were many more.[2] We know no good reason for supposing Chichen was not inhabited at the time of the conquest.

[1] *North American Review*, October, 1880. And yet there are indications that this is a statue. See Bandelier's "Archæological Tour in Mexico," p. 74.

[2] Stephens's "Yucatan," Vol. II, p. 318.

The wooden beams and lintels in the temples have not yet decayed, and the masonry had not been cleaned out of some of the rooms. On this point we wish to make a suggestion, a mere hint. The pillars that supported the arches in the temple mentioned some pages back were covered with sculpture. Amongst some others, but very faintly represented, was the preceding figure of a bearded man. May it not be that it represents a Spaniard? We must recall the stucco figure of the horse and its rider at Kabah. It seems to us a reasonable suggestion that they should carve on the pillars of their temples representations of the Spaniards, for the Spaniards were twenty-five years in gaining a permanent foothold in Yucatan, and during that time the Indians would continue to build and ornament as before.



ARIZONA RUIN

# CHAPTER XV.

## THE CULTURE OF THE CIVILIZED TRIBES.[1]

DIFFERENT views on this question—Reason for the same—Their architecture—Different styles of houses—The communal house—The tecpan—The teocalli—State of society indicated by this architecture—The gens among the Mexicans—The phratry among the Mexicans—The tribe—The powers and duties of the council—The head chiefs of the tribe—The duties of the "Chief-of-men"—The mistake of the Spaniards—The Confederacy—The idea of property among the Mexicans—The ownership of land—Their laws—Enforcement of the laws—Outline of the growth of the Mexicans in power—Their tribute system—How collected—Their system of trade—Slight knowledge of metallurgy—Religion—Quietzalcohuatl—Huitzilopochtli—Mexican priesthood—Human sacrifices—The system of Numeration—The calendar system—The calendar stone—Picture writing—Landa alphabet—Historical outline.

A LANDSCAPE presents varied aspects according to the standpoint from which it is viewed. Here we have a glimpse of hill and dale; there a stretch of running water. But two persons, standing in the same position, owing to their different mental temperaments, will view things in a different light. Where one, an artist born, is carried away with the beautiful scenery, another, with a more practical turn of mind, perceives only its adaptability for investments. Education

[1] The manuscript of this chapter was submitted to A. F. Bandelier for criticism. The part bearing on religion was subsequently rewritten. Absence from the country prevented his examining it.

and habits of life are also very potent factors in determining our views on various questions. Scholars of wide and extended learning differ very greatly in their views of questions deeply affecting human interests. We know how true that is of abstruse topics, such as religion and questions of state polity. It is also true of the entire field of scientific research. The unknown is a vastly greater domain than the known, and men, after deep and patient research, adopt widely different theories to explain the same facts.

It need, therefore, occasion no surprise to learn that there is a great difference of opinion as to the real state of culture among the so-called civilized tribes of Mexico and Central America. We have incidentally mentioned this difference in describing the ruins and their probable purpose. As one of the objects we have in view, and perhaps the most important one, is to learn what we can of the real state of society amongst the prehistoric people we treat of, it becomes necessary to examine these different views, and, if we can not decide in our own minds what to accept as true, we will be prepared to receive additional evidence that scholars are now bringing forward, and know to how weigh them and compare them with others.

It has only been within the last few years that we have gained an insight into the peculiar organization of Indian society. After some centuries of contact between the various tribes of Indians and whites, their social organization was still unknown. But we are now beginning to understand this, and the important discovery has also been made that this same system of government was very widely spread, indeed. This subject has, however, been as extensively treated as is necessary in chapter xii, so we need not stop longer. But if, with all the light of modern learn-

ing, we have only lately gained a clear understanding of the social organization of Indian tribes, it need occasion no surprise, nor call for any indignant denial, to affirm that the Spaniards totally misunderstood the social organization of the tribes with which they came in contact in Mexico.

We must also take into consideration the political condition of Europe at this time. Feudalism still exercised an influence on men's minds. The Spanish writers, in order to convey to Europeans a knowledge of the country and its inhabitants, applied European names and phrases to American Indian (advanced though they were) personages and institutions. But the means employed totally defeated the object sought. Instead of imparting a clear idea, a very erroneous one was conveyed.

As an illustration of this abuse of language, we might refer to the case of Montezuma, which name itself is a corruption of the Mexican word "Motecu-zoma," meaning literally "my wrathy chief." Mr. Bandelier[1] and Mr. Morgan have quite clearly shown what his real position was. His title was "chief of men."[2] He was simply one of the two chief executive officers of the tribe and general of the forces of the confederacy. His office was strictly elective, and he could be deposed for misdemeanor. Instead of giving him his proper title, and explaining its meaning, the Spaniards bestowed on him the title of king, which was soon enlarged to that of emperor, European words, it will

[1] Mr. Bandelier is the author of three essays on the culture of the ancient Mexicans. These are published in Volume II of "Peabody Museum Reports." We wish to make a general reference to these essays. They are invaluable to the student. Every position is sustained by numerous quotations from the early writers. In order to save constant references to them, we will here state that, unless other authorities are given for striking statements as to the culture of the Mexicans, their social organizations, etc., it is understood that our authority is found in these essays.

[2] In Mexican, "Tlaca-tecuhtli."

be observed, which convey an altogether wrong idea of Mexican society. Many such illustrations could be given.

The literature that has grown up about this subject is very voluminous, but the authors not being acquainted with the organization of Indian society, have not been able to write understandingly about them. We do not flatter ourselves that we have now solved all the difficulties of the case. But since Mr. Morgan has succeeded in throwing such a flood of light on the constitution of ancient society, and especially of Indian society, and Mr. Bandelier has given us the results of his careful investigation of the culture of the Mexicans, we feel that a foundation has been laid for a correct understanding of this vexed problem.

We will now examine their architecture, or style of building. In dealing with prehistoric people, we have several times referred to the tribal state of government, involving village life and communism in living. We have seen how this principle enabled us to understand the condition of Europe during the Neolithic Age. In still another place we have used this principle to show the connection of the Pueblo Indians and other tribes of the United States. Now we think this is the key which is to explain many of the ruins we have described in the preceding chapter. But another principle to be borne in mind, is that of defense. War, we have seen, is really the normal state of things amongst tribal communities. Therefore, either some position naturally strong must be selected as a village site, or the houses themselves must be fortified, after the fashion of Indians. This will be found to explain many peculiarities in their method of construction.

Amongst the pueblo structures of to-day, and among the ruins of the cliff-dwellers, we have seen how compact every thing was. The estufa, or place of council and worship,

was built in close proximity to the other building, and sometimes it formed part of it, and we do not learn that there was any thing distinguishing about the apartments of the chief. Further South a change is noticed. A specialization of structures, if we may use such an expression, has taken place, and, among the Mexicans, three kinds of houses were distinguished. It is extremely probable the same classification could be made elsewhere. There was, first of all, the ordinary dwelling houses. Every vestige of aboriginal buildings in the pueblos of Mexico has long since disappeared, and our knowledge of these structures can only be gathered from the somewhat confused accounts of the early writers.

Many, perhaps most, of the houses had a terraced, pyramidal foundation. Some were constructed on three sides of a court, like those on the Rio Chaco, in New Mexico. Others probably surrounded an open court, or quadrangle. The houses were of one and two stories in height. When two stories, the upper one receded from the first, probably in the terraced form. As serving to connect them with the more ornamental structures in Yucatan, we are told they were sometimes "adorned with elegant cornices and stucco designs of flowers and animals, which were often painted with brilliant colors. Prominent among these figures was the coiling serpent."[1] After pointing out, by many citations, that the evidence always was that these houses were occupied by many families, Mr. Morgan concludes, "They were evidently joint tenement-houses of the aboriginal American model, each occupied by a number of families ranging from five and ten to one hundred, and perhaps, in some cases, two hundred families in a house."[2]

[1] Bancroft's "Native Races," Vol. II, p. 572.

[2] "Contribution to North American Ethnology," Vol. IV, p. 229.

We can discern this kind of dwelling-house in many of the descriptions we have given of the ruins in the preceding chapter. M. Charney evidently found them at Tulla and Teotihuacan. Mr. Bandelier concludes that similar ruins once crowded the terraces at Cholula, and that to this class belongs the ruins at Mitla. The Palace, at Palenque, is evidently but another instance, as well as the House of Nuns, at Uxmal. In fact, with our present knowledge of the pueblos of Arizona, and the purposes which they subserved, as well as the uses made of such houses by the Mexicans, we are no longer justified in bestowing upon the structures in Yucatan the name of palaces.

The mistake was excusable among the Spaniards. They were totally ignorant of the mode of life indicated by these joint tenement-houses. When they found one of these large structures, capable of accommodating several hundred occupants, with its inner court, terraced foundation, and ornamented by stucco work, or sculpture, it was extremely natural that they should call it a palace, and cast about for some titled owner.

A second class of houses includes public buildings. The Mexicans, when at the height of their power, required buildings for public use, and this was doubtless true of the people who inhabited Uxmal and Palenque. The most important house was the tecpan, the official house of the tribe, the council house proper. This was the official residence of the "chief of men" and his assistants, such as runners. This was the place of meeting of the council of chiefs. It was here that the hospitality of the Pueblo was exercised. Official visitors from other tribes and traders from a distance were provided with accommodations here. When Cortez and his followers entered Mexico they were provided for at the tecpan. We would not expect to find

these public buildings, except in rich and prosperous pueblos. It has been suggested that the Governor's House at Uxmal was the official house of that settlement. The large halls, suitable for council purposes, favor this idea.[1]

A third class of buildings was the teocalli, or "House of God"—in other words, the temple. These were quite common. Each of the gens that composed the Mexican tribe had its own particular medicine lodge or temple. This was doubtless true of each and every tribe of sedentary Indians in the territory we are describing. "The larger temples were usually built upon pyramidal parallelograms, square or oblong, and consisted of a series of superimposed terraces with perpendicular or sloping sides."[2] It is not necessary to dwell longer on this style of buildings. We have only to recall the temples of the Sun, of the Cross, and of the Beau-relief at Palenque; the House of the Dwarf at Uxmal, and the Citadel at Chichen-Itza, to gather a clear idea of their construction.

The architecture of a people is a very good exponent of their culture. Yet all have seen what different views are held as to the culture of the tribes we are considering. We have, perhaps, said all that is required on this part of the subject, yet even repetition is pardonable if it enables us to more clearly understand our subject. The ornamentation on the ruins of Yucatan is so peculiar that in our opinion it has unduly influenced the judgment of explorers in this matter. They lose sight of the fact that the apartments of the houses are small, dark, and illy ventilated.

That they should have gone to the trouble of so profusely decorating their usual places of abode is, indeed,

[1] Morgan's "Contributions to N. A. Ethnology," p. 256.
[2] Bancroft's "Native Races," Vol. II, p. 576.

somewhat singular.[1] But Mitla was certainly an inhabited pueblo at the time of the Spanish conquest, and there is no good reason for concluding it was ever any thing more than a group of communal buildings. Yet, from the description given of it, we can not see that the buildings are greatly inferior in decoration to the structures in Yucatan. And yet again, from the imperfect accounts we have of the aboriginal structures in the pueblo of Mexico, we infer they were constructed on the general plan of communal buildings. As for the decorations, we have seen they had sometimes elaborate cornices, and were covered with stucco designs of animals and flowers. In this case some of them were, to be sure, public buildings for tribal purposes, but the majority of them were certainly communal residences. With these facts before us, we can not do otherwise than conclude that these so-called ruins of great cities we have described are simply the ruins of pueblos, consisting of communal houses, temples, and, in the case of large and powerful tribes, official houses. To this conclusion we believe American scholars are tending more and more.

This requires us to dismiss the idea that the majority of the people lived in houses of a poorer construction, which have since disappeared, leaving the ruins of the houses of the nobles. There was no such class division of the people as this would signify. These ruins were houses occupied by the people in common. With this understanding, a questioning of the ruins can not fail to give us some useful hints. We are struck with their ingenuity as builders. They made use of the best material at hand. In Arizona the dry climate permits of the use of adobe bricks, which

[1] "Who ever heard of an imperfectly developed race decorating so profusely and so delicately their ordinary abodes, in a manner usually reserved for temples and palaces?" S. F. Haven, in Proceedings of Am. Antiq. Society, April, 1880, p. 57.

were employed, though stone was also used. Further south the pouring tropical ruins would soon bring down in ruins adobe structures, and so stone alone is used.

In the Arizona pueblo we have a great fortress-built house, three and four stories high, and no mode of access to the lower story. This is in strict accord with Indian principles of defense, which consists in elevated positions. Sometimes this elevated position was a natural hill, as at Quemada, Tezcocingo, and Xochicalco. Where no hill was at hand they formed a terraced pyramidal foundation, as at Copan, Palenque, and Uxmal. In the highest forms of this architecture this elevation is faced with stone, or even composed throughout of stone, as in the case of the House of Nuns at Chichen-Itza. In the construction of houses progress seems to have taken place in two directions. The rooms increased in size. In some of the oldest pueblo structures in Arizona the rooms were more like a cluster of cells than any thing else.[1]

They grow larger towards the South. In the house at Teotihuacan M. Charney found a room twenty-seven feet wide by forty-one feet long. Two of the rooms in the Governor's House at Uxmal are sixty feet long. But the buildings themselves diminish in size. In Mexico the majority of the houses were but one story high, and but very few more than two stories. In Yucatan but few instances are recorded of houses two stories high. We must remember that throughout the entire territory we are considering the tribes had no domestic animals, their agriculture was in a rude state, and they were practically destitute of metals.[2] They could have been no farther advanced on the road to

[1] Morgan's "Contribution to N. A. Ethnology," Vol. IV, p. 186.

[2] Cortez saw "trinkets made of gold and silver, of lead, bronze, copper, and tin." They were on the confines of a true Bronze Age. Proceedings of Am. Antiq. Society, April, 1879, p. 81.

civilization than were the various tribes of Europe during the Bronze Age. Remembering this, we can not fail to be impressed with the ingenuity, patient toil, and artistic taste they displayed in the construction and decoration of their edifices.

It may seem somewhat singular that we should treat of their architecture before we do of their system of government, but we were already acquainted with the ruins of the former. When we turn to the latter we find ourselves involved in very great difficulties. The description given of Mexican society by the majority of writers on these topics represent it as that of a powerful monarchy. The historian Prescott, in his charming work [1] draws a picture that would not suffer by comparison with the despotic magnificence of Oriental lands. At a later date Mr. Bancroft, supporting himself by an appeal to a formidable list of authorities, regilds the scene.[2] But protests against such views are not wanting. Robertson, in his history, though bowing to the weight of authority, can not forbear expressing his conviction that there had been some exaggeration in the splendid description of their government and manners.[3] Wilson, more skeptical, and bolder, utterly repudiates the old accounts, and refuses to believe the Aztecs were any thing more than savages.[4]

With such divergent and conflicting views, we at once perceive the necessity of carefully scanning all the accounts given, and make them conform, if possible, to what is known of Indian institutions and manners. The Mexicans are but one of several tribes that are the subjects of our research; but their institutions are better known than the others, and, in a general way, whatever is true of them will

[1] "History of the Conquest of Mexico."
[2] Bancroft's "Native Races," Vol. II.
[3] "History of America," 1818, Vol. III, book viii, p. 9.
[4] Wilson's "Conquest of Mexico."

be true of the rest. We have seen the efforts of the Spanish explorers to explain whatever they found new or strange in America by Spanish words, and the results of such procedure. We are at full liberty to reject their conclusions and start anew.

What the Spaniards found around the lakes of Mexico was a union or confederacy of three tribes. Very late investigations by Mr. Bandelier have established the presence of the usual subdivisions of the tribes. So we have here a complete organization according to the terms of ancient society: that is, the gens, phratry, tribe, and confederacy of tribes. It is necessary that we spend some time with each of these subdivisions before we can understand the condition of society among the Mexicans, and, in all probability, the society among all of the civilized nations of Central America.

We will begin with the gens, or the lowest division of the tribe. We must understand its organization before we can understand that of a tribe, and we must master the tribal organization before attempting to learn the workings of the confederacy. To neglect this order, and commence at the top of the series, is to make the same mistake that the older writers did in their studies into this culture. A gens has certain rights, duties, and privileges which belong to the whole gens, and we will consider some of the more important in their proper place. We must understand by a gens a collection of persons who are considered to be all related to each other. An Indian could not, of his own will, transfer himself from one gens to another. He remained a member of the gens into which he was born. He might, by a formal act of adoption, become a member of another gens; or he might, in certain contingencies, lose his connection with a gens and become an outcast. There is no such thing

as privileged classes in a gens. All its members stand on an equal footing. The council of the gens is the supreme ruling power in the gens. Among some of the northern tribes, all the members in the gens, both male and female, had a voice in this council. In the Mexican gens, the council itself was more restricted. The old men, medicine men, and distinguished men met in council—but even here, on important occasions, the whole gens met in council.

Each gens would, of course, elect its own officers. They could remove them from office as well, whenever occasion required. The Mexican gentes elected two officers. One of these corresponded to the sachem among northern tribes. His residence was the official house of the gens. He had in charge the stores of the gens; and, in unimportant cases, he exercised the powers of a judge. The other officer was the war-chief. In times of war he commanded the forces of the gens. In times of peace he was, so to speak, the sheriff of the gens.

The next division of the tribe was the phratry—the word properly meaning a brotherhood. Referring to the outline on page 486, we notice that the eight gentes were reunited into two phratries. Mr. Morgan tells us that the probable origin of phratries was from the subdivision of an original gens. Thus a tradition of the Seneca Indians affirms that the Bear and the Deer gentes were the original gentes of that tribe.[1] In process of time they split up into eight gentes, which would each have all the rights and duties of an original gens—but, for certain purposes, they were still organized into two divisions.

Each of these larger groups is called a phratry. All of the Iroquois tribes were organized into phratries, and the same was, doubtless, true of the majority of the tribes of

[1] Morgan's "Ancient Society" p. 91.

North America. The researches of Mr. Bandelier have quite conclusively established the fact, that the ancient Mexican tribe consisted of twenty gentes reunited as four phratries, which constituted the four quarters of the Pueblo of Mexico.

It is somewhat difficult to understand just what the rights and duties of a phratry were. This division does not exist in all tribes. But, as it was present among the Mexicans, we must learn what we can of its powers. Among the Iroquois the phratry was apparent chiefly in religious matters, and in social games. They did not elect any war-chief. The Mexican phratry was largely concerned with military matters. The forces of each phratry went out to war as separate divisions. They had their own costumes and banners. The four phratries chose each their war-chief, who commanded their forces in the field, and who, as commander, was the superior of the war-chiefs of the gentes.

In time of peace, they acted as the executors of tribal justice. They belonged to the highest grade of war-chiefs in Mexico—but there was nothing hereditary about their offices. They were strictly elective, and could be deposed for cause. They were in no case appointed by a higher authority. One of these chiefs was always elected to fill the office of "Chief of Men;"[1] and, in cases of emergency, they could take his place—but this would be only a temporary arrangement.

Ascending the scale, the next term of the series is the tribe. The Spanish writers took notice of a tribe, but failed to notice the gens and phratry. This is not to be considered a singular thing. The Iroquois were under the observation of our own people two hundred years before the discovery was made in reference to them. "The existence

[1] But, on this point, see "Peabody Reports," Vol. II, p. 685 -note, p. 282.

among them of clans, named after animals, was pointed out at an early day, but without suspecting that it was the unit of a social system upon which both the tribe and the confederacy rested."[1] But, being ignorant of this fact, it is not singular that they made serious mistakes in their description of the government.

We now know that the Mexican tribe was composed of an association of twenty gentes, that each of these gens was an independent unit, and that all of its members stood on an equal footing. This, at the outset, does away with the idea of a monarchy. Each gens would, of course, have an equal share in the government. This was effected by means of a council composed of delegates from each gens. There is no doubt whatever of the existence of this council among the Mexicans. "Every tribe in Mexico and Central America, beyond a reasonable doubt, had its council of chiefs. It was the governing body of the tribe, and a constant phenomenon in all parts of aboriginal America."[2] The Spanish writers knew of the existence of this council, but mistook its function. They generally treat of it as an advisory board of ministers appointed by the "king."

Each of the Mexican gens was represented in this council by a "Speaking Chief," who, of course was elected by the gens he represented. All tribal matters were under the control of this council. Questions of peace and war, and the distribution of tribute, were decided by the council. They also had judicial duties to perform. Disputes between different gentes were adjusted by them. They also would have jurisdiction of all crimes committed by those unfortunate individuals who were not members of any gens, and of crimes committed on territory not belonging to any gens, such as the Teocalli, Market-place, and Tecpan.

[1] Morgan's "Ancient Society," p. 197. [2] Ibid., p. 205.

The council must have regular stated times of meeting; they could be called together at any time. At the time of Cortez's visits they met daily. This council was, of course, supreme in all questions coming before it; but every eighty days there was a council extraordinary. This included the members of the council proper, the war-chiefs of the four phratries, the war-chiefs of the gentes, and the leading medicine men. Any important cause could be reserved for this meeting, or, if agreed upon, a reconsideration of a cause could be had. We must understand that the tribal council could not interfere in any matter referring solely to a gens; that would be settled by the gens itself.

The important points to be noticed are, that it was an elective body, representing independent groups, and that it had supreme authority. But the tribes needed officers to execute the decrees of the council. Speaking of the Northern tribes, Mr. Morgan says, "In some Indian tribes, one of the sachems was recognized as its head chief; and so superior in rank to his associates. A need existed, to some extent for an official head of the tribe, to represent it when the council was not in session. But the duties and powers of the office were slight. Although the council was superior in authority, it was rarely in session, and questions might arise demanding the provisional action of some one authorized to represent the tribe, subject to the ratification of his acts by the council."[1]

This need was still more urgent among the Mexicans; accordingly we find they elected two officials for this purpose. It seems this habit of electing two chief executives was quite a common one among the tribes of Mexico and Central America. We have already noticed that the Mexican gentes elected two such officers for their purpose. We

[1] "Ancient Society," p. 118.

are further told that the Iroquois appointed two head war-chiefs to command the forces of the confederacy.[1]

One of the chiefs so elected by the Mexicans bore the somewhat singular title of "Snake-woman." He was properly the head-chief of the Mexicans. He was chairman of the council and announced its decrees. He was responsible to the council for the tribute received, as far as it was applied to tribal requirements, and for a faithful distribution of the remainder among the gentes. When the forces of the confederacy went out to war, he commanded the tribal forces of Mexico; but on other occasions this duty was fulfilled by his colleague, who was the real war-chief of the Mexicans. His title was "Chief-of-men." This is the official who appears in history as the "King of Mexico," sometimes, even, as "Emperor of Anahuac." The fact is, he was one of two equal chiefs; he held an elective office, and was subordinate to the council.

When the confederacy was formed, the command of its forces was given to the war-chief of the Mexicans; thus he was something more than a tribal officer. His residence was the official house of the tribe. "He was to be present day and night at this abode, which was the center wherein converged the threads of information brought by traders, gatherers of tribute, scouts and spies, as well as all messages sent to, or received from, neighboring friendly or hostile tribes. Every such message came directly to the "Chief-of-men," whose duty it was, before acting, to present its import to the "Snake-woman," and, through him, call together the council." He might be present at the council, but his presence was not required, nor did his vote weigh any more than any other member of the council, only, of course, from the position he occupied, his opinion

[1] Morgan's "Ancient Society," p. 147.

would be much respected. He provided for the execution of the council's conclusions. In case of war, he would call out the forces of the confederacy for assistance. As the procurement of substance by means of tribute was one of the great objects of the confederacy, the gathering of it was placed under the control of the war-chief, who was therefore the official head of the tribute-gatherers.

We have thus very imperfectly and hastily sketched the governmental organization of the Mexican tribe. It is something very different from an empire. It was a democratic organization. There was not an officer in it but what held his office by election. This, to some, may seem improbable, because the Spaniards have described a different state of things. We have already mentioned one reason why they should do so—that was their ignorance of Indian institutions. We must also consider the natural bias of their minds. The rule of Charles the V was any thing but liberal. It was a part of their education to believe that a monarchical form of government was just the thing; they were accordingly prepared to see monarchical institutions, whether they existed or not.

Then there was the perfectly natural disposition to exaggerate their achievements. To spread in Europe the report that they had subverted a powerfully organized monarchy, having an emperor, a full line of nobles, orders of chivalry, and a standing army, certainly sounded much better than the plain statement that they had succeeded in disjointing a loosely connected confederacy, captured and put to death the head war chief of the principal tribe, and destroyed the communal buildings of their pueblo.

We must not forget that, from an Indian point of view, the confederacy was composed of rich and powerful tribes. This is especially true of the Mexicans. The position they

held, from a defensive standpoint, was one of the strongest ever held by Indians. They received a large amount of tribute from subject tribes, along with the hearty hatred of the same. From the time Cortez landed on the shore he had heard accounts of the wealth, power, and cruelty of the Mexicans. When he arrived before Mexico the "Chief-of-men," Montezuma, as representative of tribal hospitality, went forth to meet him, extending "unusual courtesies to unusual, mysterious, and therefore dreaded, guests." We may well imagine that he was decked out in all the finery his office could raise, and that he put on as much style and "court etiquette" as their knowledge and manner of life would stand.

The Spaniards immediately concluded that he was king, and so he was given undue prominence. They subsequently learned of the council, and recognized the fact that it was really the supreme power. They learned of the office of "Snake-woman," and acknowledged that his power was equal to that of the "Chief-of-men." They even had some ideas of phratries and gentes. But, having once made up their minds that this was a monarchy, and Montezuma the monarch, they were loath to change their views, or, rather, they tried to explain all on this supposition, and the result is the confused and contradictory accounts given of these officials and divisions of the people. But every thing tending to add glory to the "Empire of Montezuma" was caught up and dilated upon. And so have come down to us the commonly accepted ideas of the government of the ancient Mexicans.

That these views are altogether erroneous is no longer doubted by some of the very best American scholars. The organization set forth in this chapter is one not only in accord with the results obtained by the latest research in the field of ancient society, but a careful reading of the accounts

of the Spanish writers leads to the same conclusions.[1] In view of these now admitted facts, it seems to us useless to longer speak of the government of the Mexicans as that of an empire.

We have as yet said nothing of the league or confederacy of the three tribes of Mexico, Tezcuco, and Tlacopan; nor is it necessary to dwell at any great length on this confederacy now. They were perfectly independent of each other as regards tribal affairs; and for the purpose of government, were organized in exactly the same way as were the Mexicans. The stories told of the glories, the riches, and power of the kings of Tezcuco, if any thing, outrank those of Mexico. We may dismiss them as utterly unreliable. Tribal organization resting on phratries and gentes, and the consequent government by the council of the tribe was all the Spaniards found. These three tribes, speaking dialects of the same stock language, inhabiting contiguous territory, formed a league for offensive and defensive purposes. The commander-in-chief of the forces raised for this purpose was the "Chief-of-men" of the Mexicans.

We have confined our researches to the Mexicans. Mr. Bandelier, speaking of the tribes of Mexico, remarks: "There is no need of proving the fact that the several tribes of the valley had identical customs, and that their institutions had reached about the same degree of development." Or if such proofs were needed, Mr. Bancroft has furnished them. So that this state of society being proven among the Mexicans, it may be considered as established among the Nahua tribes. Neither is there any necessity of showing that substantially the same state of government existed among the Mayas of

[1] We refer again to Mr. Bandelier's articles. A careful reading of them will convince any one that the picture of Mexican Government as set forth in Mr. Bancroft's "Native Races," Vol. II, is very erroneous. Mr. Bancroft's views are, however, those of many writers.

Yucatan. This is shown by their architecture, by their early traditions, and by many statements in the writings of the early historians. These can only be understood and explained by supposing the same social organization existed among them as among the Mexicans.

But this does not relegate these civilized nations to savagism. On the other hand, it is exactly the form of government we would expect to find among them. They were not further along than the Middle Status of barbarism. They were slowly advancing on the road that leads to civilization, and their form of government was one exactly suited to their needs, and one in keeping with their state of architecture. When we gaze at the ruins of their material structures, we must consider that before us are not the only ruins wrought by the Spaniards; the native institutions were doomed as well. Traces of this early state of society are, however, still recoverable, and we must study them well to learn their secret.

We have yet before us a large field to investigate; that is, the advance made in the arts of living among these people. This is one of the principal objects of our present research. We are here slightly departing from the prehistoric field, and entering the domain of history. But the departure is justifiable, as it serves to light up an extensive field, that is, the manner of life among the civilized nations just before the coming of the Spaniards. And first we will examine their customs in regard to property. We have in a former chapter reverted to the influence of commerce and trade in advancing culture. The desire for wealth and property which is such a controlling power to-day was one of the most efficient agents in advancing man from savagism to civilization. The idea of property, which scarcely had an existence during that period of savagism, had grown stronger

with every advance in culture. "Beginning in feebleness, it has ended in becoming the master passion of the human mind."

The property of savages is limited to a few articles of personal use; consequently, their ideas as to its value, and the principles of inheritance, are feeble. They can scarcely be said to have any idea as to property in lands, though the tribe may lay claim to certain hunting-grounds as their own. As soon as the organization of gens arose, we can see that it would affect their ideas of property. The gens, we must remember, was the unit of their social organization.

They had common rights, duties, and privileges, as well as common supplies; and hence the idea arose that the property of the members of a gens belonged to the gens. At the death of an individual, his personal property would be divided among the remaining members of the gens. "Practically," says Mr. Morgan, "they were appropriated by the nearest of kin; but the principle was general that the property should remain in the gens."[1] That this is a true statement there is not the shadow of a doubt. This was the general rule of inheritance among the Indian tribes of North America. As time passed on, and the tribes learned to cultivate the land, some idea of real property would arise—but not of personal ownership.

This is quite an important topic; because, when we read of lords with great estates, we are puzzled to know how to reconcile such statements with what we now know of the nature of Mexican tribal organization. Mr. Bandelier has lately gone over the entire subject. He finds that the territory on which the Mexicans originally settled was a marshy expanse of land which the surrounding tribes did not value enough to claim.

This territory was divided among the four gentes of the

[1] "Ancient Society," p. 528.

tribe. As we have already seen, each of these four gentes subsequently split up into other independent gentes until there were twenty in all. Each of these gens held and possessed a portion of the original soil. This division of the soil must have been made by tacit consent. The tribe claimed no ownership of these tracts, still less did the head-chief. Furthermore, the only right the gentes claimed in them was a possessory one. "They had no idea of sale or barter, or conveyance, or alienation."

As the members of a gens stood on equal footing, this tract would be still further divided for individual use. This division would be made by the council of the gens. But we must notice the individual acquired no other right to this tract of land than a right to cultivate it—which right, if he failed to improve, he lost. He could, however, have some one else to till it for him. The son could inherit a father's right to a tract.

We have seen that the Mexicans had a great volume of tribal business to transact, which required the presence of an official household at the tecpan. Then the proper exercise of tribal hospitality required a large store of provisions. To meet this demand, certain tracts of the territory of each gens were set aside to be worked by communal labor. Then, besides the various officers of the gens, and the tribe, who, by reason of their public duties, had no time to till the tracts to which, as members of a gens, they would be entitled, had the same tilled for them by communal labor. This was not an act of vassalage, but a payment for public duties.

This is a very brief statement of their customs as regards holding of lands. It gives us an insight into the workings of ancient society. It shows us what a strong feature of this society was the gens, and we see how necessary it is

to understand the nature of a gens before attempting to understand ancient society. We see that, among the civilized nations of Mexico and Central America, they had not yet risen to the conception of ownership in the soil. No chief, or other officer, held large estates. The possessory right in the soil was vested in the gens composing the tribe, and they in turn granted to individuals certain definite lots for the purpose of culture. A chief had no more right in this direction than a common warrior. We can easily see how the Spaniards made their mistake. They found a community of persons holding land in common, which the individuals could not alienate. They noticed one person among them whom the others acknowledged as chief. They immediately jumped to the conclusion that this chief was a great "lord," that the land was a "feudal estate," and that the persons who held it were "vassals" to the aforesaid "lord."[1]

We must now consider the subject of laws, and the methods of enforcing justice amongst the civilized nations. The laws of the Mexicans, like those of most barbarous people, are apt to strike us as being very severe; but good reasons, according to their way of thinking, exist for such severity. The gens is the unit of social organization; which fact must be constantly borne in mind in considering their laws. In civilized society, the State assumes protection of person and property; but, in a tribal state of society, this protection is afforded by the gens. Hence, "to wrong a person was to wrong his gens; and to support a person was to stand behind him with the entire array of his gentile kindred."

The punishment for theft varied according to the value of the article stolen. If it were small and could be returned, that

[1] Morgan's "Ancient Society," p. 537.

settled the matter. In cases of greater value it was different. In some cases the thief became bondsman for the original owner. In still others, he suffered death. This was the case where he stole articles set aside for religion—such as gold and silver, or captives taken in war; or, if the theft were committed in the market-place. Murder and homicide were always punished with death. According to their teaching, there was a great gulf between the two sexes. Hence, for a person of one sex to assume the dress of the other sex was an insult to the whole gens—the penalty was death. Drunkenness was an offense severely punished—though aged persons could indulge their appetite, and, during times of festivities, others could. Chiefs and other officials were publicly degraded for this crime. Common warriors had their heads shaved in punishment.

These various penalties necessarily suppose judicial officers to determine the offense and decree the punishment. Having established, on a satisfactory basis, the Mexican empire, the historians did not scruple to fit it out with the necessary working machinery of such an organization. Accordingly we are presented with a judiciary as nicely proportioned as in the most favored nations of to-day. But when, under the more searching light of modern scholarship, this empire is seen to be something quite different, we find the whole judicial machinery to be a much more simple affair.

Not much need be added on this point to what we have already mentioned. Each gens, through its council, would regulate its own affairs, and would punish all offenses against the law committed by one of its members against another. Of necessity the decision of this council had to be final. There was no appeal from its decision. The council of the tribe had jurisdiction in all

other cases—such as might arise between members of different gentes, or among outcasts not connected with any gens, or such as were committed on territory not belonging to any gens.

For this work, the twenty chiefs composing the council were subdivided into two bodies, sitting simultaneously in the different halls of the tecpan. This division was for the purpose of greater dispatch in business. They did not form a higher and lower court, with power of the one to review the decisions of the other. They were equal in power and the decisions of both were final. The decision of the council, when acting in a judicial capacity, would be announced by their foreman, who was, as we have seen, the head-chief of the Mexicans—the Snake-woman. It is for this act that the historian speaks of him as the supreme judge, and makes him the head of judicial authority.[1] His decisions were, of course, final, not because he made them, but because they were the conclusions of the council.

The "Chief-of-men," the so-called "king," did not properly have any judicial authority. He was their war-chief, and not a judge; but from the very nature of his office he had some powers in this direction. As commander-in-chief, he possessed authority to summarily punish (with death, if necessary) acts of insubordination and treachery during war. It was necessary to clothe him with a certain amount of discretionary power for the public good. Thus, the first-runner that arrived from the coast with news of the approach of the European ships was, by the order of Montezuma, placed in confinement. "This was done to keep the news secret until the matter could be investigated, and was therefore a preliminary measure of policy." Placed at the tecpan as the official head of the tribe, he had power to appoint his

[1] Bancroft's "Native Races," Vol. II, p. 435.

assistants. But this power to appoint implied equal power to remove, and to punish.[1]

This investigation into their laws and methods of enforcing them, carries us to the conclusion already arrived at. It is in full keeping with what we would expect of a people in the Middle Status of barbarism. We also see how little real foundation there is for the view that this was a monarchy. There is no doubt but that the pueblo of Mexico was the seat of one of the largest and most powerful tribes, and the leading member of one of the most powerful confederacies that had ever existed in America.

It may be of interest for us to inquire as to what was the real extent of this power, and the means employed by the Mexicans to maintain this power; also how they had succeeded in attaining the same. They were not by nature more gifted than the surrounding tribes. The valley of Mexico is an upland basin. It is oval in form, surrounded by ranges of mountains, rising one above the other, with depressions between. The area of the valley itself is about sixteen hundred square miles. The Mexicans were the last one of the seven kindred tribes who styled themselves, collectively, the Nabuatlacs. We treat of them as the Nahuas.

The Nahuas on the north and the Mayas on the south included the civilized nations. When the Mexicans arrived in this valley, they found the best situations already occupied by other tribes of their own family. To escape persecution from these, they fled into the marsh or swamp which then covered the territory which they subsequently

[1] It is needless to remark that these results are greatly at variance with those generally held, as will be seen by consulting Mr. Bancroft's "Native Races," Vol. II, Chap. xiv. Mr. Bancroft, however, simply gathers together what other writers have stated on this subject. We follow, in this matter, the conclusions of an acknowledged leader in this field, Mr. Bandelier, who has fully worked out Mr. Morgan's views, advanced in "Ancient Society."

converted into their stronghold. Here on a scanty expanse of dry soil, surrounded by extensive marshes, they erected their pueblo. Being few in numbers they were overlooked as insignificant, and thus they had a chance to improve their surroundings. They increased the area of dry land by digging ditches, and throwing the earth from the same on the surrounding surface, and thus elevated it. In reality, in the marshes that surrounded their pueblo was their greatest source of strength. "They realized that while they might sally with impunity, having a safe retreat behind them, an attack upon their position was both difficult and dangerous for the assailant." They were, therefore, strong enough for purposes of defense. But they wished to open up communication with the tribes living on the shore of the great marsh in the midst of which they had their settlement. For this purpose they applied to their near and powerful neighbors, the Tecpanics, for the use of one of the springs on their territory, and for the privilege of trade and barter in their market. This permission was given in consideration that the Mexicans become the weaker allies of the Tecpanics, that is, pay a moderate tribute and render military assistance when called upon.

The Pueblo of Mexico now rapidly increased in power. Communication being opened with the mainland, it was visited by delegates from other tribes, and especially by traders. They fully perceived the advantages of their location and improved the same. By the erection of causeways, they entirely surrounded their pueblo with an artificial pond of large extent. To allow for the free circulation of the water, sluices were cut, interrupting these causeways at several places. Across these openings wooden bridges were placed which could be easily removed in times of danger.

Thus it was that they secured one of the strongest defensive positions ever held by Indians. The Tecpanics had been the leading power in the valley, but the Mexicans now felt themselves strong enough to throw off the yoke of tribute to which they were subject. In the war that ensued the power of the Tecpanics was broken, and the Mexicans became at once one of the leading powers of the valley. We must notice, however, that the Mexicans did not gain any new territory except the locality of their spring. Neither did they interfere at all in the government of the Tecpanics. They simply received tribute from them.

Once started on their career of conquest, the Mexicans, supported by allies, sought to extend their power. The result was that soon they had subdued all of the Nahua tribes of the valley except one, that was a tribe located at Tezcuco. This does not imply that they had become masters of the territory of the valley. When a modern nation or state conquers another, they often add that province to their original domain, and extend over it their code of laws. This is the nature of the conquests of ancient Rome. The territory of the conquered province became part of the Roman Empire. They became subject to the laws of Rome. Public works were built under the direction of the conquerors, and they were governed from Rome or by governors appointed from there.

Nothing of this kind is to be understood by a conquest by the Mexicans, and it is necessary to understand this point clearly. When they conquered a tribe, they neither acquired nor claimed any right to or power over the territory of the tribe. They did not concern themselves at all with the government of the tribe. In that respect the tribe remained free and independent. No garrisons of troops were stationed in their territory to keep them in subjection;

no governors were appinted to rule over them. What the Mexicans wanted was tribute, and in case of war they could call on them for troops. Secure in their pueblo surrounded by water, they could sally out on the less fortunate tribes who chose to pay tribute rather than to be subject to such forays.

Instead of entering into a conflict with the tribe at Tezcuco, the result of which might have been doubtful, a military confederacy was formed, into which was admitted the larger part of the old Tecpanic tribe that had their chief pueblo at Tlacopan. The definite plan of this confederacy is unknown. Each of the three tribes was perfectly independent in the management of its own affairs. Each tribe could make war on its own account if it wished, but in case it did not feel strong enough alone, it could call on the others for assistance. When the force of the confederacy went out to war, the command was given to the war chief of the Mexicans, the "Chief-of-men."

If a member of the confederacy succeeded in reducing by its own efforts a tribe to tribute, it had the full benefit of such conquest. But when the entire confederacy had been engaged in such conquest, the tribute was divided into five parts, of which two went to Mexico, two to Tezcuco, and one to Tlacopan. This co-partnership for the purpose of securing tribute by the three most powerful tribes of the valley, under the leadership of Mexico, was formed about the year 1426, just about one hundred years from the date of the first appearance of the Mexicans in the valley.

From this time to the date of the Spanish conquest in 1520, the confederate tribes were almost constantly at war with the surrounding Indians, "and particularly with the feeble village Indians southward from the valley of Mexico to the Pacific, and thence eastward well towards Guatemala.

They began with those nearest in position, whom they overcame, through superior numbers, and concentrated action, and subjected to tribute. These forays were continued from time to time for the avowed object of gathering spoil, imposing tribute and capturing prisoners for sacrifice, until the principal tribes within the area named, with some exceptions, were subdued and made tributary.[1]

The territory of these tribes, thus subject to tribute, constitutes what is generally known as the Mexican Empire.[2] But, manifestly, it is an abuse of language to so designate this territory. No attempt was made for the formation of a State which would include the various groups of aborigines settled in the area tributary to the confederacy. "No common or mutual tie connected these numerous and diverse tribes," excepting hatred of the Mexican confederacy. The tribes were left independent under their own chiefs. They well knew the tribute must be forthcoming, or else they would feel the weight of their conquerors' displeasure. But such a domination of the strong over the weak, for no other reason than to enforce an unwilling tribute, can never form a nation, or an empire.[3] These subject tribes, held down by heavy burdens—inspired by enmity, ever ready to revolt—gave no new strength to the confederacy: they were rather an element of weakness. The Spaniards were not slow to take advantage of this state of affairs. The tribes of Vera Cruz, who could have imposed an almost impassable barrier to their advance through that section, were ready to welcome them as deliverers.[4] The Tlascaltecans, though never made tributary to the Mexicans, had to wage almost unceasing war for fifty years preceding the coming of the Spaniards.

[1] Morgan's "Ancient Society," p. 193.
[2] Bancroft's "Native Races," Vol. II, p. 95.
[3] Morgan's "Ancient Society," p. 194.
[4] Bancroft's "Native Races," Vol. II, p. 94.

Without their assistance, Cortez would never have passed into history as the conqueror of Mexico.

A word as to the real power of the Mexicans. Their strength lay more in their defensive position than any thing else. As we have just stated, the entire forces of the confederacy were unable to subject the Tlascaltecans, the Tarasca of Michhuacan were fully their equal in wealth and power. The most disastrous defeat that ever befell the forces of the confederacy was on the occasion of their attack upon this last-named people in 1479. They fled from the battle-field in consternation, and never cared to renew the attempt. As to the actual population of the Pueblo of Mexico, the accounts are very much at variance. Mr. Morgan, after taking account of their barbarous condition of life—without flocks and herds, and without field agriculture, but also considering the amount of tribute received from other tribes—considers that an estimate of two hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants in the entire valley would be an excessive number. Of these he would assign thirty thousand to the Pueblo of Mexico.[1]

This is but an estimate. In this connection we are informed, that, when the forces of the confederacy marched against Michhuacan, as just stated, they counted their forces, and found them to be twenty-four thousand men. This includes the forces of the three confederate tribes, and their allies in the valley, and would indicate a population below Mr. Morgan's estimate. The Spanish writers have left statements as to the population of Mexico which are, evidently, gross exaggerations. The most moderate estimate is sixty thousand inhabitants; but the majority of the writers increase this number to three hundred thousand.

The main occupation of the Aztecs, then, was to enforce

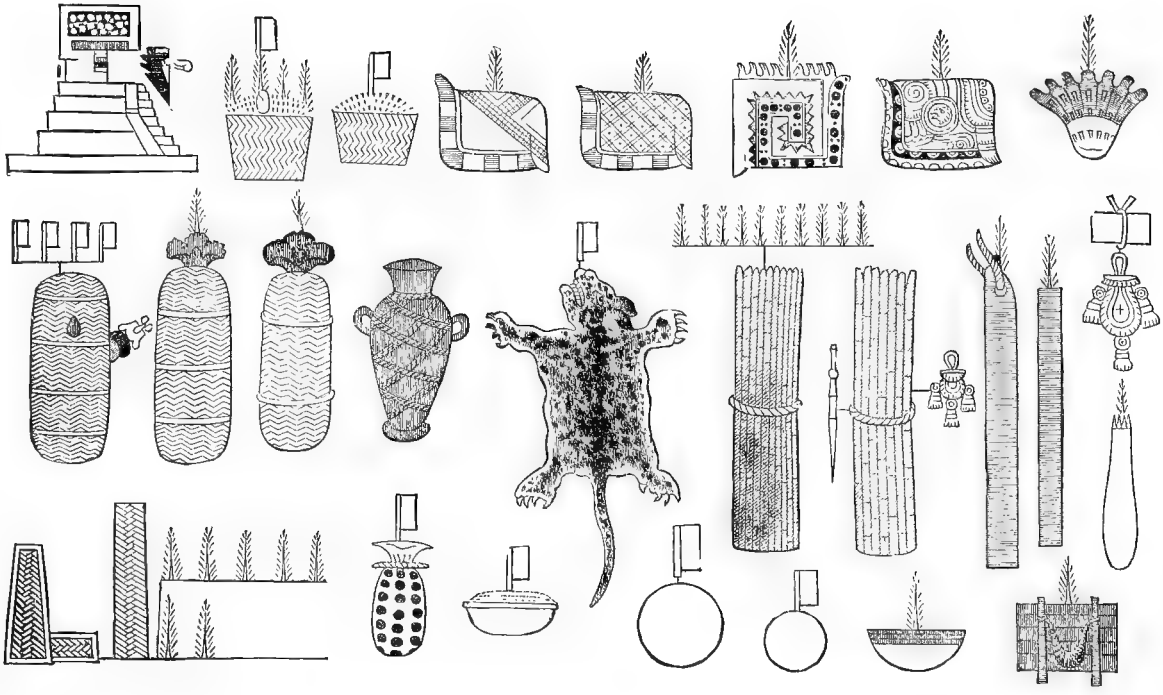
[1] Morgan's "Ancient Society," p. 195.

the payment of tribute. From the limited expanse of territory at the disposal of the Mexicans, and the unusually large number of inhabitants for an aboriginal settlement, as well as the natural inclination of the Mexicans, they were obliged to draw their main supplies from tributary tribes. It is human for the strong to compel the weak to serve them. The inhabitants of North America were not behind in this respect.[1] This is especially true of the civilized tribes of Mexico and Central America. The confederacy of the three most powerful tribes of Mexico was but a copartnership for the avowed purpose of compelling tribute from the surrounding tribes, and they were cruel and merciless in exacting the same.

Our information in regard to this tribute is derived almost entirely from a collection of picture writings, known as the Mendoza collection, which will be described more particularly when we describe their picture writings. The confederacy was never at a loss for an excuse to pounce upon a tribe and reduce them to tribute. Sometimes the tribe marked out for a prey, knowing their case to be hopeless, submitted at once when the demand was made; but, whether they yielded with or without a struggle, the result was the same—that is, a certain amount of tribute was imposed on them. This tribute consisted of articles which the tribe either manufactured, or was in situation to acquire by means of trade or war; but, in addition to this, it also included the products of their limited agriculture.

The same distribution of land obtained among all the civilized tribes that we have already sketched among the Mexicans. So, a portion of the territory of each conquered tribe would be set aside to be cultivated for the use of the confederacy. But, as the tribe did not have any land of its own,

[1] Bancroft's "Native Races," Vol. I, p. 344.



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except for some official purpose, this implies that each gens would have to set aside a small part of its territory for such purpose. Such lots Mr. Bandelier calls tribute lots. These were worked by the gentes for the benefit of the Mexicans. It is to be noticed right here, that the Mexicans did not claim to own or control the land; this right remained in the gentes of the conquered tribe.

The miscellaneous articles demanded were generally such that they bore some relation to the natural resources of the pueblo. For instance: pueblos along the coast, in the warm region of country, had to furnish cotton cloth, many thousand bundles of fine feathers, sacks of cocoa, tiger-skins, etc. In other, and favorable locations for such products, the pueblos had to furnish such articles as sacks of lime, reeds for building purposes, smaller reeds for the manufacture of darts.

These facts are ascertained in the Mendoza collection. We are given there the pictorial symbol, or coat-of-arms, of various pueblos; also, a pictorial representation of the tribute they were expected to pay. The plate opposite is a specimen of their tribute rolls. The pueblos paying it are not, however, shown. Considerable can be learned from a study of this collection—such, for instance, as that the Pueblo of Chala had to pay a tribute of forty little bells, and eighty copper ax blades.[1] And, in another place, we learn that the Pueblo of Yzamatitan was tributary to eight thousand reams of paper. The articles are here pictured forth; the number is indicated by the flags, feathers, etc. The tribute of provisions consisted of such articles as corn, beans, cocoa, red-pepper, honey, and salt—amounting in all, according to this collection,[2] to about six hundred thousand

[1] Valentini, in Proceedings of American Antiquarian Society, April, 1879.

[2] Gallatin: "American Ethnological Society's Transactions," Vol. I, p. 119.

bushels. Still it will not do to place too great a reliance on picture records. The number of tributary pueblos must have been constantly changing. The quantity of articles intended for clothing was certainly very great. A moderate quantity of gold was also collected from a few pueblos, where this was obtainable.

The collection of this tribute was one of the most important branches of government among the Mexicans. The vanquished stood in peril of their lives if they failed to keep their part of the contract. In the first place, the Mexicans took from each subject tribe hostages for the punctual payment of tribute. These hostages were taken to the Pueblo of Mexico, and held there as slaves; their lives were forfeited if the tribute was refused.[1] But special officers were also assigned to the subject tribes, whose duty it was to see that the tribute was properly gathered and transmitted to Mexico. These stewards or tribute gatherers, are the officers that the early writers mistook for governors. Their sole business, however, had to do with the collection of the tribute, and they did not interfere at all in the internal affairs of the tribe.

Where the forces of the confederacy had conquered a tribe, but one steward was required to tend to the tribute, but each of the confederate tribes sent their representative to such pueblos as had become their own prey, and as sometimes occurred, one pueblo paid tribute to each of the confederate tribes, it had to submit to the presence among them of three separate stewards.

We can easily enough see that it required men of ability to fill this position. They were to hold their residence in the midst of a tribe who were conquered, but held in subjection only by fear. To these people they were the con-

[1] Valentine: Proceedings American Antiq. Soc., October, 1880, p. 75.

stant reminder of defeat and disgrace. They were expected to watch them closely and report to the home tribe suspicious movements or utterances that might come to their notice. We need not wonder that these stewards wore the tokens of chiefs. It was a part of their duty to superintend the removal of the tribute from the place where gathered to the Pueblo of Mexico. The tribe paying tribute were expected to deliver it at Mexico, but under the supervision of the steward. Arrived at Mexico the tribute was received, not by the so-called king, the Chief-of-men, but by the Snake-woman, or an officer to whom this personage delegated his authority. This officer was the chief steward, and made the final division of the tribute. We are not informed as to details of this division. A large part of it was reserved for the use of the tribal government. It was upon this store that the Chief-of-men could draw when supplies were needed for tribal hospitality or for any special purpose. The stores required for the temple, its priests and keepers were gathered from this source. The larger division must have gone direct to the stewards of the gentes, who would set some aside for their official uses, some for religion or medicine, but the larger part would be divided among the members of the gentes.

In our review of the social system of the Mexicans we have repeatedly seen how the organization of gentes influenced and even controled all the departments of their social and political system. One of the cardinal principles, we must remember, is that all the members of a gens stand on an equal footing. In keeping with this we have seen that all were trained as warriors; yet the great principle of the division of labor was at work. Some filled in their leisure during times of peace by acting as traders; others became proficient in some branch of work, such as feather

work, or making gold and silver ornaments. Yet under a gentile system of society, persons practicing such callings could never become very rich or proficient, simply because, being members of different gentes, there could not be that co-operation and united efforts among workmen in these various trades and callings that is necessary to advance them to the highest proficiency. It required the breaking up of the gentes and substituting for that group a smaller one, our modern family, as the unit of social organization, before great progress could be made.

From what we have just said it follows that it is not at all likely that there was any great extremes in the condition of the people. No very wealthy or extremely poor classes. This brings us to consider the condition of trade and commerce among them. They had properly no such a thing as money, so their commerce must have consisted of barter or trade and exchange. Some authorities assert quite positively that they had money, and mention as articles used for such purposes grains of cacao, "T" shaped pieces of tin or copper, and quills of gold dust.[1] But Mr. Bandelier has shown that the word barter properly designates the transactions where such articles passed. But this absence of money shows us at once that the merchants of Mexico were simply traders who made their living by gathering articles from a distance to exchange for home commodities.

We are given some very entertaining accounts of the wealth and magnificence of the "merchant princes of Mexico."[2] It needs but a moment's consideration of the state of society to show how little foundation there is for such accounts. Mr. Bancroft also tells us that "throughout the Na-

[1] Bancroft's "Native Races," Vol. II, p. 381. Proceedings American Antiquarian Society, April, 1879, p. 110.

[2] Bancroft's "Native Races," Vol. II, p. 193.

hua dominions commerce was in the hands of a distinct class, educated for their calling, and everywhere honored by the people and by kings. In many regions the highest nobles thought it not disgraceful to engage in commercial pursuits."

Though we do not believe there is any foundation for this statement, yet trading is an important proceeding among sedentary tribes. "The native is carried over vast distances, from which he returns with a store of knowledge, which is made a part of his mythology and rites, while his personal adventures become a part of the folk lore."[1] It was their principal way of learning of the outside world. It was held in equally high esteem among the Mexicans. Such an expedition was not in reality a private, but a tribal undertaking. Its members not only carried into distant countries articles of barter, but they also had to observe the customs, manners, and resources of the people whom they visited. Clothed with diplomatic attributes, they were often less traders than spies. Thus they cautiously felt their way from tribe to tribe, from Indian fair to Indian fair, exchanging their stuff for articles not produced at home, all the while carefully noting what might be important to their own tribe. It was a highly dangerous mission; frequently they never returned, being waylaid or treacherously butchered even while enjoying the hospitality of a pueblo in which they had been bartering."

We may be sure the setting out of such an expedition would be celebrated in a formal manner.[2] The safe return was also an important and joyful event. The reception was almost equal to that afforded to a victorious war-party. After going to the temple to adore the idol, they were taken before the council to acquaint them with whatever they had

[1] "Fifth Annual Report Archæological Institute of America," p. 83.

[2] Bancroft's "Native Races," Vol. II, p. 389.

learned of importance on their trip. In addition to this, their own gens would give them appropriate receptions. From the nature of things, but little profit remained to the trader. They had no beasts of burden, and they must bring back their goods by means of carriers; and the number of such men were limited. Then their customs demanded that the most highly prized articles should be offered up for religious purposes; besides, the tribe and the gens each came in for a share. But the honors given were almost as great as those won in war.

The Mexicans had regular markets. This, as we have already stated, was on territory that belonged to the tribe; not to any one gens alone. Hence the tribal officers were the ones to maintain order. The chiefs of the four phratries were charged with this duty. The market was open every day, but every fifth was a larger market.[1] They do not seem to have had weights, but counted or measured their articles. In these markets, or fairs, which would be attended by traders from other tribes, who, on such occasions, were the guests of the Mexicans, and lodged in the official house, would be found the various articles of native manufacture: cloth, ornaments, elaborate featherwork, pottery, copper implements and ornaments, and a great variety of articles not necessary to enumerate.

We must now briefly consider their arts and manufactures. Stone was the material principally used for their weapons and implements. They were essentially in their Stone Age. Their knives, razors, lancets, spear and arrow-heads were simply flakes of obsidian. These implements could be produced very cheaply, but the edge was quickly spoiled. Axes of different varieties of flint were made. They also used flint to carve the sculptured stones which we have described in the preceding chapter. They also had

[1] Bancroft's "Native Races," Vol. II, p. 325.

some way of working these big blocks of stone used in building. But they were not unacquainted with metals—the ornamental working of gold and silver had been carried to quite a high pitch. Were we to believe all the accounts given us of their skill in that direction, we would have to acknowledge they were the most expert jewelers known. How they cast or moulded their gold ornaments is unknown. They were also acquainted with other metals, such as copper, tin, and lead. But we can not learn for what purpose they used lead or tin, or where they obtained it.[1]

Cortez, in one of his letters, speaks of the use of small pieces of tin as money. But we have already seen that the natives had not risen to the conception of money. They certainly had copper tools, and bronze ones. It seems, however, that their bronze was a natural production and not an artificial one—that is to say, the ores of copper found in Mexico contain more or less gold, silver, and tin. So, if melted, just as nature left them, the result would be the production of bronze.[2] They were then ignorant of the knowledge of how to make bronze artificially. This shows us that they had not attained to a true Bronze Age; and yet the discovery could not have been long delayed. Sooner or later they would have found out that tin and copper melted together would produce the light copper that experience had taught them was the most valuable.

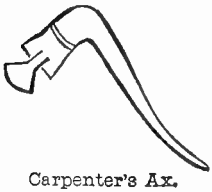
Yucatan Axes.

The most important tool they made of copper was the ax. The ax, in both Mexico and Yucatan, was made as represented in this

[1] Valentine: Proceedings Am. Antiq. Society, April, 1879, p. 90.

[2] Ibid., p. 111.

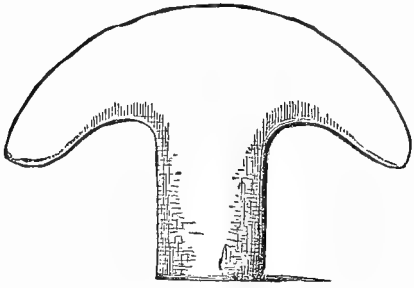
illustration. From their shape and mode of hafting them, we see at once they are simply models of the stone ax; and this recalls what we learned of the Bronze Age in Europe. At first they contented themselves with copying the forms in stone. Nature, everywhere, conducts her children by the same means to the same ends. This form of ax is a representation of a carpenter's hatchet. The next cut is from the Mendoza collection, and represents a carpenter at work. He holds one of these hatchets in his hand, and is shaping a stick of timber. The cut below represents a form of copper tool found in Oaxaca, where they were once used in abundance. The supposition is that this implement was used for agricultural purposes—probably as a hoe. The pieces of T-shaped copper said to have been used as money, are diminutive forms of this same tool.



Carpenter's Ax.

Mexican Carpenter.

The statement is sometimes made that they had a way of hardening copper. "This," says Mr. Valentine, "is a hypothesis, often noted and spoken of, but which ranges under the efforts made for explaining what we have no positive means to verify or to ascertain." The presence of metals necessarily implies some skill in mining; but their ability to mine was certainly very limited. Gold and silver were collected by washing the sands. We do not know how copper was mined; the probabili-



Copper Tool.

ties are that this was done in a very superficial way. Whenever, by chance, they discovered a vein of copper, they probably worked it to an easy depth, and then abandoned it. M. Charney speaks of one such locality, discovered in 1873. In this case they had made an opening eleven feet long, five feet wide, and three feet deep. To judge from appearances, they first heated the rock, and then perhaps sprinkled it with water, and thus caused it to split up.[1] This is about all we can discover of their Metallic Age. It falls very far short of the knowledge of metallurgy enjoyed by the Europeans of the Bronze Age; and, with the exception of working gold and silver, it was not greatly in advance of the powers of the North American aborigines.[2] Certainly no trace of mining has been discovered at all on the scale of the ancient mines in Michigan.

A few words as to some of their other arts, and we will pass on to other topics. In manufacturing native pottery, they are spoken of as having great skill. The sedentary Indians everywhere were well up in that sort of work.[3] They knew how to manufacture cotton cloth, as well as cloth from other articles. We have stated that paper furnished an important article of tribute. They made several kinds of paper. One author states that they made paper from the membrane of trees—from the substance that grows beneath the upper bark.[4] But they also used for this purpose a plant, called the maguey plant. This was a very valuable plant to the aborigines, since we are told that the natives managed to extract nearly as great a variety of useful articles from it as does an inhabitant of the East Indies from his cocoa palm. Amongst other articles, they made paper. For this paper,

[1] *North American Review*, Oct. 1880, p. 310.

[2] See "Copper Age in Wisconsin," in Proceedings American Antiquarian Society, No. 69, p. 57. [3] Bancroft's "Native Races," Vol. II, p. 483.

[4] Proceedings Am. Antiq. Society, Oct., 1881, p. 66. (Valentine.)

we are told, "the leaves were soaked, putrefied, and the fibers washed, smoothed, and extended for the manufacture of thin as well as thick paper."[1]

They used feathers for plumes, fans, and trimmings for clothing. The articles the Spaniards are most enthusiastic in praising is that variety of work known as feather mosaic. They took very great pains with this sort of work. The workman first took a piece of cloth, stretched it, and painted on it, in brilliant colors, the object he wished to reproduce. Then, with his bunch of feathers before him, he carefully took feather after feather, arranging them according to size, color, and other details, and glued each feather to the cloth. The Spanish writers assert that sometimes a whole day was consumed in properly choosing and adjusting one delicate feather, the artist patiently experimenting until the hue and position of the feather, viewed from different points, and under different lights, became satisfactory to his eye.[2]

This disregard of time is a thoroughly Indian trait of character. Years would be spent in the manufacture of a choice weapon. The impression is given that these feather-workers formed a craft, or order, and that they lived by themselves. But this would be such an innovation on the workings of the gens that there is probably no foundation for it.

We will now consider the subject of religion. We can never judge of the real state of culture of a people by their advance in the arts of government and of living alone. Constituted as men are, they can not help evolving, in the course of time, religious conceptions, and the result is that almost all the races and tribes of men have some system

[1] Proceedings Am. Antiq. Society, Oct., 1881, p. 66. (Valentine.)
[2] Bancroft's "Native Races," Vol. II, p. 489.

of belief, or, at any rate, some manner of accounting for the present condition of affairs, and some theory as to a future state. It is true that these theories and beliefs are often very foolish and childish, still they are not on that account devoid of interest. From our present standpoint, we can clearly see that the religious belief of a people is a very good index of their culture. At first such conceptions are necessarily rude, but as the people advanced in culture, they become clearer.

Fearing that we will be misunderstood in the last statement, we will state to whom it applies. The Christian world hold that God revealed himself to his chosen people, and that we draw from his Word what is permitted mortals to know of his government and the future world. We make no question but that this is true. But long before there was a Hebrew people there was a Paleolithic race, who doubtless had some vague, shadowy, ill defined idea of supernatural power, and sought, in some infantile way, to appease the same. Afterwards, but long before the glories of Solomon, a Neolithic people were living in Palestine, and the same culture was wide-spread over the world. To this day a large part of the world's inhabitants have never so much as heard of the Christian religion. It is to such people that we especially refer.

The religious beliefs of the Indians have not been fully studied as yet; but, until that is done, it is scarcely possible to understand and fully weigh what is said as to the religious beliefs of the Mexicans. What we can discern of the religion of the Nahua and Maya tribes shows us that it is not at all probable they had reached a stage of development in which they had any idea of One Supreme, Overruling Power. But our scholars differ on that point, many contending that the Mexicans distinctly affirmed the exist-

ence of such a God.[1] To form such conceptions implies a power of reasoning on abstract topics that is vain to expect of a people in their state of development. We think, therefore, that the idea that they had such a belief, arises from a misconception. Let us see if we can discover how that was.

Nearly all of the North American tribes had some word to express supernatural power. The Iroquois used for this purpose the words "oki" and "otkon."[2] The first meaning of these words is "above." As used by these Indians, however, they expressed the working of any unseen, mysterious, and, therefore, to them, supernatural power. There was, however, no idea of personality or of unity about it. Other Indian tribes had words to express the same meaning. The English and French explorers translated these words into their languages in various ways. The most common is the rather absurd one of "medicine," which has passed into common use. Thus, to mention one in very frequent use, we have the expression "Medicine-men"—meaning their priests and conjurers. The same custom prevailed among the higher class of sedentary Indians of Mexico and Central America. The Aztecs used the word "teotl" to express the name meaning; the Mayas, the word "ku;" the Peruvians, "huaca." But the word used, in each case, meant not so much a personal supreme-being as it did an ill-defined sense of supernatural, mysterious power. This point not being clearly understood, it was quite natural that the early writers understood by these various expressions their name of the First Cause.

In the present state of our knowledge, it is certainly

[1] Bancroft's "Native Races," Vol. III, pp. 182–199. In this connection, see also Bandelier: "An Archæological Tour in Mexico," p. 185, note 2. It seems that none of the early writers speak of such a belief. The idea of one single God is first found in the writings of Ixtilxochitl.

[2] Brinton's "Myths of the New World," p. 45.

very hard to give an intelligent statement of the religious conceptions of the Maya and Nahua tribes. Among the Nahuas, their conception of creative power was that of a pair—a man and wife. These were not the active agents, however—they engendered four sons, who were the creators. This seems to be a widely extended form of tradition. Two authors, writing about fifty years after the conquest, speak of the four principal deities and statues. They had a great many idols besides—but four were the principal ones.

It would be very satisfactory could we frame some theory to account for this state of things. If we could only be sure that each god was symbolic of some of the elements—or, if we could only say that this was but another instance of the use of the number "four"—and thus connect them with the cardinal points, it would be very satisfactory to many. The amount of study that has been bestowed on this question is very great, and it is very far from being settled. Each of these four was the principal, or guardian, deity of a particular tribe.[1] All of these appear in native traditions as historical personages, as well as deities. It is for this reason that Mr. Bandelier concludes that the "four principal gods were deified men, whose lives and actions became mixed up with the vague ideas of natural forces and phenomena."[2]

As prominent a figure as any in Central American Mythology is Quetzalcohuatl; and we can form a good idea of the force of the preceding remarks by considering this case. The name is a compound of two words, "quetzal-cohuatl"—and is, says Mr. Bandelier, a fair specimen of an Indian personal name. He tells us that the meaning is "bright," or

[1] Tezcatlipoca, the tutelar deity of Tezcuco; Huitzilopochtli, the tutelar deity of Mexico; Camaxtli, the tutelar deity of Tlaxcala; Quetzalcohuatl, the tutelar deity of Cholula.

[2] Bandelier: "An Archæological Tour in Mexico," p. 188.

"shining snake." Others have translated it, "feathered serpent." We have referred to the attempt to show that the tablet of the cross, at Palenque, had reference to him. Those who think he was the nature-god of the Nahuas find a great deal of significance in the name.[1] Mr. Bandelier, after carefully considering all reference to him by the early writers, shows that it is quite as likely that Quetzalcohuatl "was a man of note, whose memory was afterward connected with dim cosmological notions." It is plain that our idea of the culture of the Mexicans will vary according as we consider the base of this myth to be a man, or the forces in nature producing the fertilizing summer rain.[2]

The worship of Quetzalcohuatl was very widely extended; but it was mostly confined to the Nahua tribes. But there are somewhat similar traditions among the Maya tribes; and this is one of those few points which, like the similarity of their calendar systems, seems to point to a close connection in early times. The Quiches have a very similar myth. Briefly, it is to the effect that four principal gods created the world. One of these was named Gucumatz—meaning, also, shining, or brilliant snake. Some think that this is the same personage as Quetzalcohuatl, and from this fact show how true it is that the operations of the forces of nature everywhere affect the minds of men in a similar manner.[3] Others will not, however, go as far as this, and will only say there is a similarity between the two characters. The tribes in Yucatan also have a tradition of Cuculcan, whose name means the same as the two already mentioned. The authority who refers to him speaks of him only as a man. The Quiche legend, already referred to,

[1] This subject is fully treated of in Brinton's "Myths of the New World."

[2] "Among the Indians it is very easy to become deified. The development of the Montezuma myth among the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico is an instance." (Bandelier.)

[3] Brinton's "Myths of the New World."

speaks of Gucumatz only as a god. The Nahua traditions of Quetzalcohuatl, as we have seen, are confused accounts of a man and a god.

The traditions having reference to the earthly career of Quetzalcohualt represent him as having considerable to do with Tulla and Cholula. At Tulla he appears in the light of a great medicine-man, or priest; at Cholula, as a sachem. Still other traditions represent him as a great and successful warrior. None of these characters are incompatible with the others, from an Indian point of view. These traditions are so hopelessly confused, that it is doubtful if any thing of historical value can be gained from them. As a deity, he was worshiped as god of the air or wind. Why he should be so considered is answered in various ways. If, reasoning from his name, we choose to believe he is a nature-god—as such standing for the thunder-storm, clouds of summer—then, as the winds "sweep the path for the rain-clouds," he would be considered their god. Also, following out this line of thought, we can see how, as the god which brings the fertilizing summer rain, he would be considered the god of wealth, and the patron deity of traders.

We must not lose sight of the fact that all these traditions are most wofully mixed; that, since the conquest, many ideas from other than native sources have been engrafted on them; and, furthermore, that other explanations that are worth considering can be presented. The horticultural tribe located at Cholula had Quetzalcohuatl for their tutelar deity. Their crops depend upon the timely descent of the rain. What more natural than that they should regard such rains as sent by him? This pueblo was also famous for its fairs. "By its geographical position, its natural products, and the industry of its people," it became a great trading market. Near it was raised cochineal dye, in large quanti-

ties. This was eagerly sought after by traders from a distance. Cholula was also famous for its pottery. The Tlaxcaltecos told Cortez that the inhabitants of Cholula were a tribe of traders; what more natural, then, than that their tutelar deity should become, in the eyes of foreign tribes, the god of traders.[1]

Quetzalcohuatl was but one of the four principal gods. The tutelar deity of the Mexicans was Huitzilopochtli. His altars were almost daily wet with the blood of sacrificed victims. No important war was undertaken, except with many ceremonies he was duly honored. If time were so short that proper care could not be bestowed on the ceremonies, then there was a kind of deputy god that could be served in a hurried manner that would suffice.[2] After a successful battle, the captives were conducted at once to his temple, and made to prostrate themselves before his image. In times of great public danger, the great drum in his temple was beaten. The Spaniards, by dire experience, knew well the meaning of that awful sound.

The plate opposite represents what was probably the idol of Huitzilopochtli. "It was brought to light in grading the Plaza Mayor in the City of Mexico in August, 1790. It was near the place where the great Teocalli stood, and where the principal monuments of Mexico were. They were thrown down at the time of the conquest and buried from sight. It is an immense block of bluish-gray porphyry, about ten feet high and six feet wide and thick, sculptured on front, rear, top, and bottom, into a most complicated and horrible combination of animal, human, and ideal forms."[3] This idol is generally stated to be that of the goddess of death.

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[1] Bandelier: "An Archæological Tour in Mexico," pp. 168–213.
[2] Bancroft's "Native Races," Vol. III, p. 298, note 9.
[3] "American Antiquarian," January, 1883, p. 78.

HUITZILOPOCHTLI

But Mr. Bandelier, after carefully reviewing all the authorities, concludes that it represents the well-known war-god of the Mexican tribe.[1]

To properly conduct the services in honor of these various gods, required established rites and a priesthood. What we call "Medicine men" wizards, and names of similar import among the northern tribes, were more correctly priests. There was no tribe of Indians so poor but what they had these priests. But we would expect this office to increase more in power and importance among the southern Indians. Among the Iroquois, we are told each gens elected certain "keepers of the faith." These included persons both male and female. Their principal duty was to see that the feast days were properly celebrated. From what we know of the gens we feel confident that they would be perfectly independent in religious matters as well as in other respects. Consequently it is not probable that there was even in Mexico any hereditary caste of priests.[2]

However set aside, or chosen, or elected, we have every reason to believe that the organization of the priesthood was systematic. The aspirant for the office had to acquaint himself with the songs and prayers used in public worship, the national traditions, their principles of astrology, so as to tell the lucky and unlucky days. When admitted to the priesthood, their rank was doubtless determined by meritorious actions. Successes in war would contribute to this result as well as sanctity, a priest who had captured several prisoners ranking higher than one who had captured but one, and this last higher than the unfortunate who had

[1] "An Archæological Tour in Mexico," p. 67.

[2] "Peabody Museum Reports," Vol. II, p. 600. Dr. Brinton in "Myths of the New World," p. 281, gives some instances that might be thought to show the contrary. But even in those extracts we notice the parties had to deserve the office, and that in no case was it confined to certain persons.

taken none.[1] We must not forget that war was the duty of all among the Mexicans. The priests were not in all cases exempt; part of their duties may have been to care for the wounded. It is not likely that the priests of any one god ranked any higher than the priests of others, or had any authority over them.

This body of priests of whom we have just treated concerned themselves a great deal with the social life of the Mexicans, and their power was doubtless great. Their duties commenced with the birth of the child, and continued through life. No important event of any kind was undertaken without duly consulting the priests to see if the day selected was a lucky one. The Nahuas were, like all Indians, very superstitious, so there was plenty of work cut out for the priests. Into their hands was committed the art of explaining dreams, fortune-telling, astrology, and the explanation of omens and signs. Such as the flight and songs of birds, the sudden appearance of wild animals; in short, any unexpected or unusual event, was deemed of sufficient importance to require in its explanation priestly learning. In addition there was the regular routine of feasts.[2] We have seen what a multitude of gods the Nahuas worshiped. Like all Indian people, they were very fond of feasts and gatherings of that character; therefore feast days in honor of some one of the numerous deities were almost constantly in order, and every month or two were feasts of unusual importance. The most acceptable sacrifice to these gods, and without which no feast of any importance was complete, was human life.

This introduces us to the most cruel trait of their character. It was not alone true of the Mexicans, but of all the

[1] Bancroft: "Native Races," Vol. III, p. 335.
[2] Bancroft: "Native Races," Vol. II, p. 500.

Nahua tribes and of the Mayas, though in a less degree. On every occasion of the least importance victims were sacrificed. Any unusual event was celebrated in a similar manner. Before the departure of a warlike expedition, the favor of Huitzilopochtli was sought by the sacrifice of human life; on the return of the same, similar scenes were enacted. On all such occasions the more victims the better. These victims were mostly captives taken in war, and wars were often entered into for the express purpose of procuring such victims. They were even made a subject of tribute. Devout people sometimes offered themselves or their children for the sacrifice. The number of victims, of course, varied from year to year, but it is possible that it counted up into the thousands every year.

What we are able to gather from the religious beliefs of the civilized nations sustains the conclusions we have already arrived at in reference to their culture. We can but believe this had been greatly overrated. It is the religion of barbarians, not of a cultivated and enlightened people the historians would have us believe in. It is a religion in keeping with the character of the people who had confederated together for the purpose of compelling unwilling tribute from weaker tribes. It is in keeping with what we would expect of a people still in the Stone Age, who still practiced communism in living, and whose political and social organization was founded on the gens as a unit.

It will not be out of place to devote some space to a consideration of their advance in learning; and first of all let us see about their system of counting or numeration. This knowledge, as Mr. Gallatin remarks, must necessarily have preceded any knowledge of astronomy, or any effort to compute time. They must have known how to count the days of a year before they knew how many days it con-

tained. We all know how natural it is for a child to count by means of his fingers. This was undoubtedly the first method employed by primitive man. Proof of this is found in the wide extended use of the decimal system. Among the civilized nations, traces of this early custom are still preserved in the meaning of the words used to express the numbers.

To express the numbers up to twenty, small dots or circles were used—one for each unit. For the number twenty they painted a little flag; for the number four hundred, a feather; and for eight thousand, a purse or pouch. The following table represents the method of enumeration employed by the Mexicans. But it is necessary to remark they used different terminations for different objects.[1]

Substantially the same system of numeration prevailed among all the Nahua tribes and the Mayas. It will be seen from this table that the only numbers having simple names are one, two, three, four, five, ten, fifteen, twenty, four hundred, and eight thousand. The other names are compounds of these simple names. It is also easy to understand their method of pictorial representation. In reference to the flag, the feather, and the purse, we must remark that, when these were divided into four parts, only the colored parts were counted. The collective number, used among them much as we use the word dozen, was always twenty; but queerly enough their word for twenty varied according to the object to be counted. The regular word given in the table was "pohualli." In counting thin objects that could be arranged one above the other, the word twenty was "pilli." Objects that were round and plump and thus re-

[1] Mr. Bandelier remarks that the numbers from five to ten should be macuil-pa-oc-ce, etc. We give the same table as both Mr. Gallatin and Mr Bancroft.

# MEXICAN SYSTEM OF NUMERATION.

| NO. | MEXICAN NAME. | PICTORIAL SIGN. | EQUIVALENT. | REMARKS. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Ce or cem. |  | 1 | |
| 2 | Ome. |  | 2 | |
| 3 | Yey or ey. | | 3 | |
| 4 | Nahui. |  | 4 | |
| 5 | Macuilli. | | 5 | The word for five means "clinched hand," or all the fingers on a hand. |
| 6 | Chico a ce. | | 5+1 | They set their dots for units in sets of five. |
| 7 | Chic ome. |  | 5+2 | |
| 8 | Chico ey. | | 5+3 | Notice from six to nine we have the ordinary numbers from one to four with a prefix, the meaning of which, though not very plain, is "with one side." |
| 9 | Chico nahui. | | 5+4 | |
| 10 | Matlactli. |  | 10 | A new word, meaning "upper part of the body." |
| 11 | Matlactli oc ce. | | 10+1 | |
| 12 | Matlactli om ome. |  | 10+2 | Notice we have for the numbers from eleven to fourteen, inclusive, the word for ten; and the words for the numbers from one to four, inclusive, joined by the words oc, om, or o, evidently used as conjunctions. |
| 13 | Matlactli om ey. | | 10+3 | |
| 14 | Matlactli o nahui. |  | 10+4 | |
| 15 | Caxtolli. | | 15 | A new word, meaning unknown. |
| 16 | Caxtolli oc ce. | | 15+1 | For seventeen, eighteen, and nineteen, we would have the word caxtolli connected with the words from one to four, inclusive. So they need not be given. |
| 20 | Cem pohualli. |  | 1×20 | This word pohualli means a "count." Twenty was their base. In some languages the word for man means twenty also. Cem is the word for one. |
| 30 | Cem pohualli ihuan matlactli. | | 1×20+10 | |
| 35 | Cem pohualli ihuan caxtolli. |  | 1×20+15 | We have the words for twenty and ten connected by the word ihuan, evidently used as the word om (above). The flag meant twenty. When divided into four parts, each colored part meant five; in this case we use half the flag. The words to express thirty-five, forty, and one hundred can easily be made out. |
| 40 | Ome pohualli. | | 2×20 | |
| 100 | Macuil pohualli. | | 5×20 | |
| 200 | Matlactli pohualli. | | 10×20 | A feather is the proper sign for four hundred. Half a feather sometimes meant two hundred, or use ten flags. |
| 400 | Cen tzontli. | | 1×400 | The word tzontli means the "hair of the head." |
| 800 | Ome tzontli. |  | 2×400 | |
| 1000 | Ome tzontli ihuan matlactli pohualli. | | 2×400+10×20 | The words for eight hundred and two hundred connected by "ihuan." |
| 8000 | Xiquipilli. | | 8000 | The pictorial sign is a purse supposed to contain 8,000 grains of cocao. |

sembling a stone, were counted with "tetl" for twenty, and other words for different objects.[1]

The division of time or their calendar system, is one that was thought to show great advance in astronomical learning, but of late years it has been shown that this also was overrated. This question of how to keep a record of time was a difficult one for primitive man to solve; that is, when he began to think about it at all. A long while must have elapsed, and considerable advance in other respects been made before the necessity of such a thing occurred to them. The increase and decrease of the moon would form a natural starting point. It is well known that this is about as far as the knowledge of the Indians extended. The Maya word for month means also moon, showing this was their earliest system of reckoning time.[2]

The various Nahua and Maya tribes of Mexico and Central America had reached about the same stage of development. But their calendar system is so similar that it affords a strong argument of the original unity of these people.[3] All of the civilized tribes had months of twenty days each, and each of these days had a separate name, which was the same for every month of the year. This period of twenty days was properly their unit of time reckoning. It is true they had smaller divisions,[4] but for all practical purposes, they were ignored. As none of these tribes possessed the art of writing, they had to represent these days by means of hieroglyphics. The preceding table

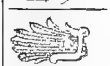
[1] For authorities on this subject see Gallatin in "American Ethnological Society's Transactions," Vol. I, p, 49; Bancroft's "Native Races," Vol. II, p. 497; Valentine, in Am. Antiq. Soc. Proceedings, Oct., 1880, p. 61.

[2] Perez "Chronology of Yucatan," in Stephens's "Yucatan," Vol. I, p. 435.

[3] See Valentine: "The Katunes of Maya History," in Proceedings Am. Antiq. Soc., October, 1879, p. 114.

[4] We refer to the division of five days, not to the thirteen day period, of which we will soon speak.

# TABLE OF DAYS.

| MAYA. | | | MEXICAN. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| DAYS. | SIGNS. | MEANING. | DAYS. | SIGNS. | MEANING. |
| Kan, . . | | Snake. | Cipac, . . . . | | Monster. |
| Chicchan, | | Unknown. | Ehecatl, . . . | | Wind—A crocodile head with open jaws. |
| Quimij, . | | Death. | Calli, . . . . | | House—A Mexican house. |
| Manik, . | | Swiftness. | Quetzpalin, . | | Lizard. |
| Lamat, . | | Unknown. | Cohuatl, . . . | | Snake. |
| Muluc, . | | Unknown. | Miquitzli, . . | | Skull. |
| Oc, . . . | | Unknown. | Matzatl, . . . | | Deer. |
| Chuen, . | | Monkey. | Tochtli, . . . | | Rabbit. |
| Eb, . . . | | Staircase. | Atl, . . . . . |  | Water. |
| Been, . . | | Unknown. | Itzcuintli, . . | | Dog. |
| Gix, . . . | | Wizard. | Ozomatl, . . . | | Monkey. |
| Men, . . | | Builder (?). | Malinalli, . . | | Knot, or Twist. |
| Quib, . . | | Gum, or Wax. | Acatl, . . . | | Cane. |
| Caban, . . | | Unknown. | Ocelotl, . . . | | Wild-cat, or Tiger. |
| Edznab, . | | Unknown. | Quauhtli, . . | | Eagle. |
| Cavac, . | | Unknown. | Cozcaquauhtli. | | Vulture. |
| Ahau, . . | | Chief. | Ollin, . . . . | | Motion. |
| Ymix, . . | | Dragon. | Tecpatl, . . | | Flint. |
| Yx, . . . | | Breath, or Wind. | Quiahuitl, . . | | Rain. |
| Akbal, . . | | Household. | Xochitl, . . . | | Flower. |

shows the Mexican and Maya days, the meaning of each, and the pictorial sign by which they were represented. We must notice that the Maya hieroglypics look more arbitrary, more conventional than the Mexican. This is interesting, because some of our scholars now believe the Mayas were the inventors of the calendar. Their hieroglyphics, therefore, as being the older of the two, should appear more conventional. In the Mexican hieroglyphics for the days, we can still trace a resemblance to the natural objects they represent; in the Maya hieroglyphics, this resemblance has disappeared.

It is not out of place to theorize as to the facts already mentioned. The first thing that strikes us is that they should have chosen twenty days for a unit of time. There must have been some reason lying back of this selection. It would have been more natural for them to have chosen a number of days (say thirty) more nearly corresponding to the time from one new moon to another. Whether we shall ever learn the reason for choosing this number of days is doubtful; but Mr. Bandelier has given us some thoughts on this subject, which, though he is careful to state are not results, but mere suggestions, seem to us to have some germs of truth, the more so as it is fully in keeping with Indian customs.

He points out that many of the names for these days mean the same as the names of the gens in the more northern Indian tribes. Thus seven of the days have the same meaning as the names of seven of the nine gens of the Moqui tribe in Arizona. He, therefore, suggests that the names of these twenty days are the names of the twenty gens of the aboriginal people from whom have descended the various civilized tribes under consideration. Indeed, this is expressly stated to be the method of naming the

days adopted by the Chiapanecs, one of the tribes in question.[1]

As soon as the people commenced to take any observation at all, they would perceive that it took just about eighteen of these periods of twenty days to make a year. So the next step appears to have been the division of the year into eighteen months. These months received each a name,

MAYA MONTHS.

and were of course designated by a hieroglyphic. The names of the Mexican months seem to have been determined by some of the feasts happening therein. There is great diversity among the early writers both as to the names of these months, and the order in which they occur, as well as by the hieroglyphics by which they are represented.[2] It

[1] Bandelier: Peabody Museum Reports." Vol. II, p. 579. Note 29.

[2] Mr. Bancroft, " Native Races," p. 508, gives a table showing the variation of authors in this respect. Gallatin " American Ethnological Society's Transactions," Vol. I, p. 66, says, " the published hieroglyphics are dissimilar in many respects."

does not seem worth while to give their names and meaning. We give a plate showing the name, order in which they occur, and hieroglyphic symbol of the Maya months. In point of fact, the months were very little used, as we shall soon see it was not necessary to name the month to designate the day; but of that hereafter.

But it would not take these people very long to discover that they had not hit on the length of a year. Eighteen months, of twenty days each, make only three hundred and sixty days; so the next step would be to add on five days to their former year. As these days do not make a month, they were called the nameless days. They were considered as being unlucky—no important undertaking could be commenced on one of them. The child born therein was to be pitied. But we will see that the expression, "nameless days" was hardly the case among the Mayas, though it was among the Mexicans.

Perhaps this will be as good a place as any to inquire whether they had exact knowledge of the length of the year. As every one knows, the length of the year is three hundred and sixty-five and one quarter days, or very nearly; and for this reason we add an extra day to every fourth year. We would not expect to find this knowledge among tribes no farther advanced than we have found these to be. If, as our scholars suspect, the Maya be the one from which the others were derived, they would be apt to possess this knowledge, if known. Perez, however, could find no trace of it among them.[1] Many authors have asserted that the Mexicans knew all about it. Some say they added a day every four years; others, that they waited fifty-two years, and then added thirteen days; and some, even, give them credit for still closer knowledge, and say they added twelve

[1] Stephens's "Yucatan," Vol. I, p. 438.

and one-half days every fifty-two years.[1] Prof. Valentine, who has made their calendar system a special study, concludes that they knew nothing at all about the matter.[2]

The beginning of the year is variously stated. Among the Mexicans it seems that, while the authors differ very much, all but one places it on some day between the second day of February and the tenth of April. As their word for year means "new green," it is probable they placed its commencement about the time new grass appeared. The Mayas are said to have placed the commencement of the year about the sixteenth of July. As this happens to be just about the time that the sun is directly overhead in Yucatan, it has been surmised that the natives took astronomical observations, and tried to have their year commence at that time. But it must be manifest that, if they did not possess a knowledge of the true length of the year, and so make allowance for the leap-year, in the course of a very few years they would have to revise this date.

Refer once more to the Maya table of days. Suppose the first day of the year to commence with the day Kan. As there are twenty days in a month, we see that the second month would also commence with Kan. In like manner, Kan would be the first day of every month of that year. When the eighteen months were past, there would still remain the five days to complete the year. Now, although they were said to be nameless days, the Mayas gave them names. The first day was Kan, the second day Chichan, the third day Quimij, the fourth day Manik, the fifth day Lamat. The regular order of days we see. They were now ready to commence a new year.

The next day in the list is Muluc. This becomes the

[1] Bancroft's "Native Races," Vol. II, p. 513, note 15.
[2] Proceedings Am. Antiq. Society, April, 1878, p. 99.

first day of the first month of the new year. But, being the first day of the first month, it was the first day of every month of that year. At the end of the eighteen months of that year, the five days would have to be named in their order again, which would carry us down to Gix, the first day of the first month of the third year. It would also be the first day of every month of that year. Similarly we see that Cavac would be the first day of every month of the fourth year. The fifth year would commence again with Kan. So we see that four of these twenty days became of more importance than the others. The years were named after them. The year in which the month commenced with Kan was also called Kan. The same way with the other days. So the name of the year was either Kan, Muluc, Gix, or Cavac. These four days were called "carriers of the year;" because they not only gave the name to the year, but because the name of the year was also the name of the first day of every month of that year.

The foregoing will help us to understand the Mexican method. Let us refer now to the list of Mexican days. The first day of the first month was Cipac. For the same reason as above set forth, this would be the first day of every month of the year. The five extra days either were not named at all, or at any rate they were not counted off in the table of days. The consequence was that Cipac was the first day of every month; for we have just seen that it was the first day of every month of the first year. At the end of the eighteen months the five nameless days would come in; but, as they did not form part of a month, were not named. The first day of the first month of the next year would be named as if they had not occurred.[1] But, when they came to name the years, we find they pro-

[1] Gallatin: "American Ethnological Soc. Trans.," Vol. I, p. 71.

ceeded on exactly the same principle as the Mayas. Thus four of the twenty days, occurring just five days apart, were taken to name the years. These days were Tecpatl, Calli, Tochtli, and Acatl.[1]

Mr. Bandelier, who made the valuable suggestion in regard to the origin of the names of the days, has also suggested that, inasmuch as there are four of the days more prominent than the others, they may signify four original gentes, from which the others have come. It seem to us, however, when we notice they are just five days apart, that the system pursued by the Mayas in naming their years explains the whole matter.

Before we mention the longer periods of time in use among them we must refer to another mode of reckoning time, and trace the influence of this second method on the one already named. The method already explained seems to have been a perfectly natural one—the second method is founded on superstition. A large part of the duties of the priests, we remember, was to determine lucky and unlucky days, and in soothsaying. For this purpose they made a peculiar division of time, which we will now try and explain.

For some cause or other, thirteen was a number continually recurring in their calendar. We can perceive no reason why it should have been chosen. It has been suggested that it was just about the time from the appearance of a new moon to its full. Be that as it may, the number of days thirteen comes very near to what we would call a week. Among the Mexicans, and probably among the Mayas, these thirteen days were divided into lucky, unlucky, and indifferent days, and were supposed to be

[1] See Valentine, in Proceedings American Antiq. Society, April, 1878, p. 106. Gallatin, who is also good authority, gives the order different, viz., Tochtli, Acatl, Tecpatl, Calli.

under the guidance of different gods. The priests had regularly painted lists of them, with the deities which governed them. These lists were used in fortune telling.

We must now inquire as to how they kept track of the years. The Mayas named their next longer period of time an ahau. There is some dispute as to what number of years it meant. Most of the early writers decide that it was twenty years;[1] but Perez, whose work we have already referred to, contends that it was twenty-four years. And this conclusion seems to be confirmed by a careful study of some of their old manuscripts.[2] Thirteen of these ahaus embraced their longest period of time, known as an ahau-katun. It had a length of either two hundred and sixty or three hundred and twelve years, according as we reckon either twenty or twenty-four years to an ahau. It may be that the length of an ahau varied among the different tribes of the Mayas.

The Mexicans also had this week of thirteen days. Twenty of these weeks, or two hundred and sixty days, formed that part of the year they called the moon-reckoning; the remainder of the year was the sun-reckoning. Their longer period of time was also based on this number. A period of thirteen years they called a tlapilli; four of these constituted a cycle equal to fifty-two years. The end of this cycle was anxiously awaited by the Mexicans. They supposed the world was to come to an end on one of these occasions. As the time drew near, the furniture was broken, the household gods were thrown into the water, the houses were cleaned, and finally, all the fires were extinguished. As the last day of the cycle drew to a close, the

[1] Valentine: Proceedings Am. Antiq. Soc., Oc ., 1879, p. 84, *et seq.*

[2] Thomas: "A study of the Manuscript Troano," in "Contributions to North American Ethnology," Vol. V, p. 29.

priests formed a procession, and set out for a mountain about six miles from Mexico. There an altar was built. At midnight a captive, the bravest and finest of their prisoners, was laid on it. A piece of wood was laid on his breast, and on this fire was built by twirling a stick. As soon as fire was produced, the prisoner was killed as a sacrifice. The production of new fire was proof that the gods had granted them a new period of fifty-two years.

To understand how the years in this cycle were arranged and numbered, we must refer once more to the Mayas, for though they did not use the cycle themselves, yet they give us a hint as to how it was obtained, and afford one more reason why we should think the Mayas were the originators of this calendar system. We give a table showing the arrangement of the days of the year among the Mayas. We will take the year Kan—that is, we remember, when Kan was the first day of every month. We would naturally think they would describe a day by giving the name of the day and the month—as, the day Kan, of the month Xul, or the first day of the month Xul—but instead of so doing, they made use of the period of thirteen days.

For instance, we see, by looking at the table, that the day ten Kan can not be any other day during the year than the day above mentioned; so that, for all purposes, it is sufficient to give the day and its number in the week. We notice, however, that the last five columns of figures for week days of thirteen are just the same as the first five. But this did not confuse any, for the last five columns of days belong to the "sun-reckoning," the others to the moon-reckoning. And though the number of the day in the week was the same, yet a different deity ruled over them than in the corresponding days of the first five columns. We can not affirm that we know this to be true of the Mayas.

# ALMANAC FOR MAYA YEAR "KAN."

| NO. | DAYS. | NAMES OF MONTHS, BUT NOTICE NOT NECESSARY TO BE GIVEN TO KNOW THE DAY OF YEAR. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 1 Pop..... | 2 Uoo..... | 3 Zip..... | 4 Zodz..... | 5 Zeec..... | 6 Xul..... | 7 Dze-yax-kin..... | 8 Mol..... | 9 Dehen.... | 10 Yaax..... | 11 Zac..... | 12 Quej..... | 13 Mac..... | 14 Kankin.. | 15 Moan.... | 16 Pax..... | 17 Kayab... | 18 Cumku.. | Nameless days..... |
| 1 | *Kan* . . . | 1 | 8 | 2 | 9 | 3 | 10 | 4 | 11 | 5 | 12 | 6 | *13* | 7 | 1 | 8 | 2 | 9 | 3 | 10 |
| 2 | Chicchan . | 2 | 9 | 3 | 10 | 4 | 11 | 5 | 12 | 6 | *13* | 7 | 1 | 8 | 2 | 9 | 3 | 10 | 4 | 11 |
| 3 | Quimij . . | 3 | 10 | 4 | 11 | 5 | 12 | 6 | *13* | 7 | 1 | 8 | 2 | 9 | 3 | 10 | 4 | 11 | 5 | 12 |
| 4 | Manik . . | 4 | 11 | 5 | 12 | 6 | *13* | 7 | 1 | 8 | 2 | 9 | 3 | 10 | 4 | 11 | 5 | 12 | 6 | *13* |
| 5 | Lamat . . | 5 | 12 | 6 | *13* | 7 | 1 | 8 | 2 | 9 | 3 | 10 | 4 | 11 | 5 | 12 | 6 | *13* | 7 | 1 |
| 6 | *Muluc.* . . | 6 | *13* | 7 | 1 | 8 | 2 | 9 | 3 | 10 | 4 | 11 | 5 | 12 | 6 | *13* | 7 | 1 | 8 | |
| 7 | Oc. . . . | 7 | 1 | 8 | 2 | 9 | 3 | 10 | 4 | 11 | 5 | 12 | 6 | *13* | 7 | 1 | 8 | 2 | 9 | |
| 8 | Chuen . . | 8 | 2 | 9 | 3 | 10 | 4 | 11 | 5 | 12 | 6 | *13* | 7 | 1 | 8 | 2 | 9 | 3 | 10 | |
| 9 | Eb. . . . | 9 | 3 | 10 | 4 | 11 | 5 | 12 | 6 | *13* | 7 | 1 | 8 | 2 | 9 | 3 | 10 | 4 | 11 | |
| 10 | Been. . . | 10 | 4 | 11 | 5 | 12 | 6 | *13* | 7 | 1 | 8 | 2 | 9 | 3 | 10 | 4 | 11 | 5 | 12 | |
| 11 | *Gix* . . . | 11 | 5 | 12 | 6 | *13* | 7 | 1 | 8 | 2 | 9 | 3 | 10 | 4 | 11 | 5 | 12 | 6 | *13* | |
| 12 | Men . . . | 12 | 6 | *13* | 7 | 1 | 8 | 2 | 9 | 3 | 10 | 4 | 11 | 5 | 12 | 6 | *13* | 7 | 1 | |
| 13 | Quib. . . | *13* | 7 | 1 | 8 | 2 | 9 | 3 | 10 | 4 | 11 | 5 | 12 | 6 | *13* | 7 | 1 | 8 | 2 | |
| 14 | Caban . . | 1 | 8 | 2 | 9 | 3 | 10 | 4 | 11 | 5 | 12 | 6 | *13* | 7 | 1 | 8 | 2 | 9 | 3 | |
| 15 | Edznab . | 2 | 9 | 3 | 10 | 4 | 11 | 5 | 12 | 6 | *13* | 7 | 1 | 8 | 2 | 9 | 3 | 10 | 4 | |
| 16 | *Cavac* . . | 3 | 10 | 4 | 11 | 5 | 12 | 6 | *13* | 7 | 1 | 8 | 2 | 9 | 3 | 10 | 4 | 11 | 5 | |
| 17 | Ahau . . . | 4 | 11 | 5 | 12 | 6 | *13* | 7 | 1 | 8 | 2 | 9 | 3 | 10 | 4 | 11 | 5 | 12 | 6 | |
| 18 | Ymix . . | 5 | 12 | 6 | *13* | 7 | 1 | 8 | 2 | 9 | 3 | 10 | 4 | 11 | 5 | 12 | 6 | *13* | 7 | |
| 19 | Yk. . . . | 6 | *13* | 7 | 1 | 8 | 2 | 9 | 3 | 10 | 4 | 11 | 5 | 12 | 6 | *13* | 7 | 1 | 8 | |
| 20 | Akbal . . | 7 | 1 | 8 | 2 | 9 | 3 | 10 | 4 | 11 | 5 | 12 | 6 | *13* | 7 | 1 | 8 | 2 | 9 | |
| | | MOON RECKONING. | | | | | | | | | | | | | SUN RECKONING. | | | | | |

We see by looking at this that all that is necessary is to give the name of the day and its number in the week to determine at once what day of what month it was, or what day of the year it was. For instance, the day "four Kan" can not be any other day in the year than the first day of the seventh month; or, as there are twenty days in the month, the one hundred twenty-first of the year. But it would be necessary to know whether the day belonged to the moon reckoning or to the sun reckoning. In the Aztec system this was determined by the hieroglyphic of the deity governing the day. Some such system must have been in use among the Mayas.

Such, however, we know to be the case among the Mexicans.[1]

Now we notice in this almanac that the last day of the year Kan, is number one of the week. As the count goes right along, the first day of the next year, Muluc, must be number two. If we would make an almanac for that year, we would find the first day of the third year would be number three of the week. If we were to continue this, we would find that the first days of the years would range from one to thirteen. This table shows the number in the week of the first day of the first fourteen years. The first day of the fourteenth year would be number one of the week again, but this time one Muluc, and not Kan. If we would continue our researches, we would quickly discover that fifty-two years would go by before we would have a year Kan in which the first day of the year would be number one again.

| No. in the week of the first day of the years. | YEARS. |
|---|---|
| 1 | Kan. |
| 2 | Muluc. |
| 3 | Gix. |
| 4 | Cavac. |
| 5 | Kan. |
| 6 | Muluc. |
| 7 | Gix. |
| 8 | Cavac. |
| 9 | Kan. |
| 10 | Muluc. |
| 11 | Gix. |
| 12 | Cavac. |
| 13 | Kan. |
| 1 | Muluc. |

We think the above explains the origin of the Mexican cycle of fifty-two years. The Mayas either never had this cycle, or had abandoned its use.[2] The Mexicans, however, used this period of time, and they numbered their years in it in such a way that we can not explain it, unless we suppose they derived it in some such a way as just set forth. We give a table showing the order of the years in a cycle, and also notice that all that was needed was the number and name of the year to show at once what year of the cycle it was. The year seven Calli, for instance, could

[1] According to the teachings of the Mexican priests nine deities governed the days. They had painted lists of these weeks, and the deities governing each.

[2] Valentine: Proceedings Am. Antiq. Soc., Oct., 1879, p. 85.

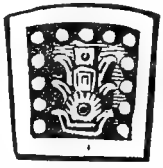
never be any other year than the twentieth year of the cycle.[1]

ARRANGEMENT OF YEARS IN A MEXICAN CYCLE.

| NO. | NAME OF THE YEARS. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Tochli | Acatl | Tecpatl | Calli |
| 2 | Acatl | Tecpatl | Calli | Tochli |
| 3 | Tecpatl | Calli | Tochli | Acatl |
| 4 | Calli | Tochli | Acatl | Tecpatl |
| 5 | Tochli | Acatl | Tecpatl | Calli |
| 6 | Acatl | Tecpatl | Calli | Tochli |
| 7 | Tecpatl | Calli | Tochli | Acatl |
| 8 | Calli | Tochli | Acatl | Tecpatl |
| 9 | Tochli | Acatl | Tecpatl | Calli |
| 10 | Acatl | Tecpatl | Calli | Tochli |
| 11 | Tecpatl | Calli | Tochli | Acatl |
| 12 | Calli | Tochli | Acatl | Tecpatl |
| 13 | Tochli | Acatl | Tecpatl | Calli |

To express the dates, they of course painted the hieroglyphic of the day, and dots for the number of days. This cut, for instance, expresses the day-date "seven Acatl." They generally wrote the dots in sets of five. Seven was sometimes expressed in the above manner. When they wished to express a year-date, they made a little frame and painted in the hieroglyphics of the year, and dots for the number. This date here expressed is their thirteen Acatl, which, by the above table, is seen to be the twenty-sixth year of the cycle.

Day Date.



Year Date.

We have already dwelt too long on this part of the subject. Glancing back over the ground, we see there is nothing implying astronomical knowledge, more than we would expect to find among a rude people. We find there are several particulars

[1] In this table we have followed Mr. Gallatin. According to Prof. Valentine, the order of the years is different. This, however, is immaterial to an understanding of the system.

CALENDAR STONE.

of the Mexican system which we could not understand, except by reference to the Maya system. It would bother us to explain why they should choose the days Tochli, Acatl, Tecpatl, and Calli, to be the names of their years, if we did not know how the Mayas proceeded. We would be at a loss to explain why they choose the number of fifty-two years for the cycle, and arranged their years in it as they did, if we had not learned the secret from the construction of the Mayas' almanac. From this comparison, we should say the Mexican calendar was the simpler of the two. As the Mayas had twenty days in the month, and, for priestly use, weeks of thirteen days, so they took twenty years, which, as they imagined, were supported by four other years, as a pedestal for their next longer period, the ahau; and for apparently no other reason than that they had weeks of thirteen days, they took thirteen of these ahuas for their longest period of time. They did not use the cycle of fifty-two years, but they numbered their years in such a way that, in effect, they were possessed of it. The Mexican did away with all but the cycle of fifty-two years.

No account of the calendar system of the Mexicans would be complete without reference to the so-called calendar stone. The stone, the face of which is sculptured as represented in this cut, was dug up from the square in front of the cathedral of the City of Mexico, where it had been buried in 1557. When the temple was destroyed, this stone still remained entire. Finally the authorities, fearing it attracted too much attention from the natives, ordered it buried. It was brought to light again in 1790, but its early history was completely forgotten. The astronomer Gama pronounced it a calendar stone, and his interpretation of the characters engraved on it have been the foundation for the

idea that the Mexicans had considerable knowledge of astronomy.[1] Prof. Valentine and others have, however, shown that it was simply a sacrificial stone, which the artist had decorated in a peculiar manner. This stone is considered by some to be so important that we will condense Prof. Valentine's description of it as being the best at hand. Not all of our scholars accept it, however. The central figure is the face of the sun-god. It is decorated in a truly savage style. It has ear-rings, neck-chain, lip-pendant, feathers, etc. The artist's design has been to surround this central figure with all the symbols of time. We notice on each side of the sun a small circle or oval with hieroglyhics resembling claws. In Mexican traditions these represent two ancient astrologers who were supposed to have invented the calendar. According to Nahua traditions of the world, there had been four ages of the world; at the end of each age, the world was destroyed. Right above and below the ovals with the claws, we see four squares containing hieroglyphics.

Each of these squares refers to one of the destructions of the world. The upper right hand square contains the head of a tiger. This represents the first destruction of the world, which was by tigers. The four dots seen in this square do not refer to a date as they generally do; it is a sacred number, and constantly reappears in all hieroglyphics referring to feasts of the sun. To the left of this square, crowded between it and the pointer, can be seen the hieroglyphic of the day Tecpatl. The little dot is one, so this day one tecpatl probably refers to the day in which the feast in reference to this destruction was celebrated. The second age was terminated by a hurricane. The upper left hand square containing the hieroglyphic for wind refers to this destruction. Between this square and the pointer is

[1] Gallatin: "Am. Eth. Soc. Transactions," Vol. I, p. 94, *et seq.*

crowded in the hieroglyphic of one Calli, referring to the feast in memory of this destruction. The third destruction of the world was by rain, the lower left hand square containing the hieroglyphic of rain. Below, not very distinctly, is the date of this feast, one quiahuitl. The last destruction was by water, represented by the lower right hand square. The date of this feast as represented below is seven Ozomatl.[1]

Passing out of this central zone we notice the hieroglyphics for the days of the month arranged in a circle. The A shaped ray from the head of the sun indicates where we are to commence to read; and we notice they must be read from right to left. Resting on this circle of day, we notice four great pointers not unlike a large capital A. They are supposed to refer to sunrise, noon, sunset, and midnight. Next in order after the days we notice a circle of little squares, each containing five dots. Making allowance for the space covered by the legs of the pointers just mentioned, there are found to be two hundred and sixty of these days; they, therefore, refer to the days of the moon reckoning. We notice four smaller pointers not quite so elaborate as those already referred to, resting in this circle. They probably refer to smaller divisions of the days. The next circle contains a row of glyphs not unlike kernels of corn. One hundred and five are represented on this circle; they refer to the days of the sun reckoning.

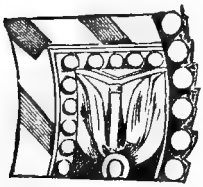
Resting on this circle of days are small towers; they, like the smaller pointers, refer to divisions of the day. Adjoining each of these little towers is a figure; this cut represents one of them. We notice they form a circle extending clear around the stone. The meaning of this

Sign of Rain.

[1] Thus says Prof. Valentine. The cast of this stone in the Smithsonian Institution gives the date eight, instead of seven Ozomatl.

circle is gathered from other painted records. It represents a rain storm; four drops are seen falling to the ground. The ground is cultivated, as shown by the three ridges; a grain of corn is represented lying on the ground. This band on the stone is in honor of the rain-god.

There remains only to explain the outer row or band. At the bottom is a rude representation of two heads with helmets. The meaning of these figures is unknown. From each of these figures extend in a semicircle a row of figures of this shape, ending with pointers at the top, between which is a year-date. Near the points on each side is what might be described as four bundles tied together. Each of the small figures just described is the representation of a cycle of fifty-two years.



Sign of a Cycle.

The date on the top is the year date, Thirteen Acatl. This is an easily determinable date. From Mexican paintings, we know the conquest of Mexico occurred in the year Three Calli. From this tracing their years back by the table given on page (736), we would find that the first Thirteen Acatl we meet was in the year 1479. This is exactly the date when, according to tradition, the great temple was finished, and this stone dedicated by bloody sacrifices. If we count the number of signs for cycles, we find that there are just twelve on each side, twenty-four in all. As the artist could easily have made this number more or less, the probabilities are that it means something. The most plausible explanation is, that in the year 1479, they had traditions of twenty-four cycles. But this number of cycles is equivalent to twelve hundred and forty-eight years, which would carry us back to about the year 231, A. D., which date we must bear in mind; not that we think there is any

scientific value to it, but for its bearing on other matter at the close of the chapter.[1]

We come now to consider the subject of their picture writings. The germ of writing is found in the rude attempts to assist the memory to recall past events. Some of the northern Indian tribes resorted for this purpose to belts of wampum. When a new sachem was to be invested with office among the Iroquois, the historical wampum belts were produced; an old man taking them in hand, and walking back and forth, proceeded to "read" from them the principles of the confederacy. In this case, particular events were con-

Indian Picture Writing.

nected with particular strings of wampum.[2] Pictorial representation would be the next stage. At first the aim of the artist would be to make his drawings as perfect as possible. A desire to save labor would soon lead them to use only the lines necessary to show what was meant. This seems to be about the stage of picture writing, reached by some Indian tribes, who have left here and there specimens carved on

[1] For information on the Calendar Stone, consult, "American Ethnological Society's Transactions," Vol. I, p. 94, *et seq.*; Bancroft's "Native Races," Vol. II, chap. xvi, and p. 755, *et seq.*; Valentine: American Antiquarian Society's Proceedings, April, 1878, p. 92, *et seq.*; Short's "North Americans of Antiquity," p. 419, *et seq.*

[2] Morgan's "Ancient Society," p. 143.

rocks. This cut is a specimen of such writing from the cañon of the San Juan in Arizona. Although quite impossible to read it, there is no doubt but what it expressed a meaning at the time it was engraved.

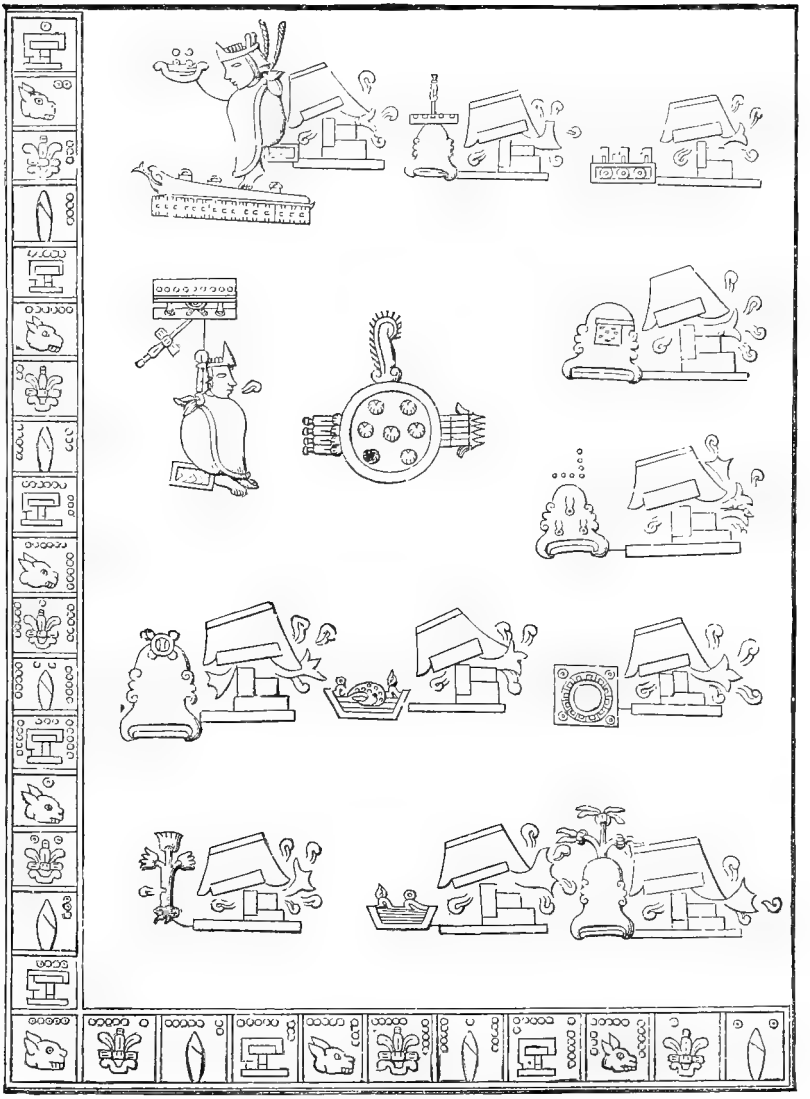
From this stage of development would naturally arise symbolical paintings. Thus "footsteps" might signify the idea of going. A comma-shaped figure, issuing from a person's mouth, would stand for speech. The next step is what we might call rebus-writing, where not the thing itself was meant but the sound. Thus this cut represents Chapultepec—meaning grass-hopper-hill, or locust mount. It is evident, here, the pictures of the objects represent the name. They, probably, did not use this principle farther than to represent the proper names of persons and things before the coming of the Spaniards.

Chapultepec.

Some think that, in addition to the above, the Mexicans used, to a very limited extent, a true phonetic writing—one in which the figures refer not to the thought, but to the sound of the thought.[1] Others are not ready to concede that point. They could not have been further along than the threshold of the discovery, at all events. The Spanish missionaries were very desirous of teaching the Indians the Pater-noster, the Ave-Maria, and the Credo. Either the Indians themselves, or the priests (probably the latter), hit on the device of using painted symbols for the words and syllables of the church prayers and formulas. Thus in this manner was painted the word Amen. The first sign is the conventional figure for water, in Mexican "atl," which stood for A. For the second syllable they put the picture of a maguey plant, in

Amen.

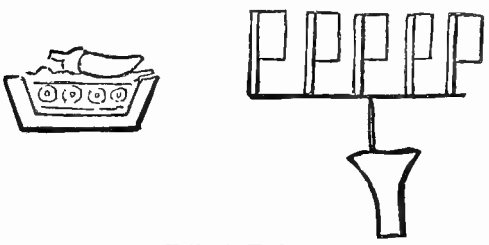
[1] Brinton: "Introduction to the Study of the Manuscript Troano."



Mexican "metl." The whole, then, was "atl-metl," which was as near as they could express the word amen. We must observe, that this was after the conquest.[1]

The plate opposite is one of the paintings of the Mendoza collection. This collection, we must remember, was made after the conquest, simply to gratify the curiosity of the King of Spain. The matter treated of is the events connected with time when Motecuma the fifth "chief-of-men" held office. Around the edge we see the hieroglyphics of the years. We notice he was chief-of-men from the year one calli to two tecpatl. About the only thing recorded of him is the different pueblos he conquered. In all he subdued thirty-three; but only eleven are shown in this plate. The pueblos are indicated by a house toppling over—flames issuing from under the roof. The other little hieroglyphics are the names of the pueblos. The last one in the second transverse line from the bottom is the hieroglphic of Chalco, which we thus learn was reduced to tribute under this chief. All the events indicated in this cut took place before the discovery of America.[2]

A second part of this codex has reference to the tribute received from various tribes. In this cut the left-hand figure



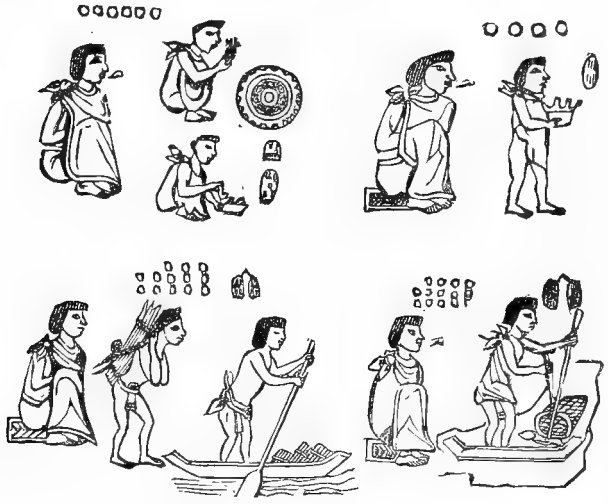
Chilapi—Tribute.

is the hieroglyphic of the town of Chilapi, and is an excellent representation of their rebus-writing we have just referred to. It is a tub of water, on which floats a red-pepper pod. The Mexican word for this last is chilli, for water it is "atl." The word "pa"

[1] Valentine: Proceedings of American Antiquarian Society, April, 1880.
[2] Gallatin: "American Ethnological Society's Transactions," Vol. I, p. 131.

means above. For the full word we have "chilli-atl-pa." Contracted, it becomes chilapi. The figure to the right is the tribute. The five flags denotes one hundred. Below is represented a copper ax-blade—from which we infer that the Pueblo of Chilapi had to furnish a tribute of one hundred copper axes.

A third part of this same collection refers to the Mexican customs. In this cut we have represented the training of a boy at the different ages of four, six, thirteen and four-

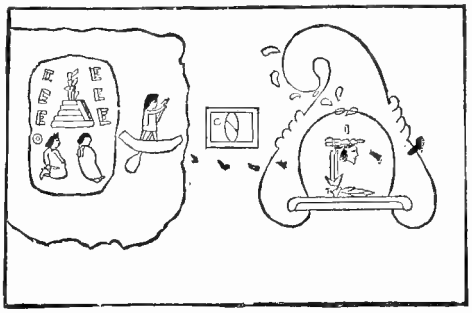


Child Training.

teen years of age. The little round marks number the years of his age. The little elliptical-shaped figures show the number of tortullas the child is allowed at a meal. The boy is trained to carry and make various things, to row a boat, and to fish.

The most interesting of Mexican picture-writings is the record of their wanderings. This was formerly supposed to represent their migrations from Asia—but is now known to refer only to their wanderings in the Valley of Mexico. De La-

field, in his "Antiquities of America," gives a full representation of this picture-writing. Bancroft's "Native Races," Vol. II, pp. 548–49, give a very good reduced copy. We will not attempt to reproduce it all. This cut represents the beginning of it. A man is seen crossing a stream in a boat. The figure behind him may mean an island, on which are represented some pueblos and human figures.



Migration Chart.

On the opposite bank of the stream, to which the footsteps lead, is the hieroglyphic of Culhuacan, "the curved mountain." The year date of this movement is "one tecpatl." The character within that of Culhuacan is Huitzilopochtli, their national god. The flakes issuing from his mouth signify that he is guiding them. The principal figures about this map are the hieroglyphic names of various places where they stopped, and the time spent at each place.

The Mayas seem to have been further advanced in the art of writing than their Nahua neighbors. Specimens of their hieroglyphic writings have been given in the preceding chapter. The hopes of our scholars were greatly raised when, in 1863, the announcement was made that there had been discovered, in Madrid, a Maya alphabet, which, it was expected, would unlock the mysterious tablets just mentioned.

The alphabet thus discovered is represented in the next cut. It will be seen that some of the letters have a number of different forms. This discovery was hailed as of the greatest importance, and a number of scholars at once set about to

decipher the tablets. They were speedily undeceived. The alphabet is, practically, of no help whatever. Prof. Valentine even goes so far as to declare that this alphabet was not of native origin.

Landa Alphabet.

He thinks that Bishop Landa, who is the authority for this alphabet, and who was Bishop of Yucatan from 1549 to 1579, being anxious to assist the natives in learning the new faith, set about the manufacture of an alphabet for them. This he did by having the natives paint some native object which came the nearest to the sound of our alphabet. Thus, for instance, this symbol there are excellent reasons for supposing represents the sun, or the word "day." The Maya word for this is *te*. We

Maya T.

MAYA MANUSCRIPT.

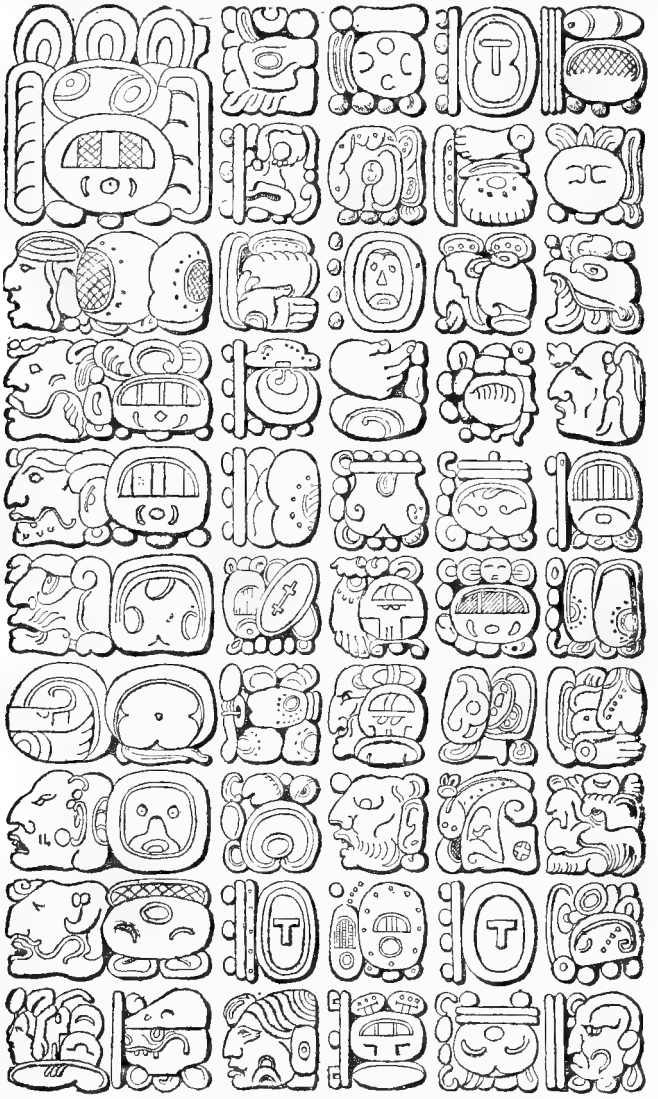
find that this is the symbol that Landa employs for the letter T, only, in his drawing, the central dot has fallen into the lower dashes. Nearly all the other letters can be traced to a similar source.[1] But the professor's reasoning does not satisfy all. He is believed to be right in a number of his identifications; but still the characters might have been used in a phonetic way.[2]

There is no doubt but that the Mayas had a different system than that in use among the Nahua people. The knowledge how to use it was, probably, confined to the priests; and, furthermore, the system was, doubtless, a mixed one. A few phonetic characters might have been used; but they also used picture-writing. Plate on page 751 is a sample of the manuscripts they left behind. It is in the nature of a religious almanac, and refers to the feasts celebrated at the end of a year. The line of characters on the left hand are the days characters Eb and Been. In the lower division, a priest offers a headless fowl to the idol on the left. In the middle division, the priest is burning incense to drive away the evil-spirit. In the upper division, the assistant, with the idol on his back, is on his march through the village. As yet, we know but very little about the tables. We know the hieroglyphics of days and of months.

Examining the tablets in the Temple of the Cross, at Palenque, represented in opposite plate, we notice a large glyph, at the commencement of the tablet, something like a capital letter. This, Mr. Valentine thinks, represents the censers which stood in the temples before the idols, in which fire was constantly kept.[3] Running through the tablets we notice glyphs, in front of which are either little dots, or one

[1] Valentine: Amer. Antiq. Society's Transactions, April, 1880, pp. 59–91.
[2] Brinton's "Introduction to Study of manuscript Troans," p. xxvi.
[3] American Antiquarian Society, April, 1881, p. 294.

or more bars with little dots in front of them. These are day-dates. The dots count one—the little upright bars, five.



Hieroglyphics—Tablet of the Cross.

The probabilities are that this tablet is a sort of list of feast-days in honor of the gods represented by the central tablet.

As we have made a considerable effort to acquaint ourselves with the social organization and customs of the various tribes, and have spent some time in learning the details of their calendar system, and their advance in the art of writing, it will not be out of place to inquire as to their history—to determine, if possible, some of the dates to be given for the arrival of the tribes, and some of the important points of their prehistoric life. Whatever difficulties we have experienced in acquiring a knowledge of their customs will be greatly increased now. Their architecture, social organization, and general enlightenment could be perceived by the conquering Spaniards, and our information in regard to the same should have been full and complete. We have seen, however, how meager it is. The only light thrown on these disputed points is the result of the labors of modern scholars. When we were made acquainted with some of the first principles of Indian society, we could read with profit the accounts of the early writers.

But, when we come to ask for dates in their history, we are almost entirely at sea. The traditions, in this respect, are almost worthless. So, all that we shall attempt to do, is to present some of the thoughts of our scholars as to the probable connection of the civilized tribes with each other, and what value is to be given to the few dates at our command. We will begin, first, with the Maya tribes. This includes those tribes that speak the Maya language, and its dialects. It was in their territory that the most striking ruins were found. They include the tribes of Yucatan, Guatemala, Chiapas, and Tobasco. Then there comes a break; but they were also settled on both banks of the River Panuco. Many theories have been advanced as to the origin of the Mayas. As yet, the question is not solved.

Not a few have supposed them to be the same as the

Mound Builders of the United States. Dr. Brinton has pointed out that the language of the Natchez Indians contains some words of the Maya.[1] A Mexican scholar, Señor Orozco-y-Berra, thinks it probable that the Mayas once occupied the Atlantic sea-board of the United States; that they passed from the peninsula of Florida to Cuba, and thence to the other Caribbean Islands, and so to Yucatan. He states that the traditions of the Mayas uphold this view.[2] But others are not ready to admit it. We have found a number of points of resemblance between the Mayas and the Nahuas. Differences we would, of course, expect to find; but still the points of resemblance are sufficiently strong to indicate either that the tribes were once subject to the same influence, from whence they derived their culture, or else that they are descended from the same stock. We have reverted to the worship of Quetzalcohuatl, and shown how the Quichés, under the name of Gucumatz, worshiped a similar deity. We have also referred to the great similarity of the calendar system.

From the limited space at our command, it is not possible to refer to the traditions of the Maya tribes. We will refer to but one manuscript bearing on this question; but this is, probably, the most important one. This manuscript was written by a native with the Spanish letter, but in the Maya language. It was written not far from the time of the conquest of Yucatan by the Spaniards, and the account is, doubtless, as full a one, from the native stand-point, as can be given. The period of time used by the author is Ahau, which we have seen is either twenty, or twenty-four years.

Carefully going over this manuscript, Prof. Valentine ar-

[1] "Myths of the New World." The doctor now thinks his statement just referred to too strong. There is, indeed, a resemblance, as he pointed out; but it is not strong enough to found any theories on.

[2] Short's "North Americans of Antiquity," p. 474.

rives at the following conclusions: About the year 137, A. D., the Mayas started from some place they called Tulla, or Tullapan, on their migration. Where this place was we do not know. The traditions of all the civilized nations refer to this place as a starting-point. It was a "land of abundance." It may be that this was but some fabled place, such as almost all primitive people have traditions of.[1] About the year 231, A. D., they arrived on the coast of Central America, and spread themselves over a large part of it. This same manuscript speaks of the "discovery" of Chichen-Itza, 522, A. D. The date of the founding of Uxmal is given as about the year 1000, A. D. From 1000 to 1200, A. D., was the golden era of the Mayas in Yucatan.

The tribes at Uxmal, Mayapan, and Chichen-Itza formed a confederacy of which Mayapan seems to have been the head. About the year 1200, inter-tribal war broke out. It seems to have been caused by the arrival of Nahua tribes, who established themselves in Mayapan. They were finally expelled, but they left the Mayas in such a state of exhaustion that they could not present a united front against the Spaniards. Such are the conclusions of Prof. Valentine. He estimates the length of an Ahau at twenty years, and it does seem that the author of the manuscript used that number of years.[2]

Of the other branch of the civilized tribes we know but very little. The historical picture writings of the Mendoza

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[1] Brinton's "Myths of the New World."

[2] This historical manuscript represents the traditions of the Maya people shortly after the conquest. It is very likely its author had before him picture records of what he wrote. Such records have since disappeared. The manuscript itself, the interpretation of it, and Perez's remarks are found in Stephen's "Yucatan," Vol. II, Appendix. The same in Bancroft's "Native Races," Vol. V, p. 628. The fullest and most complete discussion is by Prof. Valentine in Proceedings Am. Antiq. Soc., October, 1879, p. 80, *et seq.* Whether there is any thing worthy of the name of history is doubtful.

collection, a collection compiled, remember, after the conquest, and, therefore, representing the traditions then current among the Mexicans, takes us back to 1325, A. D., to the first settlement in the Pueblo of Mexico. Sahagun, a Franciscan monk, who went to Mexico as early as the year 1529, and remained there until his death in 1590, wrote a very voluminous account of the Mexicans, their customs and history, and as he was in Mexico at the time when their traditions were still fresh in the minds of the natives, his account is probably as good as any. He obtained his information in a very credible manner. He gathered together some old Indians, well acquainted with the traditional history of their country. They are supposed to have "refreshed" their memory by inspecting a number of picture writings, which have since disappeared.

It is manifest that this history is valuable, just in proportion as the traditions are valuable. He makes one statement that Prof. Valentine has dwelt upon with great ability. He states that numberless years ago the first settlers came in ships and landed at a northern port, which, from that cause, was called Pauntla. This is supposed to be the Panuco River. After they had settled here, a large part of them, including their leaders and the priests, went off south; Sahagun says as far as Guatemala. The party left behind organized themselves into an independent body. They reconstructed from memory the calendar; they increased and became powerful, until pushing over the mountain, they built the pyramid of Cholula, and finally reached the city of Teotihuacan, where they built a central sanctuary. For some reason they abandoned their homes, all except the Otomies, and wandered off across the plains, and high, cold, desert places, that they might discover new lands.[1]

[1] Proceedings Am. Antiq. Society, Oct., 1882.

No dates are mentioned for these occurrences, and we are not aware that this tradition is mentioned by other writers. We recall that from the mouth of the Panuco River southward, we found evidence of considerable population in olden times. We also recall that in this section are the ruined pyramids of Tuzpan and Papantla. Prof. Valentine is inclined to think that this date is referred to on the calendar stone; that is, 231 A. D. Just twenty-four cycles elapsed from this time to the date of the dedication of the calendar stone in 1479 (page 742).

He also thinks that the Maya traditions refer to this same occurrence. One more reference to this same mysterious date is contained in the traditions of the Tezcucan tribe. According to the traditions, the beginning of things were in the year 245 A. D. According to this view, then, the ancestors of both Nahua and Maya people appeared on the gulf coast about 231 A. D.; in the same place where a Maya-speaking tribe are found to-day. From here those who developed the Maya culture went to the south and south-west; those who developed the Nahua went to the west and northwest.

We do not profess to be a judge as to the value of this tradition. Our scholars will, probably, at no distant day, come to more definite conclusions in the matter. Prof. Short thinks the strangers who at this early time made their appearance on the gulf shore were colonies of Mound Builders from the Mississippi Valley.[1] We think it best to be very cautious about coming to any such conclusions. We must not forget that back of the twelfth century is nothing but vague traditions. Mr. Bandelier tells us that "nothing positive can be gathered, except that even during the earliest times Mexico was settled or overrun by seden-

[1] "North Americans of Antiquity," p. 578.

tary, as well as by nomadic tribes that both acknowledged a common origin." [1]

The savage tribes have the general name of Chichimecas, but by right this term ought to be applied to the sedentary tribes as well; however, the word Toltec stands for these sedentary tribes. We have all read about the great Toltec Empire in Mexico. This is a ridiculous use of words. There was no tribe or nation of people of the name of Toltecs.[2] All these prehistoric aborigines were probably Chichimecas; but by Toltecs we refer to the sedentary tribes, the skillful workers among them. If we are to judge any thing of traditions, the original home of these people were somewhere to the north of Mexico.

There was doubtless the usual state of inter-tribal warfare, but after a prolonged period the sedentary tribes—the Toltecs—were exterminated or expelled. Their successors were utter savages, coming from the north also. We doubt very much whether any date can be given for this event, but traditions assign it to about the year 1064. Prof. Valentine thinks he finds a reference to it in the calendar of stone. If we will notice, in the outer band near the top are four little bundles, or knots, in all, eight. We are told that each of these bundles refers to a cycle of fifty-two years, or in all four hundred and sixteen years. The date of the inauguration of the stone is 1479. If we subtract the number of years just mentioned, we have the date 1063. Whether this is simply a coincidence, or was really intended to refer to that event, we can not say.

Considerable speculations have been indulged in as to where the Toltecs went when driven out of Mexico. Some have supposed they went to Yucatan, and that to them we

[1] "Peabody Museum Reports," Vol. II, p. 387.

[2] Valentine: Proceedings Am. Antiq. Society, October, 1882, p. 209.

are to look for the builders of the ruined cities. This is the view of a very late explorer, M. Charney.[1] Some have supposed we yet see certain traces of their presence in Guatemala, where they helped to build up a great Queche "monarchy."[2] But we know very little about it. It is not probable that more than a feeble remnant of them escaped with their lives.

From the same mysterious regions from where had issued the aboriginal Chichimecas and Toltec people, there subsequently came still other bands of sedentary Indians, who finally came to settle around the lakes of Anahuac. These settlers all spoke closely related dialects of the same language as their predecessors, the Toltecs. Finally the Aztecs appeared on the scene, coming from the same mysterious land of the "Seven Caves." According to their historical picture-writings, they founded the Pueblo of Mexico in 1325. It is somewhat singular that no record of this event appears on the calendar stone. If the artist was ingenious enough, as Prof. Valentine thinks he was, to represent the dispersion of the Toltecs in the eleventh century, he surely would have found some way to refer to such an important event as the founding of their Pueblo. From this date the Mexicans steadily rose in power, until they finally became the leading power of the valley.[3]

[1] *North American Review*, from Sept., 1880, to 1883.

[2] Short's "North Americans of Antiquity," p. 218.

[3] This historical notice is a mere outline. Such, however, is all we wished to give. Those who wish for more details can not do better than to refer to Mr. Bancroft's fifth volume on the "Native Races." We do not believe, however, that any thing definite is known of the early periods of which some writers give such glowing descriptions. When they talk about the doings of monarchs, the rise and fall of dynasties, and royal governors, we must remember the majority of the descriptive matter is mere nonsense, consequently our faith in the dates given can not be very great.

# CHAPTER XVI.

## ANCIENT PERU.

FIRST knowledge of Peru—Expeditions of Pizarro—Geography of Peru—But a small part of it inhabitable—The tribes of ancient Peru—How classified—Sources of our knowledge of Peru—Garcillaso De La Vega—Origin of Peruvian civilization—The Bolson of Cuzco—Historical outline—Their culture—Divided into phratries and gentes—Government—Efforts to unite the various tribes—Their system of colonies—The roads of the Incas—The ruins of Chimu—The arts of the Chimu people—The manufacture of pottery—Excavation at Ancon—Ruins in the Huatica Valley—The construction of a Huaca—The ruins at Pachacamac—The valley of the Canete—The Chincha Islands—Tiahuanuco—Carved gateway—The Island of Titicaca—Chulpas—Ruins at Cannar—Aboriginal Cuzco—Temple of the Sun—The Fortress—General remarks.

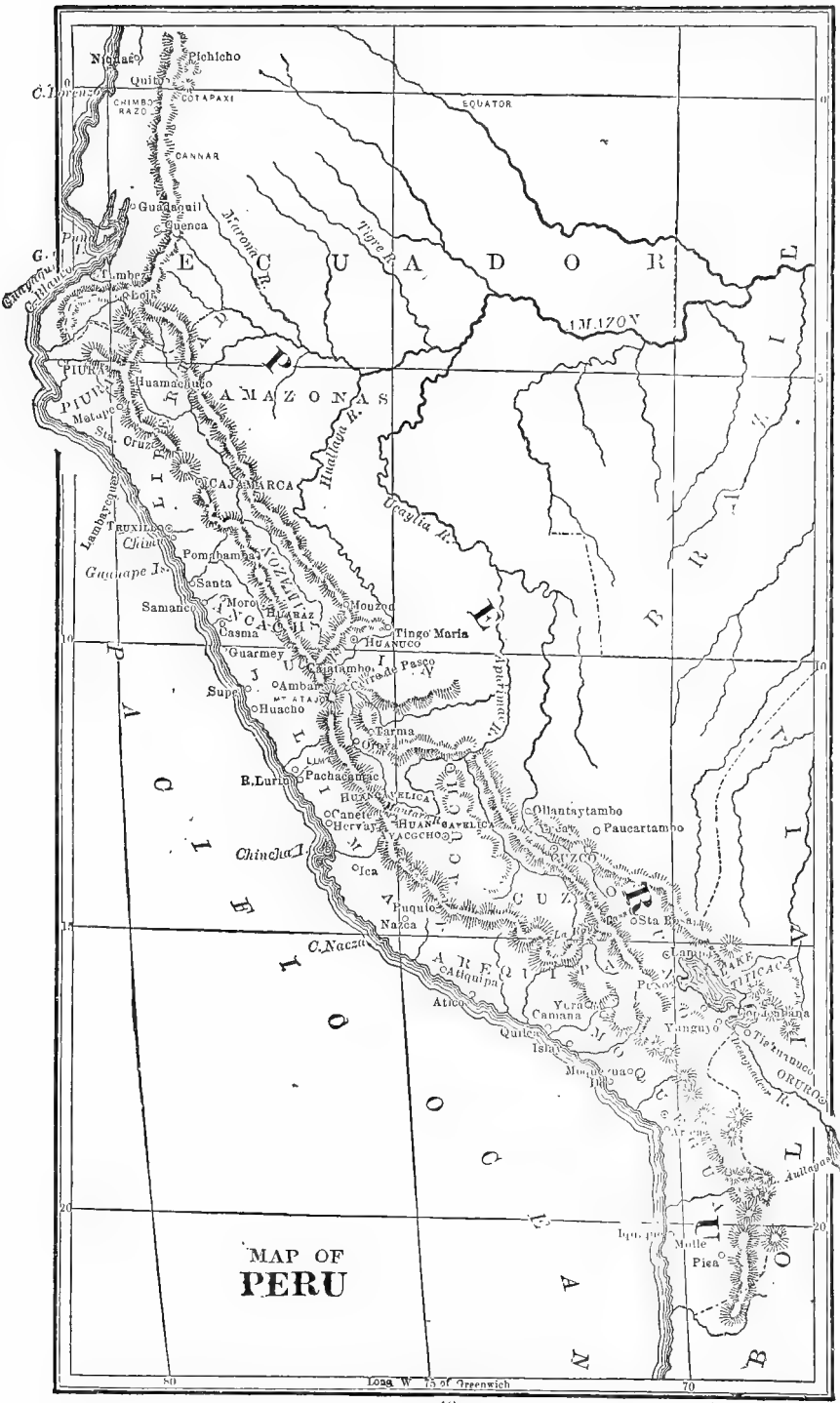
EARLY part of the sixteenth century was surely a stirring time in the world's history. The night of the Dark Ages was passing off of the Old World; the darker gloom of prehistoric times was lifting from off the New. Spanish discoveries followed each other in rapid succession in the South. As yet, they supposed these discoveries to be along the eastern shores of Asia, but, in 1513, Balboa, from a mountain peak, in Darien, saw the gleam of the great Pacific, which intervenes between America and Asia. At the same time he was informed there was a country to the southward where gold was in common use, and of as little value among the people as iron among the Spaniards. As

gold was what the Spaniards most desired, we can imagine how they rejoiced over such information.

The rich country of which Balboa was thus informed was later known as Peru. Balboa himself did not attempt its discovery. There was no lack, however, of those who wished to achieve fame and fortune by so doing. Among other restless spirits who had been attracted to the New World, was Francisco Pizarro. He had been associated with Balboa in founding the settlement of Darien, and, of course, he was among the first to hear of the marvelous country further south. In 1518, Panama, on the Pacific coast, was made the seat of government for the Spaniards in that section of the country. Pizarro was one of the first there—his services had been rewarded by the grant of an estate. The historian of his expedition speaks of him as "one of the principal men of the land, possessing his house, his farm, and his Indians."[1] We need not doubt but what he often pondered over his knowledge of the rich country south. He was well acquainted with Indian character, and knew that a small band of resolute Europeans, possessed of fire-arms, could sweep every thing before them.

He could not endure the quiet life on his estate, and so he obtained from the governor permission to explore the coast of the South Sea to the eastward. He spent a large part of his fortune on a good ship and the necessary supplies for the voyage, and finally set sail from Panama in November of 1524. It needed a man of no common spirits to withstand the disappointments of the next few years. In less than a year this ship returned to Panama for reinforcements. Pizarro himself and a few of his men remained at a place not very far from Panama. Here he was joined

[1] Xeres: "Report on the Discovery of Peru," Markham's translation, Hakluyt Society's Publication.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C. Lorenzo
Nicuaga
Pichicho
Quito
CHIMBORAZO
COTAPAXI
EQUATOR
CANNAR
Guadaquil
Cuenca
Tumbez
Loja
Puna I.
Guayaquil
C. Blanco
E C U A D O R
Marona R.
Tigre R.
AMAZON
PIURA
Huamachuco
Matape
Sta. Cruz
AMAZONAS
Huallaga R.
Ucayla R.
CAJAMARCA
Lambayeque
Truxillo
Chim
Pomabamba
Guanape Is.
Santa
Samanc
Moro
Huaraz
Mouzoo
Casma
Tingo Maria
Guarmey
Cajatambo
Cerro de Pasco
Apurima R.
Supe
Ambar
Huacho
Tarma
Oroya
B. Lurin
Pachacamac
Canete
Hervay
Chincha I.
Ica
Ollantaytambo
Paucartambo
CUZCO
Puquio
Nazca
C. Nazca
Sta. Rosa
Lampa
LAKE TITICACA
Puno
Atiquipa
Atico
Yura
Camana
Quilca
Islay
Yanguy
Tia'tuanuco
Desaguadero R.
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L. Aullagas
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by reinforcements under Almagro. Undismayed by his first experience, he again sailed southward along the coast. Xeres's brief account is as follows: "When they thought they saw signs of habitations, they went on shore in their canoes they had with them, rowed by sixty men, and so they sought for provisions. They continued to sail in this way for three years, suffering great hardships from hunger and cold. The greater part of the crew died of hunger, insomuch that there were not fifty surviving. During all these years they discovered no good land; all was swamp and inundated land without inhabitants."

This expedition accomplished nothing further than to obtain definite information as to Peru. Pizarro's grant from the governor having expired, and the further fact that he had spent all his fortune in these unsuccessful expeditions, made it necessary for him to go to Spain. Received by the emperor with favor, clothed with ample authority, he was able to raise men and money, and finally sailed from Panama in 1531 on his third and successful expedition for the conquest of Peru. Thus was made known to the world what is regarded as the most wonderful example of native civilization in the two Americas.

The dawn of history for Peru was the sunset of her native culture. In a few short years what has come down to us as the Empire of the Incas was completely overthrown; the enslaved Indians were groaning under the weight of Spanish oppression; the demolition of her ancient monuments had already begun, and romance, tradition, and wonder had already thrown their subtle charms around the ruins. The old customs and usages were on the sudden dropped, a new culture was forced upon the unwilling natives, and prehistoric Peru, though distant but a few years in time, was as completely separated from historic Peru as

is the culture of the Neolithic Age in Europe from that of the early historic period.

The magician's wand in the fairy stories of olden days did not present results more bewildering in their changes than did the operations of the Spaniards in Peru. All accounts unite in praising the government of ancient Peru. There is probably no question but what the government the Spaniards overthrew was one far better adapted to the wants of the native inhabitants than the one they forced them to accept. But when we read the accounts of that government as set forth by the early writers, we are at a loss to know what to believe. There is such an evident mixture of fables, traditions, and facts, that the cautious student hesitates, and asks what support the researches of later scholars give to these early writers. We doubt whether we have to this day clear ideas of the culture of ancient Peru. This is to be regretted. There is no question but that here was the highest development of the Indian race in America. If we accept the accounts given us, here rose an empire which will not suffer by comparison with the flourishing empires of early times in Oriental lands. Let us try and learn what we can of this culture, and see wherein it differed from that of the civilized tribes already discussed.

We must, first of all, acquaint ourselves with the physical features of the country. We can never fairly judge of the civilization or culture of a people until we know their surroundings. One of the discoveries of late years is, that the culture of a people is greatly influenced by their surroundings. The very appearance of a country whether it is mountainous or plain, sea-girt or inland, influences the character of a people. Civilization is found to depend upon such common factors as climate, food, and physical surroundings.[1]

[1] Buckle's "History of Civilization," chap. ii.

Now if we will examine the map of South America, we will see that the entire section of country occupied by the tribes under consideration is very mountainous. What is known as the Andes is in reality the most eastern of the two ranges. The western one nearer the coast is called the Cordillera, or the Coast Range. The summit of this mountain range often spreads out into great undulating plains, the general elevation of which is from fourteen to eighteen thousand feet above the sea. This series of elevated plains forms a dreary, uninhabited stretch of country, "frigid, barren, and desolate, where life is only represented by the hardy vicuna and the condor."[1]

This is the uninhabited portion of Peru. The general width of this plateau region is about one hundred and fifty miles. Passing this dreary stretch of country we come to another still elevated plateau section, which extends to the snow-clad Andes proper. The distance between these two great mountain ranges is from one to two hundred miles, but as we see on the map they come together in places. One such place, the Pass of La Raya, fifteen degrees south latitude, is of importance as marking the northern extremity of the great basin of Lake Titicaca. This basin is remarkable in many respects. It is of no inconsiderable size, being six hundred miles in length by one hundred and fifty in width. It has a lake and river system of its own. At the northern extremity of the basin is the noted Lake Titicaca, which is given by some as the traditional place of origin of the Incas. This lake finds an outlet in the River Desaguadero, which flows in a broad and swift stream in a southerly direction, where it empties into Lake Aullagas.

Of this lake we know next to nothing, but it seems to be established that it has no outlet to the sea. Thus this Titicaca basin is but another example of interior basins like

[1] Squier's "Peru," p. 9. The Vicuna is a species of the llama.

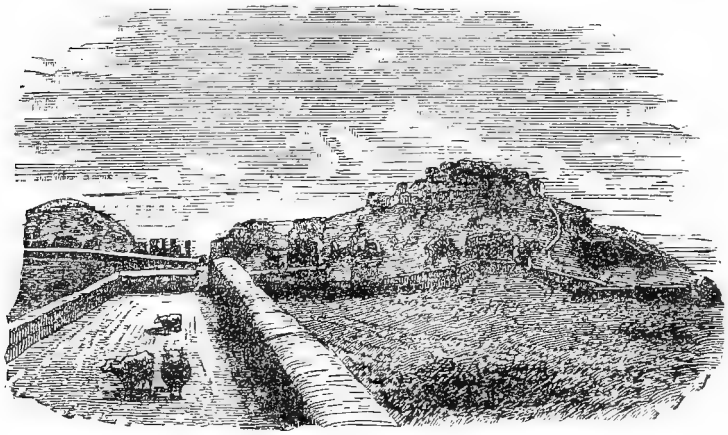
that of our own great Salt Lake. It is not, however, favorably situated for agricultural purposes. It is a "region where barley will not ripen except under very favorable circumstances, and where maize in its most diminutive size has its most precarious development; where the potato, shrunk to its smallest proportions, is bitter; where the only grain is the quinoa, and where the only indigenous animals fit for food are the biscacha, the llama, and the vicuna." [1]

Thus we see that a large part of the interior of Peru was not desirable for habitations. But this great plateau region north of the basin of Lake Titicaca is here and there broken up by what we would call valleys, but which the Spaniards more appropriately named *bolsons*, literally meaning "pockets." These bolsons are of various altitudes, and, therefore, have different climates and productions. Some are well drained and fertile, others are marshy and contain considerable lakes. As a general thing, the bolsons are separated from each other by stretches of the dreary, desolate plateau; or by ranges of precipitous hills and mountains; or by profound gorges, along which courses some river on its way to swell the flood of the mighty Amazon.

The coast range of mountains of which we have spoken runs nearly parallel to the coast, distant from it about forty miles. This stretch of country along the entire coast of ancient Peru is mainly a desert. Owing to causes which we need not explain, rain is almost unknown; the consequence is, the coast presents a dreary, verdureless, forbidding appearance. The melting snows on the great Cordil-

[1] Squier's "Peru," p. 12. The quinoa is a species of plant of the same genus as our pig-weeds. But it is a larger plant, and its seeds give a very nutritious meal. The biscacha is about the size and shape of the rabbit. It belongs to the chinchilla family. The llama is the only representative of the camel family on the western hemisphere. There were three species of this genus in Peru, the llama, alpaca, and vicuna. These domesticated and constituted what the Spaniards in their first reports called sheep.

lera, however, send down, here and there, on their western flanks, feeble rivers. Some of these rivers reach the sea, others prolong their flow but a few miles from the mountains before the thirsty desert swallows them from view. As is true of all desert countries, all that is needed to render it fertile is water; so, wherever these rivers occur there are found wonderfully fertile valleys. Every one of these valleys was once thickly settled, but, like the bolsons of the interior, they were not connected with each other. Each valley is separated from its neighbor by many miles of almost trackless desert, across which the Incas are said to have indicated the road by means of stakes driven into the sand and joined by Ozier ropes. No remains of such roads have been found by modern travelers.



Fortress, Huatica Valley.

From this description it is "clear that but a small portion of the country was inhabitable, or capable of supporting a considerable number of people. The rich and productive valleys and bolsons are hardly more than specks on the map."[1] It is necessary that we bear this description

[1] Squier's "Peru," p. 12.

of the country in mind. It will help us to understand as nothing else will how the tribes located in one rich and productive bolson could, by successive forays, reduce to a condition of tribute tribes living in other detached valleys and bolsons. It will also enable us to put a correct estimate on the extravagant accounts that have reached us of the population of this country under the rule of its ancient inhabitants. We can also readily see why the tribes living in the hot and fertile valleys along the coast, which were called Yuncas by the Peruvians, should differ in religion and mental and moral characteristics from the tribes living in the bolsons of the interior, where the snow-clad peaks were nearly always in sight, and where the sun, shedding his warm and vivifying beams, would appear to the shivering natives as the beneficent deity from whence comes all good.

We must now turn our attention to the tribes inhabiting the section of country just described. We have seen that the Mayas, of Central America, the Nahuas, of Mexico, and the sedentary tribes, of the United States, were considerably in advance of the great body of the Indian tribes of North America. We find the same fact true of the natives of South America. Those tribes inhabiting the territory of ancient Peru, and those of the territory now known as the United States of Columbia, were considerably further advanced than the wild tribes living in the remaining portions of South America. Quite a number of our scholars have grouped in one class these partially civilized tribes of both North and South America, and called them the Toltecan Family.[1] But others do not think that there are sufficient grounds for such a class division. They can not detect any

[1] Morton's "Crania Americanæ," pp. 6, 83. Winchell's "Pre-Adamites," p. 388.

radical changes in the domestic institutions of the various tribes.[1] On this point we must wait until our authorities are agreed among themselves.

Attempts have been made to classify the various partially civilized tribes of Peru. There are several difficulties in the way. It was, for instance, the custom of the Incas, whenever they had reduced a tribe to tribute, to force them to learn their language, which was the Quichua, and is what the early Spanish writers call the general language of Peru.[2] How far this language was forced on the tribes, and how far it was their own idiom, we can not tell. Mr. Markham, who has made a very careful study of all the authorities bearing on Peru, divides the territory of ancient Peru into five divisions, and in each locates a number of tribes, which he thinks forms a family.

The first, and most northern one, extends north from near Tumbez, in the present State of Ecuador. The second extends from Loja, on the north, to Cerro De Pasco, in about eleven degrees south latitude. The third, and most important, extends from this last named place to the pass of La Raya, fifteen degrees south latitude. This was the home of the Incas and five other closely related tribes. To the south of La Raya is the basin of Lake Titicaca, the home of a family of Indians generally known as the Aymara Indians. This name is, however, wrong; these tribes should be called the Collao Indians. These four divisions do not include any territory west of the Cordillera range, except one part of the third division. These four families

[1] H. L. Morgan: "Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family," p. 255; other works by the same author, "House and House-life of American Aborigines," and "Ancient Society."

[2] The Quichuas were a closely related tribe to the Incas, and their name has been given to the language of Peru. But as the Incas were the ruling tribe, their name should have been given to this family of languages.

are all closely related. Mr. Markham thinks they all had a common origin. Mr. Squier thinks the Collao, or, as they are generally called, the Aymara Indians, are distinct from the others. "They differ from each other as widely as the Germans differ from the French," is his own conclusion. The entire coast district of Peru was the home of many tribes of Indians, about which we as yet know but little. The name by which they are known is Yuncas.[1]

We are now ready to proceed to a consideration of the culture of ancient Peru, and a description of the monuments. But before doing so we must have a word to say as to the authorities. At the time of the Spanish conquest of Peru, the Empire of the Incas was supposed to have been in existence about four hundred years. But the Incas had no hieroglyphic or pictorial system of recording events. The most they had was a system of knot records or quippos, which will be explained in due time. These records were simply aids to the memory. Mr. Squier places them "about on a par with Robinson Crusoe's Notched Calendar, or the chalked tally of an illiterate tapster."[2] They are manifestly of no value as historical records.

It must be evident, then, that all our knowledge of Peru, previous to the arrival of the Spaniards, rests solely upon traditions. We have no reason to suppose that these traditions are of more value in their case than in the case of other rude and illiterate people. The memory of such people is very short lived. The tribes in the southern part of the United States must have been greatly impressed with De Soto's expedition. They heard fire-arms for the first time, and for the first time saw horses ridden by men. Yet

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[1] "The Geographical Distribution of the Tribes of the Inca Empire," in "Journal of the Geographical Society," Vol. XLI, p. 281, *et seq.*

[1] "Peru," p. 571.

in the course of a few generations they had completely forgotten all this.[1]

One very eminent authority is Garcillasso De La Vega.[2] Let us examine his writings a minute. He was born in Cuzco about 1540, but a few years after the conquest. His mother claimed descent from the royal family. He left Peru in 1560, when he was just twenty years old, and went to Spain. He first sought advancement in the army. Despairing of success in that line, he turned his attention to literature. One of his first works was an account of De Soto's expedition to Florida. The historian Bancroft thus characterizes this work: "An extravagant romance, yet founded upon facts—a history not without its value, but which must be consulted with extreme caution." Yet in this work there were no subtile ties of blood, no natural bias as there would be in favor of the land of his birth.

About 1600 he commenced his "Royal Commentaries of Peru." This is the main source of information as to ancient Peru. We must reflect that he had been away from his native land forty years when he commenced the work. His sources of information were the stories told him in his boyhood days, the writings of the Spanish travelers, monks, and conquerors, and what he learned by corresponding with his old friends in Peru, which he did when he formed the design of writing his history. In other words, his history rests on the traditions extant at the time of the conquest, viewed, however, from a distance of sixty years. Who can doubt but what the old man, writing his accounts of this mother's race, that race that had been so deeply wronged,

[1] Foster's "Prehistoric Races," p. 375. The Zuñi Indians have indeed preserved a tradition of the visit of Coronado three hundred and fifty years ago, but in such a form that no one not acquainted with the facts would guess the meaning. "Fifth Annual Report Archæological Institute," p. 40.

[2] More than one-third of Mr. Prescott's quotations are from this authority.

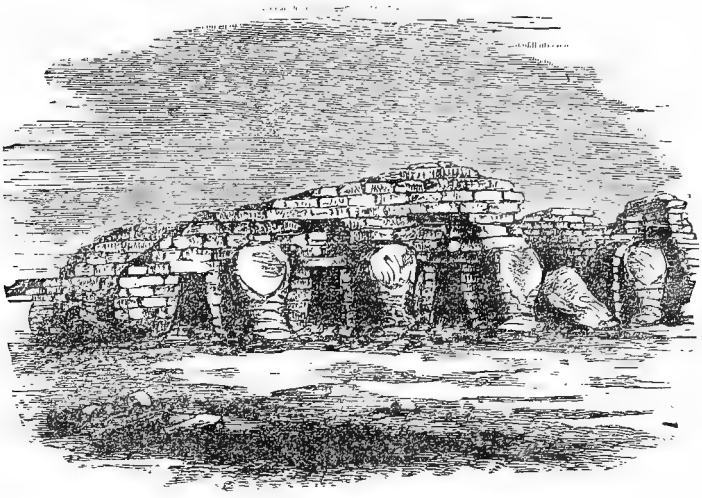
wrote it under the influence of that potent spell, which the memory of old age throws around childhood's days?

It is evident we have in these accounts but little deserving the name of history. When he undertakes to tell us of the doings of the Incas, who are supposed to have reigned three or four hundred years before the Spanish conquest, descending to such details as what nations they subdued, the size of their armies, their speeches to their soldiers, the words of counsel they addressed to their heirs, their wise laws and maxims—and we know that this account rests on traditions—he who believes that they are of historical value, is surely possessed of a good store of credulity. We do not mean to say that his writings are of no account. On the other hand, they are of value. The historical part we are to consider simply as traditions, and we are to weigh them just as we would any other collection of traditions and compare them with monuments still extant. He is good authority on the customs and manners of the Peruvians just previous to the arrival of the Europeans.

We have seen what strange mistakes the Spanish writers made in describing the government and customs of the Mexicans. We have no doubt but what substantially the same mistake has been made in regard to Peru. We believe that a careful, critical study of all that has been written on the subject of Peru by the early writers will establish this fact. As yet this has not been done. We must therefore be careful in our description of the state of society amongst them, as we do not wish to make statements not supported by good authority.

We must try and decide as to what is the most probable origin of the ancient Peruvian civilization. Some of the earlier writers on this subject would trace it to an influx of Toltecs, the same mythical race that is credited with being

the originators of the culture found in Mexico and Central America. But our modern scholars have clearly shown that the Toltec Empire, which was supposed to have preceded the Mexican, never existed. What we are to understand by the Toltecs is the sedentary tribes of Indians, either of the Nahua or Maya stock. The only value we would assign to the story of their dispersion is that it is a traditional state-



Ruins at Pachacamac.

ment that the migration of the sedentary Indians has been in a direction from north to south.

We have no means of knowing when the first tribes arrived in the country, or of their state of culture. It was doubtless at a very early date, and the tribes were probably not far advanced. We have no reason to suppose the culture of Peru was influenced from outside sources at all. We can not detect any evidence of a succession of races in Peru. The distinguished author to whom we have already referred[1] speaks of what he calls the ancient Peruvians as distinguished from the modern tribes that acknowledged the

[1] Morton.

government of the Incas.[1] We think that all the evidence points to a long continued residence of the same race of people.

We may suppose that in the fertile valleys of the coast, and in the bolsons of the interior, tribes of rude people were slowly moving along the line of progress that conducts at last to civilization. There is no reason to suppose that this progress was a rapid one. Under all circumstances this development is slow. We must not forget the natural features of the country. The inhabited tracts were isolated, hence would arise numerous petty tribes, having no common aims or mutual interests. Each would pursue their own way, and would keep about equal pace through the stages of Barbarism.[2]

In process of time geographical and climatic causes would produce those effects, from which there is no escape, and some tribes would distinguish themselves as being possessed of superior energy, and the same results would follow there as elsewhere; that is the dominion of the strong over the weak. All other circumstances being equal, we would look for this result in a section where a mild climate and fertile soil enabled man to put forth his energies, and rewarded his labors. All accounts agree in speaking of the bolson of Cuzco as well provided by nature in this respect. One eminent traveler speaks of it as "a region blessed with almost

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[1] This idea was largely based on the differences of the skulls. On this point see "Fourth Annual Report Peabody Museum." Some authors speak rather vaguely of the ancient race of the Titicaca basin. We know of no good foundation for such expressions.

[2] Garcillasso impresses on his readers the idea that the Incas was the only tribe at all civilized. The Aymara Indians were certainly as far advanced as the Incas, and even surpassed them in the art of cutting stone, if we conclude the ruins at Tiahuanuco to be of Aymara origin. The tribes of the coast region were certainly not far behind. The Muyscas, of Bogota, who were never under the dominion of the Incas, were yet possessed of a high degree of culture.

every variety of climate. On its bracing uplands were flocks of llamas and abundance of edible roots, while its sunny valleys yielded large crops of corn, pepper, and fruits.[1] Mr. Squier thinks that, on the whole, the climate is very nearly the same as that of the south of France.[2]

This bolson was the home of the Incas. A number of writers speak of the Incas very much as if they were a royal family. It is not necessary to discuss this point very extensively at present. All our accounts of their early history are traditional. Mr. Markham and Mr. Squier, both competent judges, assert that the weight of traditions is to the effect that the Incas originated near Cuzco. "Universal traditions," says Mr. Markham, "points to a place called Peccari Tampu as the cradle or point of origin of the Incas." As near as we can make out from the description, this was where, as seen from Cuzco, the sun appeared to rise.[3]

We must remark that the sun was the ancestral deity of the Incas. All the Andean people worshiped some object as an ancestral deity. "An Indian," says La Vega, "is not looked upon as honorable unless he is descended from a fountain, river, or lake, or even the sea, or from a wild animal, such as a bear, lion, tiger, eagle, or the bird they called a condor, or from a mountain, cave, or forest." The Incas claimed descent from the sun. So we can see why their legends would center on the place where the sun appeared to rise. In after years, when they had extended their conquests to the Collao,[4] and stood on the shore of Lake Titicaca, the sun appeared to them to rise out of its waves; and so this lake became to them a second point of traditional origin.

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[1] Markham in Forbes's "Aymara Indians," p. 111. [2] "Peru," p. 427.
[3] "It was from Cuzco the nearest point to the sun-rising." (Markham.)
[4] Their name for the Titicaca basin.

We see we can not solve the question of the origin of the Incas until we solve the deeper problems of the origin of the Andean tribes. Every thing seems to indicate a long-continued residence, perhaps for centuries, and a slow advance in culture. We are not to suppose the Incas were endowed with unusual capacity for improvement; all the tribes were probably about equal in this respect.[1] But their situation was in their favor, and they did not have to contend with those obstacles that confronted other tribes. They must have increased in numbers and in culture; they would in time feel themselves strong enough for conquest. We must bear in mind the peculiar geographical features of the country. In the isolated valleys and bolsons were living other tribes, but little inferior to the Incas. There were no common interests between these tribes. One by one they fell before the assaults of the Incas, and were reduced to tribute. Rendered still more powerful by success, the Incas pushed on their conquests until finally all the tribes living in that vast stretch of country from the Andes to the Pacific, from Chili to the United States of Colombia, acknowledged themselves tributary to the Incas. This was the state of things when the Spaniards, under Pizarro, appeared on the scene.

When we undertake to learn the history or the state of culture among the Incas, we are entering on a difficult subject. Of their history, we know but very little more than is given in this outline; and owing to the complete absence of all records, we can not expect to know very much. Garcillasso draws such an inviting picture of the happy government of the Incas, that we would suppose that no rebellion or insurrection would ever occur. It seems, however, that their government was as much subject to such

[1] Markham, in Forbes's "Aymara Indians."

trials as any. Mr. Forbes tells us that "the Aymaras never submitted tamely to their Peruvian masters, but from time to time gave them much trouble by attempting to recover their independence." And M. Reville tells us of the Incas that, "more than once they had to suppress terrible insurrections." And we shall see, further on, that the probabilities are that the various tribes composing this so-called empire were not more compact and united than were the tribes composing the Mexican Empire.

Shortly before the conquest, the Incas had reached their zenith of power. Huayna Capac, who died about 1525, was in reality the last of the Inca chiefs. Under his management the tribes as far north as Quito were reduced to tribute. The story goes that shortly before his death he divided the empire between two of his sons. One, Huascar, the rightful heir to the throne; the other, Atahualpa, half-brother to Huascar. His mother was daughter of the last king (?) of Quito. Her father had been forced to submit to the victorious Huayna Capac. This division of the Incarial Empire, was not at all to the liking of either Huascar or Atahualpa. They both wished to be sole Inca. Civil war was the result. Atahualpa, by treachery, had taken his brother prisoner, and would doubtless have achieved his ambition, but just then Pizarro invaded the country, and the reign of the Incas was over.

Thus far, the story. We very much doubt whether this expresses the facts of the case. There is no question, of course, that civil war was in progress when the Spaniards arrived, which war, by the way, was a very fortunate thing for the Spaniards; but we do not know enough about the government of the Incas to know whether Huayana Capac could bequeath any powers to his sons. About all we are justified in saying is, that on his death, two persons

(they were very likely brothers, and sons of Huayna Capac) aspired to the chieftaincy of the Incas, and, failing to agree, resorted to war to settle the matter.

The question is, how far back in the unrecorded past can we follow tradition? Huayna Capac is thought to have been chief for about fifty years. His predecessor is said to have been one Tupac Yupanqui. Velasco, an early writer on the Peruvians, thinks he was chief for about thirty-six years. As this would carry us back nearly one hundred years, it must be evident we have gone about as far as we can place any reliance on tradition. However, the third chief, going backwards, was also called Yupanqui, sometimes denominated "Yupanqui the Great," and his reign (?) takes us back to about the year 1400. "Beyond this point," says M. Castaing, "we fall into a mythological era." We fully agree with him. We can not think there is any special value in accounts of events said to happen before that time—that is, for historical purposes.

That there were victorious chiefs, conducting victorious forays before that date, is, of course, admitted. That the names of many of the chiefs have come down to us, as well as some of their notable achievements, is quite possible. It is also evident that some mythological personages would appear in tradition as "reigning Incas." It is equally plain that neither Garcillasso, nor any of the Spanish writers, had any clear ideas of these ancient times or events. All traditions finally settle on Manco Capac as the first chief of the Incas. M. Castaing says he "is but an allegory of the period of formation.[1] The date of the accession of this mythological chief is given by most authorities as about the year 1000. M. Castaing thinks it was in the middle of the twelfth century. It does not make much difference which

[1] *American Antiquarian*, Sept., 1884, p. 295, *et seq.*

date the reader concludes to accept—one will do as well as the other.[1]

Let us turn our attention to the culture of the Incas, and their state of government. Here we would expect to be on firm ground. We would expect the Spanish writers to give us reliable accounts of the state of society of the people they conquered. But, as Mr. Squier remarks, the overthrow of the Peruvian government "was so sudden and complete that the chroniclers had hardly time to set down the events which took place before their own eyes, and had little leisure, or perhaps inclination, to make a careful investigation into the principles of their civil and religious polity. As a consequence, this work has devolved upon the laborious student and archæologist of a later time." In other words, we are to compare the accounts given us by the early writers with our present knowledge of Indian society.

We have already made the statement that the Incas were a tribe of Indians. But, if they were a tribe, did they have the usual subdivisions of a tribe—which, we remember, are the phratry and gens? The Spanish writers say nothing about such divisions. This is not strange. They said nothing about the phratries and gentes of the Mexicans; and yet they were in existence. Neither did the English mention the institution of the phratries and gentes among the Iroquois; and yet they were fully developed. We

[1] It is manifest that, during the centuries of slow development which the Incas underwent, they had a great many chiefs. How many we shall never know. Garcillasso gives us a list of fourteen, including Huascar and Atahualpa. Montesino generously increases this number to one hundred and one. Neither of them knew any thing positive about it; but this latter number is the more reasonable of the two. Mr. Markham, who goes at the problem in another way, thinks there were five historical Incas, counting Huayna-Capac the last. He surmises that the first may have flourished two hundred years before the conquest.

answer, that the Inca tribe were divided into both phratries and gentes. It is necessary to show what grounds we have for such belief. It is well to have a little better understanding of the surroundings of this tribe.

The isolated section of country which they occupied is about seventy miles long by sixty in width. "The proper name for the aboriginal people of this tract," says Mr. Markham, "is Incas." This word must have been at first the title for chief—for all the chiefs in this section were called Incas; but, in process of time, the name was assumed as the special title of the tribe at Cuzco. Mr. Markham gives us further the names of seventeen lineages who occupied this valley. Whether a lineage was a tribe or not we can not decide. We will now confine our attention to the ruling tribe at Cuzco.

The Spaniards noticed that Cuzco was divided into two parts, called respectively Upper and Lower Cuzco. Garcillasso tells us that this division was made as follows: Manco-Capac with his wife and queen were children of the Sun, sent to civilize the Indians, who, before their arrival, were a very degraded sort of savages. From Cuzco this sun-descended couple went their different ways—the king to the north, the queen to the south—"speaking to all the people they met in the wilderness, and telling them how their father, the Sun, had sent them from heaven to be the rulers and benefactors of the inhabitants of all that land; . . . and, in pursuance of these commands, they had come to bring them out of the forests and deserts to live in villages." This sounded so good to the wild tribes, that they "assembled in great numbers, both men and women," and set out to follow their exhorters.[1]

The tribe that followed the king settled Upper Cuzco;

[1] Markham's Garcillasso's "Royal Commentaries," Vol. I, p. 66.

while the queen's converts settled Lower Cuzco. This division was not made so that those living in one half should have any special privileges over the other—for they were all to be equal, like brothers. The division was solely in order "that they might be a perpetual memory of the fact that the inhabitants of one were assembled by the king, and the other by the queen." The only difference between them was, "that the people of Upper Cuzco should be looked upon and represented as elder brothers, and those of Lower Cuzco as younger brothers."

Such is the account of the settlement of Upper and Lower Cuzco. Any one acquainted with the general principles on which the division of Indian tribes into phratries took place, can not help concluding that these divisions were simply two phratries. The inhabitants of each traced their descent back to a supernatural personage. They were equal in power to each other as elder and younger brothers. Polo Ondegardo simply remarks that "the lineage of the Incas was divided into two branches, the one called Upper Cuzco, the other Lower Cuzco."[1] There ought to be no objection to substituting for the word branches used above the scientific term our scholars now employ; that is, phratry. Each tribe of the Iroquois confederacy was divided into two phratries, and their name for this division was a word which meant brotherhood.[2]

Whatever doubt we may have on this point vanished when we come to examine into the customs of the Incas. We must not forget that the most prominent way a phratry shows itself is in matters of religion, and in the play of social games. "The phratry, among the Iroquois," says Mr. Morgan, "was partly for social and partly for religious ob-

[1] Markham's translation, p. 151.

[2] Morgan's "Ancient Society," p. 100.

jects. . . . In the ball game, for example, they play by phratries, one against the other. Each phratry puts forward its best players, usually from six to ten on a side, and the members of each phratry assemble together, but on opposite sides of the field in which the game is played. The members of each phratry watch the game with eagerness, and cheer their respective players at every successful turn of the game."

Relics from Guano Deposits.

Let us see how it was among the Incas.[1] Like all Indian tribes, the Incas were very fond of ceremonious feasts. Nearly every month they celebrated one or more. We gather from Molina that on occasions when the whole tribe participated in such religious observances, the people of Upper Cuzco sat apart from Lower Cuzco. In the month corresponding to August they had a celebrated feast, the object of which was to drive out all evil from the land. We read: "All the people of Cuzco came out, . . . richly dressed, sat down on benches, each man according to the rank he

[1] Our authority is Christoval Molina, a priest of Cuzco. He made a report to the bishop, which must have been written some time between 1570 and 1584, on the "Fables and Rites of the Incas." This was translated by Markham, and published by Hakluyt Society in 1873. He obtained his information by gathering together a number of aged Indians, including some priests, who had participated in these ceremonies in the days of the Incas.

held, those of the Upper Cuzco being on one side, and those of Lower Cuzco on the other." And of another feast we read: "They brought out the embalmed (?) bodies of the dead Incas, placing those who had belonged to Upper Cuzco on the side where that lineage was stationed, and the same with those of Lower Cuzco." Other examples could be given, but this point is well established. In games this same division was observed, since we read that in the month of December, "on the first day of the month, those who had been armed as knights—as well those of the lineage of Upper Cuzco as those of Lower Cuzco—came out into the square with slings in their hands, . . . and the youths of Upper Cuzco hurled against those of Lower Cuzco." We may therefore consider it well established that the Incas were a tribe of Indians having two phratries.

Let us now see how the matter stands in regard to gens. This division follows almost as a matter of course, but it is well to see what separate grounds exist for the assertion. Garcillasso, in his description of Cuzco, after a reference to the division into Upper and Lower Cuzco, tells us further that it was divided into twelve wards. Mr. Squier gives us a map of the ancient city. From this we see that the twelve wards were arranged in an irregular oval around the principal square. Seven of them belonged to the division of Upper Cuzco, the other five to Lower Cuzco.

This division is utterly unintelligible to us, unless we suppose them to be subdivisions of the phratries. It makes no difference what name we bestow upon them, in effect they can be nothing else than gentes. As to the number of them, it is well to notice a coincidence in the statement of an Indian writer, Salcamayhua.[1] On a certain very important occasion there were assembled "*all* the councilors. The

[1] This writer, a native Indian, wrote about the same time as Garcillasso.

governor entered the chamber, where *twelve* grave councilors were assembled."[1] The most reasonable explanation that can be given for the number twelve is that each gens had one representative in the council. The Incas are thus seen to be very probably, at least, no exception to the general rule of Indian tribes.

From our present standpoint what can we learn as to their government? It is, of course, well known what the position of the early writers on this subject is. They all agree that the government of the Incas was a monarchy of the strictest type. We have seen what a wonderful empire they bestowed on the Mexicans. The Peruvian Empire is painted in still brighter colors. Modern writers have not allowed the early accounts to suffer by repetition. Rivero uses the following language: "The monarchs of Peru, . . . uniting the legislative and executive power, the supreme command in war, absolute sovereignty in peace, and a venerated high-priesthood in religious feasts, . . . exercised the highest power ever known to man."[2] Even so cautious a writer as Mr. Squier speaks of the Incas as ruling "the most thoroughly organized, most wisely administered, and most extensive empire of aboriginal America."[3]

It is freely admitted that there is much that is indeed wonderful in the culture of the Incas; but it has, undoubtedly been greatly exaggerated. To deal with this question as it should be would require an entire volume of itself, and would require far more extensive research than the writer has been able to make, or is, indeed, prepared to make. It will do no harm to see what we can learn by comparing the statements of some of the early writers with what we have now learned of Indian society.

[1] "Fables and Rites of the Incas," p. 105.
[2] "Peruvian Antiquities," p. 105. [3] "Peru," p. 5.

Let us first inquire as to the council. There is no question as to the existence of a council. Garcillasso and all the early writers refer to it in an accidental sort of way. To show the force of this statement, we will give a few quotations. Garcillasso, speaking of the movements of the Inca Viracocha, says: "Having passed some years in making these journeys, he returned to Cuzco, where, with the advice of his councilors, he resolved on war." And, in another place: "Having consulted with his council" he assembled his army. Talking about the son of the foregoing, he says: "In fine, this king, with the advice of his council, made many laws, rules, ordinances," etc.[1] In the foregoing we are made aware of the existence of a council, but are not told as to its size or powers. Each gens would of course be represented in the council. We have spoken in one place of the number twelve. Mr. Bandelier tells us that the council consisted of sixteen members.[2] As to its power we are also left in the dark; but, judging from what we have learned of the council among the Mexicans and Indian tribes of the North, who can doubt but that it was the supreme governing body?[3]

The more we study this question, the more points of resemblance we would find with the social organization of the Mexicans. The tenure of land was of course the same, as we learn from the report of Ondegardo—some differences may have occurred in regard to tribute.

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[1] Many such quotations could be given, not only from Garcillasso, but from Molina, Salcamayhua, and others.

[2] Address before the Historical Society of New Mexico.

[3] We can not help wondering if the Incas did not have two chief executives. This would make them similar to the Iroquois, and most of the more southern tribes, such as we have already seen to be true of the Mexicans. Mr. Bandelier says there is abundant proof that the Incas had two chiefs—one the "dispensing Inca," the other the "speaking head." ("Archæological Tour in Mexico," p. 167, note 6.)

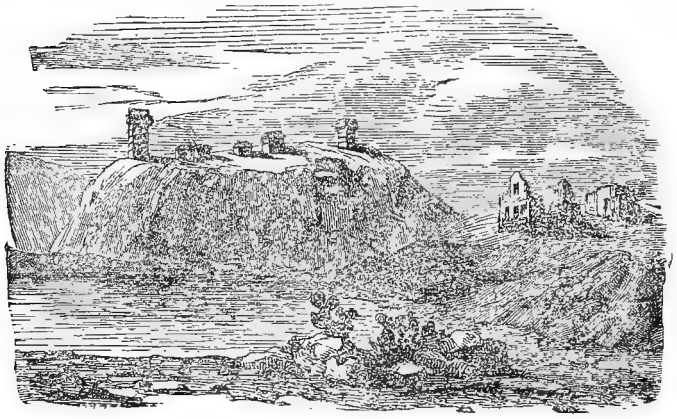
The Mexicans, we must remember, were at the head of a confederacy, and the tribute was brought to Mexico to be divided among the three tribes. The Incas were the only tribe, in the case of Peru, having supreme power. Having no one to suit but themselves, they introduced some new features. The tribute, instead of being all brought to Cuzco, seems to have been, at least a portion of it, stowed away in storehouses located at places most convenient for the Incas. Cieza De Leon says: "The Incas . . . formed many depots full of all things necessary for their troops. In some of these depots there were lances; in others, darts; and in others, sandals: and so, one with another, arms and articles of clothing which these people used, besides stores of food. Thus, when a chief was lodged in one of these depots with his troops, there was nothing, from the most trifling to the most important article, with which they were not supplied."[1] This tribute was gathered by regular tribute-gatherers. As in the case of Mexico, these appear in history as governors. Ondegardo says they left "Cuzco every year, and returned in February, . . . bringing with them the tribute of the whole empire."

As a rule, the Incas did not interfere with the customs of the tribes they had conquered. Garcillasso says: "Excepting a few alterations that were necessary for the welfare of the whole empire, all the other laws and customs of the conquered province were retained without any change." In the main, all they wished for was tribute. Yet they seem to have had some idea of a higher policy than that. They are credited with carrying out measures which would certainly tend to bring the tribes into a close union. Mr. Squier remarks: "The efforts of the Incas to assimilate the families that were brought within their empire, by force or

[1] "Travels," Markham's Translation, p. 164.

alliance—in respect to language, religion, and modes of life—were powerful and well-directed."[1] This was a step ahead of any thing that can be said of the Mexicans.

In the matter of language, it is said they made persistent efforts to have the conquered tribes learn their own language. De Leon tells us that it was a law throughout the kingdom that this language should be used—"fathers were punished if they neglected to teach it to their children in their childhood." How much we are to believe of this account is doubtful. Mr. Markham has shown us that the languages of all the interior tribes were related. We know



Burial Towers.

how difficult it is to compel a conquered people by law to learn a foreign language. William the Conqueror made an unsuccessful attempt to compel the Anglo-saxons to learn French—it ended by his followers learning English. Are we to believe that a tribe of Peruvian Indians were successful in spreading their language over a wide extent of territory in the course of a few generations?

What is considered as the great stroke of policy on the part of the Incas, was their system of colonies. On this

[1] In Forbes's "Aymara Indians," p. 109.

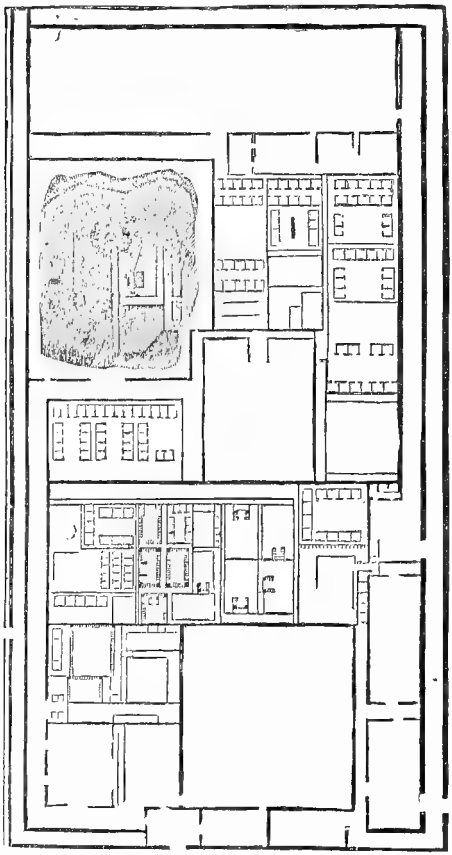
point De Leon tells us: "As soon as a province was conquered, ten or twelve thousand men were ordered to go there with their wives; but they were always sent to a country where the climate resembled that from whence they came. If they were natives of a cold province, they were sent to a cold one; and if they came from a warm province, they went to a warm one. These people were called mitimaes — which means Indians who have come from one country and gone to another." On this we might remark, that the Incas did not always show such discriminating care where they sent the exiles, since Mr. Markham tells us that the "descendants of colonists on the coasts of Peru (a warm climate, notice) still retain traditions concerning the villages in the Andes (a cold province), whence their ancestors were transported."

We will only refer to the so-called royal roads of Peru. Humboldt observed them in Northern Peru, and speaks in high praise of them. Many of the early writers mention them. De Leon gives us a really wonderful account. Modern travelers have not been so fortunate in finding their remains. Mr. Squier does not mention them. Mr. Hutchinson searched at every place along the coast, and could find no trace of such works. The northern part of Peru, where Humboldt saw them, was almost the last section to be conquered by the Incas. It is singular that they should have been in such a hurry to build roads in that section, when the other parts of their territory were destitute of them.

We are now prepared to inquire as to what remains of this ancient people have come down to us; and in studying these ruins we must keep constantly in mind the social organization of Indian tribes.[1] We notice on the map, at

[1] "Indian architecture, from the Sioux lodge to the houses of Uxmal, Mitla, and Tiahuanuco, is only understood through Indian social organization." (Bandelier.)

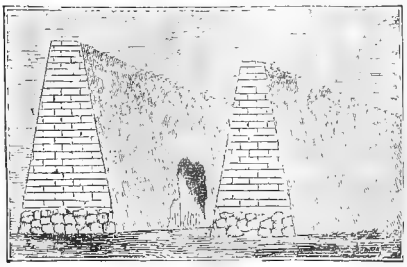
about 8° south latitude, a place marked Truxillo. It is situated nearly two miles from the sea, in the valley of the Chimu. Its port is the town of Huanchaco, a dilapidated village of a few hundred houses, about ten miles further north. Truxillo was founded in 1535 by Francisco Pizarro, and was once a place of considerable importance, but at present it is probably most noted for the famous ruins located near it. Several of the fertile coast valleys that we have previously described, here unite; consequently this was a place of great importance to the coast tribes. The ruins here are among the most remarkable in Peru. The road from Huanchaco to Truxillo passes directly through the field of ruins.



Palace.

Mr. Squier tells us that the ruins "consist of a wilderness of walls, forming great inclosures, each containing a labyrinth of ruined dwellings and other edifices." As our space is limited, we will describe but one of these inclosed spaces. This is a view of what is usually called a palace, but this certainly is an absurd name. The inclosure contains some thirty-two acres; the walls surrounding it are double, and sufficiently heavy

to resist field artillery. At the base the walls, in some cases, are fifteen feet thick, gradually diminishing toward the top, where they are not more than three feet thick. They vary in height, the highest ranging from thirty to forty feet high. In order to give a clear idea of these walls, we introduce this cut, which gives us a section of the walls. The materials of which they are built is adobe.



Section of Palace Wall.

Within this inclosure we notice three open places, or courts, a number of smaller cross-walls dividing the remaining space into a number of small courts. Around each of these courts, generally on three sides, are the ruins of houses. All in the interior of the large inclosures is so far gone in ruins that we can with difficulty make out the plan. Inclosures, such as we have described here, are the principal features of the Chimu ruins. Mr. Squier speaks of one three or four times the size of this one. With our present knowledge we are justified in concluding that Chimu was the head-quarters of a powerful tribe. We are surely justified in assuming further that each of these great inclosed squares, containing upwards of thirty, forty, and even fifty acres, was the home of a gens—their fortified place.

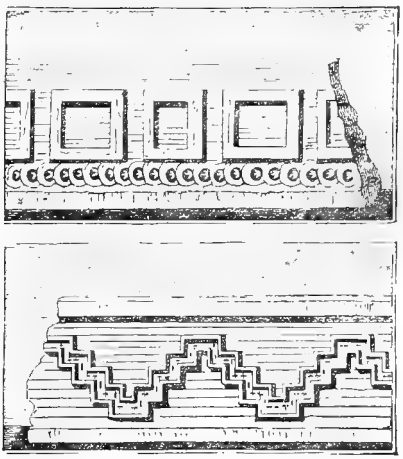
Of the houses, Mr. Squier says: "Around each court the dwellings of the ancient inhabitants are grouped with the utmost regularity. . . . Some are small, as if for watchmen, or people on guard; others are relatively spacious, reaching the dimensions of twenty-five by fifteen feet inside the walls. These walls are usually about three feet thick, and about twelve feet high. The roofs were not

flat, but, as shown by the gables of the various buildings, sharply pitched, so that, although rain may not have been frequent, it was, nevertheless, necessary to provide for its occurrence. Each apartment was completely separated from the next by partitions reaching to the very peak of the general roof. There are no traces of windows, and light and air were admitted into the apartment only by the door."

On one side, at least, the whole area of the city was protected by a heavy wall, several miles of which were still standing at the time of Mr. Squier's visit. At various places along this wall, cross-walls extended inward, thus inclosing great areas which have never been built over, and which show all evidence of ancient cultivation. We notice, near the upper end of this inclosure, a court, occupied by a mound. This is known as a *huaca*, which calls for some explanation. It seems that the general name among all the Peruvian people, for a sacred object, is huaca. Being a very superstitious people, this name is applied to a great variety of purposes, amongst others, to these great artificial mounds, the majority of which are probably burial mounds. The construction of many of these mounds is very singular. It seems as if they were a large collection of rooms, each one of which was filled with clay or adobe. In some of these chambers, probably, treasures are concealed. One very celebrated huaca, at Chimu, was found to contain an enormous amount of gold vessels.

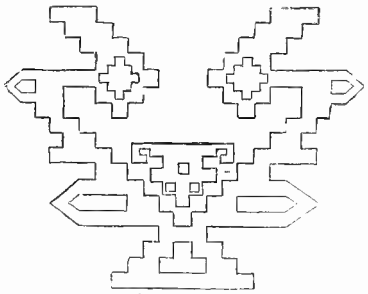
We must not forget to notice the arts of the Chimu people. The walls of the inner edifices were often ornamented as is seen in the following cut, of which the upper one is stucco-work and the lower one is in relief. Adobe bricks are allowed to project out, forming the ornamental design. Other ornaments of stucco-work were observed.

The second figure on this page gives us an idea of this style of ornaments. As an evidence of how the climate of Peru preserves ruins, we would mention that, though this last stucco-work has been exposed to the elements for probably several centuries, yet it is still apparently perfect.



Ornamentation on Walls.

The Chimu people were certainly very expert workmen in gold and silver. De Leon asserts that, when the Incas conquered them, they took to Cuzco many of the artisans of the country, "because they were very expert in the working of metals, and the fashioning of jewels and vases in gold and silver." In the cut on next page we have two vases — the smaller one of gold, the larger of silver." The material is very thin, and the ornaments are produced by hammering from the inside.

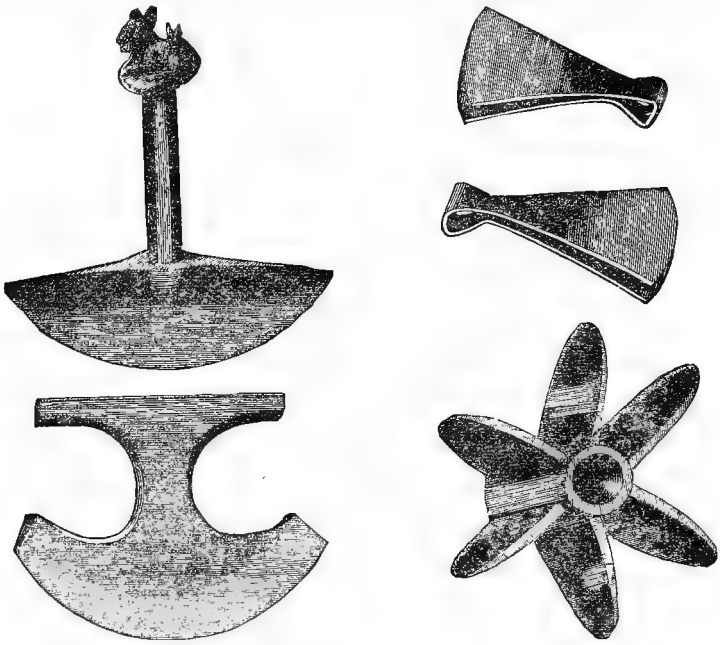


Adobe Ornament.

Besides such works as just described, they had the art of casting representations of men, animals, and reptiles in silver—sometimes hollow, sometimes solid. They even cast more complex objects. Mr. Squier says he has one "representing three figures—one of a man, and two women, in a forest. It rises from a circular base about six inches in diameter, and weighs forty-eight and a half ounces. It is solid throughout—or, rather, is cast in a single piece, and rings,

Gold and Silver Vases.

when struck, like a bell." The trees, he says, are well represented, their branches spreading in every direction. The human figures are also well proportioned, and full of action.

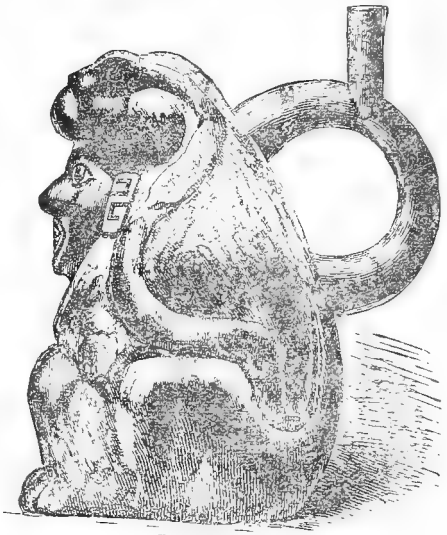


Bronze Knives and Tweezers.

They also knew how to manufacture bronze. Many agricultural implements are found, not only at Chimu, but all

along the coast. In the preceding cut we have bronze knives and tweezers—also, a war-club of the same material.

All the coast tribes of Peru excelled in the manufacture of pottery. Mr. Squier tells us that, in this sort of work, we find "almost every combination of regular or geometrical figures"—men, birds, animals, fishes, etc., are reproduced in earthenware. In this cut we have one of the many forms. Notice the serpent emblem.



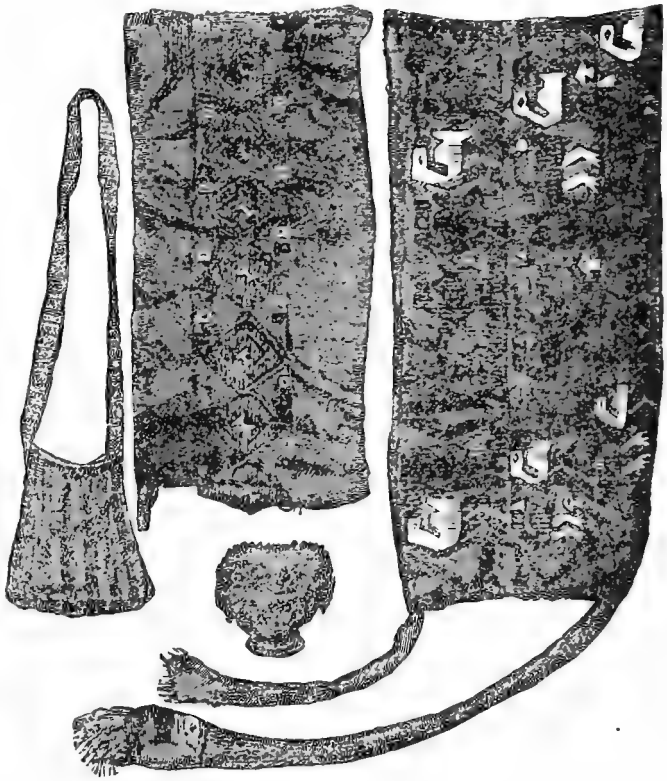
Water-jar.

The people of Chimu, whose ruins we have been describing, belong to the coast division—differing in many respects from the Peruvian tribes in the interior. Our information in regard to the coast people is very lim-

Water-jars from Ancon.

ited. We have to judge of them almost entirely from the ruins of their towns, and the remains of their handiwork.

There is no reason to suppose they were the inferiors of the Peruvians in culture. It is quite the custom to speak of them as if they were low savages before the Incas conquered the country; and that they owe to the latter all

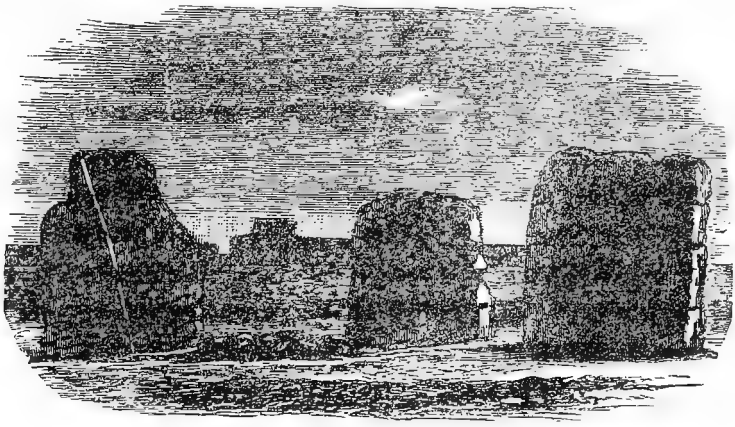


Cloth found in Grave.

their advance in culture. On the contrary, we may well doubt whether their condition was at all improved by the Inca conquest. The coast people are supposed to have been conquered about one hundred years before the Spanish conquest. It was only after a most stubborn resistance that the principal valleys were subdued.

It is not necessary, neither have we space, to give a review of all the ruins along the coast. They are very

plentiful. There is not an inhabitable valley but that they abound there. The soil where not irrigated is very dry, and tends to preserve any thing buried therein. All the coast people buried their dead; hence it is that we find, in nearly all the coast valleys, such extensive cemeteries. At Ancon, for instance, twenty miles north of Lima, it is simply wonderful how extensive the cemeteries are. Mr. Hutchinson



Wall in Huatica Valley.

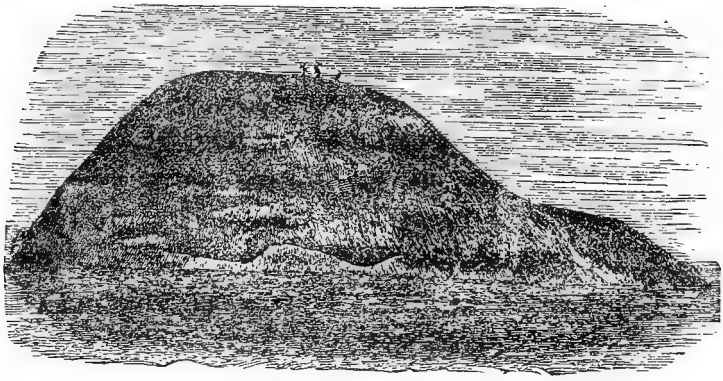
says they extend for miles. Very extensive explorations have been made here for scientific purposes. We have given, on page 795, some water-jars excavated at Ancon; in last illustration we have some specimens of cloth found in graves farther north; and in the same locality was found a very wonderful piece of feather-work. The small feathers were so fastened to a ground of cotton cloth that they could not be pulled off.

Another noted place, about the same distance south of Lima, is Pachacamac. Mr. Squier concludes, from the cemeteries at this place, that it was a holy place, to which pilgrims resorted from all parts of the empire so as to be laid to rest in holy ground. When we learn of so many other similar localities, we see that this conclusion does not follow.

The most we can say is, that these valleys have surely been settled for a long while.

The city of Lima is situated on the south bank of the Rimac River, about six miles from the coast. Its port is the town of Callao. The valley is called the Huatica Valley. Very extensive and wonderful ruins occur in this valley, between Lima and the sea. We are told these ruins are thick and close over a space of a few square miles, and are inclosed within a triple wall. The last cut is given as a representation of a portion of this wall, though only a small portion here and there is still discernible. Amongst these ruins are a large number of immense mounds.

Some are huacas, or burial mounds; and some are in the nature of fortresses. It is best to explain a little more particularly about the burial mounds of the coast region of Peru.



Burial Mound, or Huaca.

This cut gives us an idea of their appearance. As to their construction Mr. Squier says: "Many if not most of the pyramids, or huacas, were originally solid—built up of successive vertical layers of bricks, or compacted clay, around a central mass or core."

But this is not always the case; since in many huacas we find walls, in some rooms, and, finally, as before re-

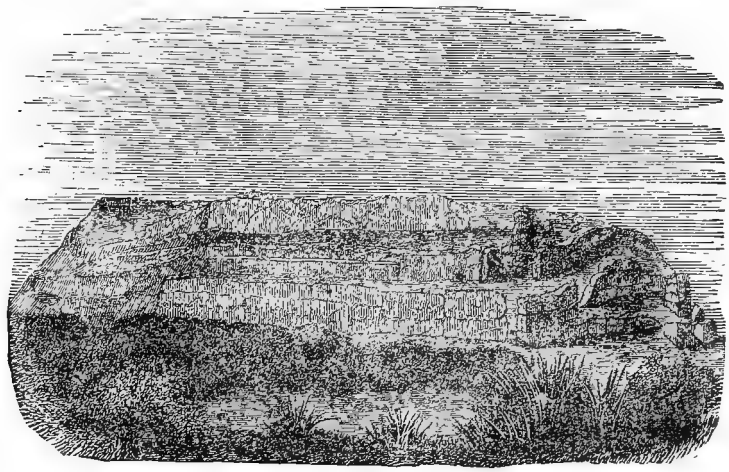
marked, some apparently consist of a large, many-storied building, the rooms of which are all filled with clay. In the mound just mentioned, Mr. Hutchinson found a number of inclosures—though the work was done in a rough, shapeless manner. Mr. Squier gives us a description of a many-roomed huaca as follows: "Thanks to the energy of treasure-hunters who have penetrated its sides, we find that it had numerous large painted chambers, was built in successive diminishing stages, ascended by zigzag stair-ways, and was stuccoed over and painted in bright colors. The conquerors filled up these chambers, and recast the edifice with a thick layer of adobe."[1]

This is surely a singular piece of work. The building just described by Mr. Squier must have been much like a pueblo. We wish we had fuller descriptions of it. Mr. Squier is eminent authority, and scholars delight to honor him for his researches. We take the liberty, however, to question some of his conclusions. How does he know that this structure was ever used for any other purpose than as a mound? It is indeed a singular way to construct a mound, but when we learn of the existence of mounds showing the different methods of work—some solid, some with walls, others with rude rooms, still others with rooms towards the top—why not say that this many-storied building was simply one style of mound-building? He claims that the Incas filled up these rooms, and transformed the house into a mound. Mr. Hutchinson claims there is no proof that the Incas did this sort of work.

As an example of fortress-mounds, also prevalent in the valley of the Huatica, we present the next cut. Mr. Hutchinson describes this mound as being eighty feet high, and about four hundred and fifty feet square. "Some of the

[1] "Peru," p. 214.

adobe walls, a yard and a half in thickness, are still quite perfect. That this was not likely to have been a burial-mound may be presumed from its formation. Great large square rooms show their outlines on the top, but all filled up with earth. Who brought this earth here, and with what object was the filling up accomplished? for the work of obliterating all space in these rooms with loose earth



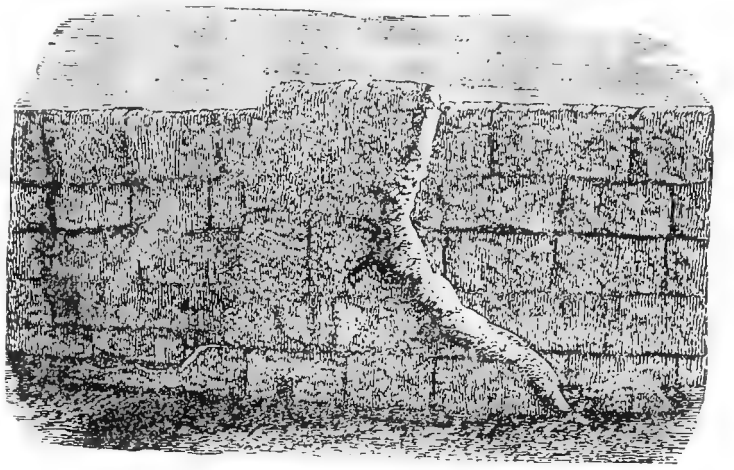
Fortress Mound.

must have been almost as great as the construction of the building in itself."[1] So it seems that in the fortress-mounds also we meet with this same mysterious feature—rooms filled with earth.

The Huatica Valley was also the location of a famous temple—at least such are the traditions—and ruins are pointed out as being those of the temple in question. It is simply an immense, large inclosed square, of some forty-nine acres. On each side of this square there is a huge mass of ruins, and another in the center. In our next illustration we have a portion of the wall surrounding the ruins on the south side of the supposed temple. This is the largest

[1] "Two Years in Peru," Vol. I, p. 283.

of the group of ruins. The walls are seventy feet high; the area of the top is over five acres. Here, again, we no-



Temple Wall.

tice the same mysterious feature already referred to, for "on the top of this were also discernible the outlines of

Fortress, Huatica Valley.

large square rooms, filled up, as all the others, even to the topmost height of seventy feet, with earth or clay."

This cut is given as that of a fort, meaning thereby a

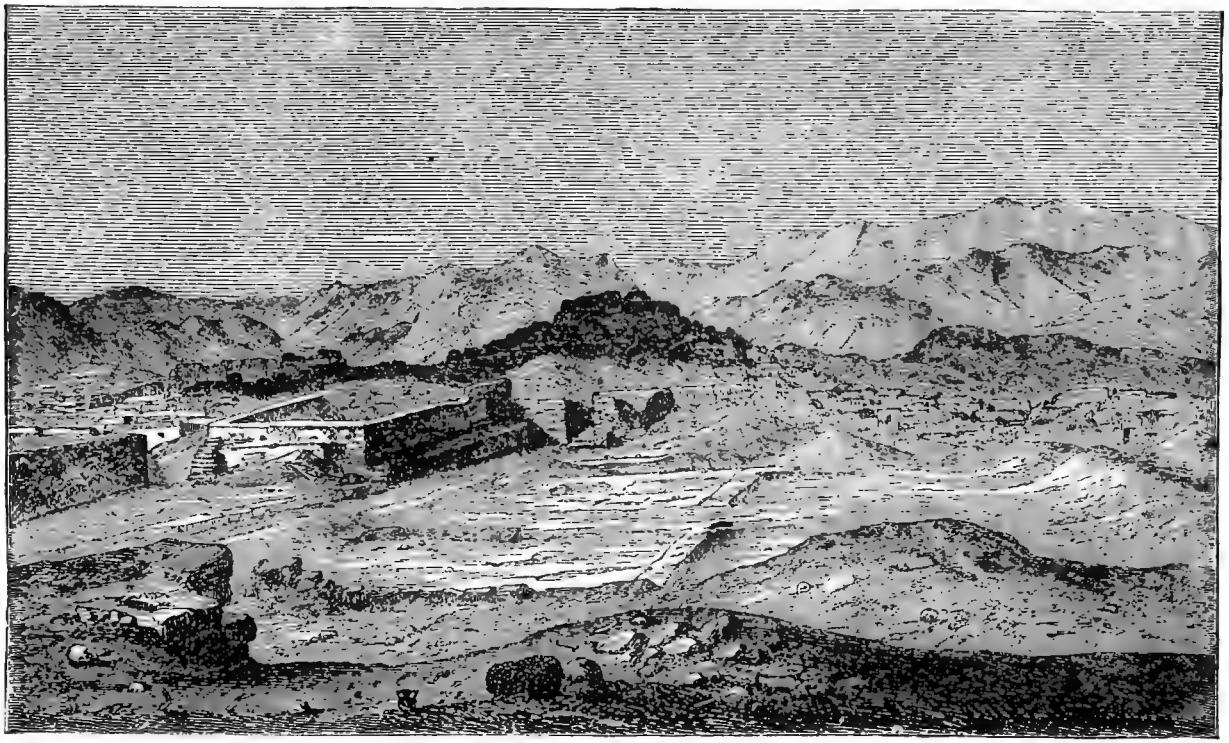
fortress-mound, such as we have already described. It is said to be situated to one side of the temple. From this we understand that the wall seen in the cut is that already mentioned as inclosing the temple. Another ruined fortress found in this valley is given on page 768.

Twenty miles south of Lima, in the valley of the river Lurin, is an important field of ruins, known as Pachacamac, which is still the name of a small village in the neighborhood. We give a general view of the ruins. The principal point of interest about it is the ruins of an old temple. Traditionally, this is one of the most interesting points in Peru. All the coast tribes were very superstitious. We have already referred to the celebrated temple near Lima. The temple at Pachacamac was of still greater renown. Arriaga, a famous ecclesiastic, took an active part in extirpating their idolatrous belief. From his accounts, it seems they were much addicted to fortune-telling. Their gods were made to give out oracles, and their temples became renowned just in proportion as their priests were shrewd in this matter.

Those at Pachacamac were especially skillful, and it is said, pilgrims resorted to it from all parts of the coast. As a consequence, it became very rich. The god that was worshiped here was a fish-god. The name of this god, and the name of this old town are alike lost to us. When the Incas conquered the coast people, they imposed the name of one of their own divinities on this temple, and by that name the place is now known to us.[1]

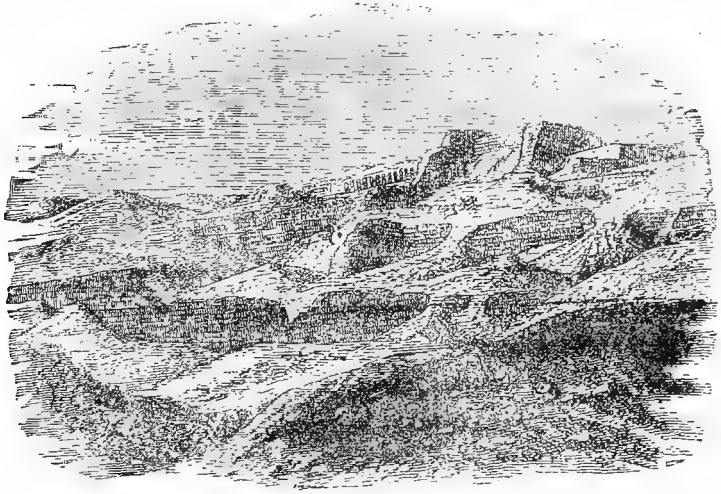
The ruins of the supposed temple are seen on the hill in the background of the picture. A number of writers speak of this hill in such terms as to imply that it was altogether artificial, like the famous pyramid at Cholula.

[1] Markham's "Introduction," to "Report on the Discovery of Peru."



PACHACAMAC.

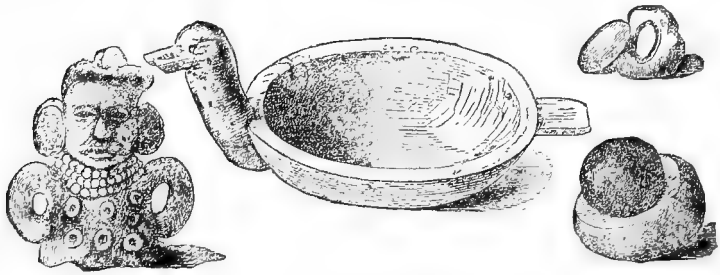
Mr. Squier says that it is largely artificial, but that the central core is a natural hill. He speaks of rocks cropping out on the highest part, which seem to be conclusive of the matter. They built up great terraces around this central core. These terrace walls are now in such a ruined condition that they can with difficulty be made out. We introduce this cut as a nearer view of the ruins of the temple.



View of the Temple.

Some writers assert that the Incas erected on the summit of this hill a temple of the sun. There are, however, no good proofs of this assertion. According to Mr. Squier the only ruin of the Inca type of architecture is a mile and a half distant. Mr. Hutchinson noticed, on the very top of the hill, evidence of the same mysterious proceedings to which we have already referred—that is, great rooms all filled up with clay. He propounds this query: "Whose hands carried up the enormous quantities of earth that fill every space and allow no definition of rooms, halls, or, indeed, of any thing but the clay itself, and the walls cropping up from amongst them?' We are afraid this query

can never be answered. Mr. Hutchinson found graves to be very plentiful all over the field of ruins. Quite a number of curiosities have been found in these graves. We present in this cut some of the same. We call especial attention to the duck-headed bowl. Compare this with the cut given on page 404, and we will be struck with the similarity. Another view of the ruins at Pachacamac is given on page 774. As in the case of the ruins of Grand Chimu, the whole field of ruins was encompassed by a wall, portions of which Mr. Hutchinson observed on the north, stretching away from the sea inland. Explorers have found here true arches. They are said to exist in Northern Peru.



Relics from Graves at Pachacamac.

We are at a loss to account for their appearance, for certainly the people generally were ignorant of their use.

The valley of the Canete, the next one we meet going south, is a very large and very fertile valley. It is also full of ruins, but not differing enough from the others to justify a separate description. About one hundred miles below Lima we notice three small islands. These are the Chincha Islands, noticeable on account of the immense quantities of guano they contain. It seems that at various depths in this guano deposits are found relics of man. In our next cut we present some of these objects. The two small vessels, which were probably water jars, were found buried in the

guano at a depth of sixty-two feet. The other figure, a wooden idol, was found at the depth of thirty-five feet.

We have no very good data on which to rely when we attempt to estimate the number of years required to bury the water jars to the depth where found. Thousands of years must have passed.[1] The water jars are not rude forms. No little skill is indicated by their formation. The wooden idol is not necessarily near as old as the jars, but no one can doubt but that it dates from long before the Inca conquest of the valley. Another collection of small idols, and supposed royal emblems, also found in guano deposits, but at an unknown depth, is shown on page 783.

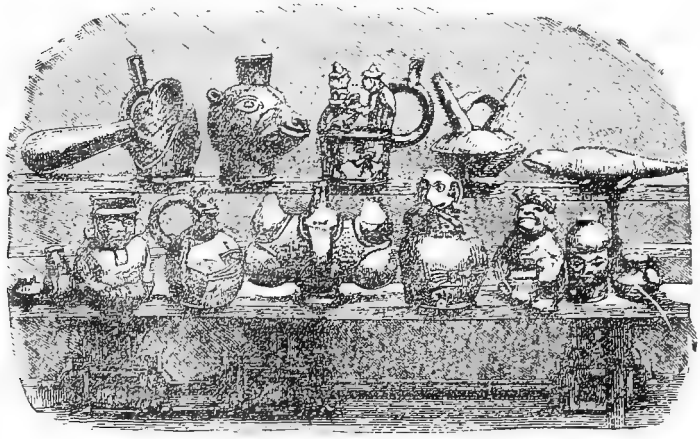
Relics found buried in Guano deposits.

We have thus far been describing the ruins that occur in the territory occupied by the coast tribes, a people in many ways different from the great body of Peruvian people in the interior. According to traditions, the conquest of the coast tribes took place about one hundred and fifty years before the Spanish conquest. The details of this conquest are given with great precision. We doubt whether any great reliance can be placed upon them. We might remark that

[1] "In this case it is nonsense to talk of hundreds." (Hutchinson.)

while Garcillasso traces the progress of the conquest from the south north, Salcamayhua reverses this order, and makes the victorious Incas march from the north to the south. One or the other made a mistake in traditions.

The Inca conquest of the coast tribes was a very thorough one. The names and traditions of the tribes were blotted out. The word Yunca, by which they are known,



Prehistoric Pottery Ware.

is from the Inca language. The same is true of the names of the coast valleys, and yet, from what we have already learned of them, we feel sure that they were very far from the degraded savages Garcillasso would have us believe they were. The inhabitants of each valley formed a distinct community under its own chief. De Leon says: "The chief of each valley had a great house, with adobe pillars and door-ways, hung with matting, built on extensive terraces." This might have been the official house of the tribe.

They were an industrious people, and the evidence is abundant that they had made considerable advance in cultivation of the ground. They "set apart every square foot of ground that could be reached by water for cultivation,

and built their dwellings on the hillsides overlooking their fields and gardens. Their system of irrigation was as perfect as any that modern science has since adopted.[1] It is an altogether mistaken idea to suppose the Incas were the authors.

We are not without evidence that they were possessed of considerable artistic skill. This preceding collection of pottery ware is not the work of savages. Mr. Markham further tells us that they made "silver and gold ornaments, mantles, embroidered with gold and silver bezants, robes of feathers, cotton cloth of fine texture, etc." We have already referred to the tasteful decorations of the walls of Grand Chimu. "Figures of colored birds and animals are said to have been painted on the walls of temples and palaces." At Pachacamac the remains of this color are still seen on a portion of the walls. This cut represents the head of a silver cylinder found in one of the coast valleys. The ornamentation is produced by hammering up from below.

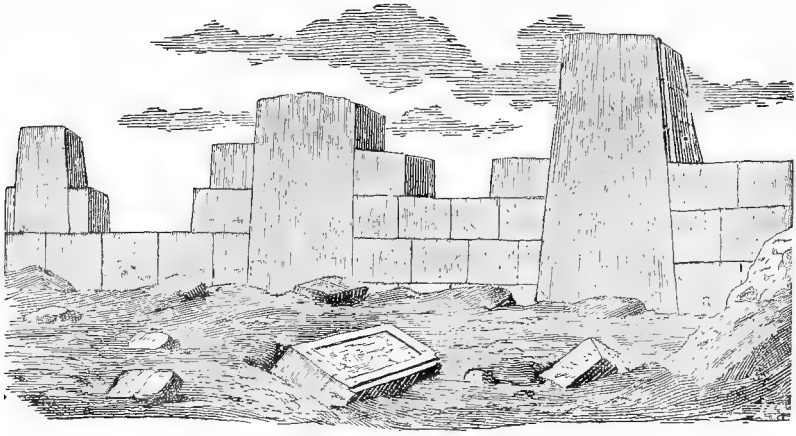
Silver Cylinder Head.

We must now leave the coast regions and investigate some ruins in the interior. We have already spoken of the Lake Titicaca region. Not far from the southern border of that lake we notice a place marked Tiahuanuco. Here occur a very interesting group of ruins. They consist of "rows of erect stones, some of them rough, or but rudely shaped by art, others accurately cut and fitted

[1] Markham, in Journal of the Royal Geog. Society, Vol. XLI.

in walls of admirable workmanship; long sections of foundations, with piers and portions of stairways; blocks of stone, with mouldings, cornices, and niches cut with geometrical precision, vast masses of sandstone, trachyte, and basalt, but partially hewn, and great monolithic doorways, bearing symbolical ornaments in relief, besides innumerable smaller rectangular and symmetrically shaped stones rise on every hand, or lie scattered in confusion over the plain."[1] In fact, all explorers are loud in their praise of the beautifully cut stones found in the ruins.

We have seen in our review how general has been the desire to raise foundations, sometimes of great extent, on



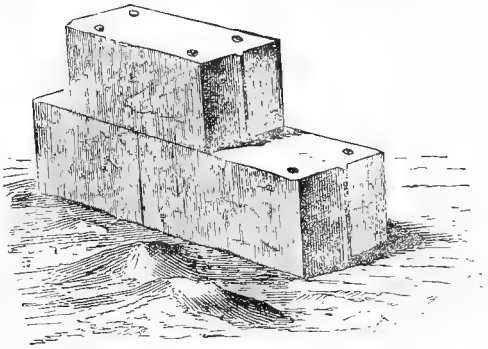
Terrace Wall, Tiahuanuco.

which to place buildings This is true of the ruins under consideration. Here the pyramid or foundation was faced with stone work. In this illustration we have a view of such a wall yet remaining in place. The labor expended on such a wall was very great. We notice in the cut three large standing stones. These are ranged along at regular intervals between. No mortar was used in the construction of

[1] Squier's "Peru," p. 375.

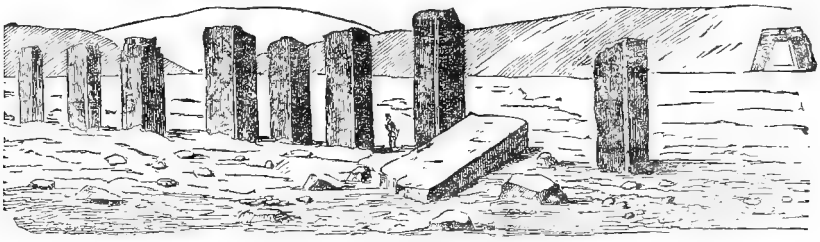
the wall. If we examine the large standing stone carefully we will notice on the side a sort of projecting shoulder. The stones of the wall that come in contact with this standing stone are cut to fit this shoulder.

The remaining stones in the wall were held in place by a peculiar arrangement, illustrated in this cut. Round holes were drilled in the bottom and top of each stone. There is reason to suppose that bronze pins fitted into these holes. Furthermore, each stone was cut with alternate grooves and projections, so as to fit immovably into each other.



Method of Joining Stone Tiahuanuco.

One case was observed where either the wall has entirely disappeared, or else it was left unfinished, and so we have a row of these standing stones, as seen in this illustration. This has been called the American Stonehenge This

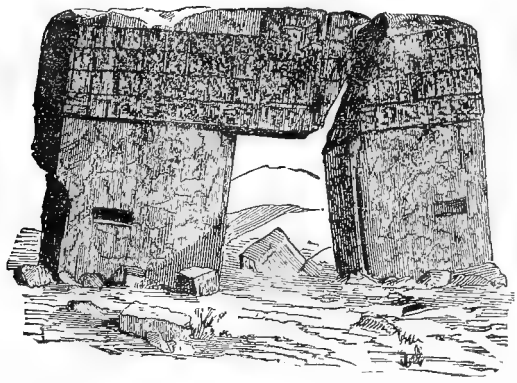


Pillars of Stone, Tiahuanuco.

name is inappropriate, because we have no reason to suppose the plans of the builders of the two structures were at all similar.

The most celebrated feature of these ruins is the presence of huge gateways, each one cut out of a solid mass of

stone. We give a view of the most noteworthy of these gateways. It is now broken, tradition says, by a stroke of lightning.[1] The upper portion is covered with carvings.



Gateway, at Tiahuanuco.

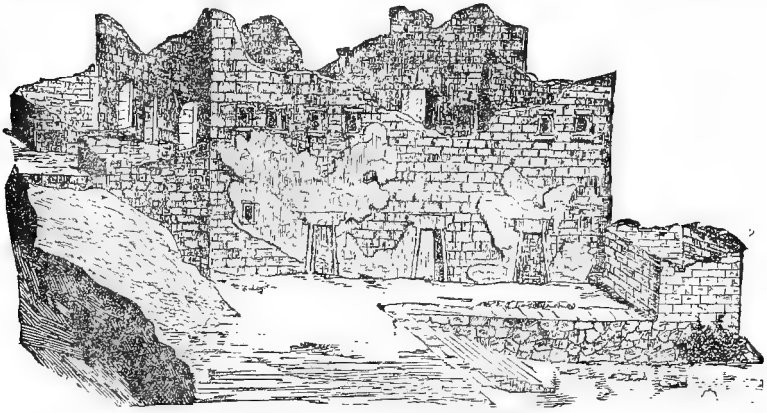
North of Tiahuanuco is Lake Titicaca. This was the sacred lake of the Incas. We have already referred to the probable origin of this feeling. Near the southern end of this lake, on the western side, is the peninsula of Copacabana. Separated by a narrow strait from the northern extremity of this peninsula is the sacred island, Titicaca. According to traditions, the Incas sought, in all ways, to beautify this island. They built temples, and laid out gardens. The hills were leveled as much as possible, terraced, and then covered with earth brought from afar. According to the statements of early writers, pilgrims were not permitted to land on its sacred soil until they had undergone certain preliminary fasts and purifications on the main-land. Landing on the island, they traversed a terrace, and by a narrow passage way they were conducted between two large buildings, where other ceremonies were performed.

The most sacred spot in all the island was a rock in the northern part. Only priests of especial sanctity were allowed near it. The rock to-day presents but the appearance of a weather-worn mass of red sandstone. It is

[1] The dimensions are: Length, thirteen feet five inches; height above ground, seven feet two inches; thickness, one foot six inches. (Squier.)

traditionally represented as having been plated all over with gold and silver, and covered, except on solemn occasions, with a mantle of rich color and material. Here the sun was believed to have first risen to dispel the primal darkness. To this day the Indians regard it with superstitious veneration. The traveler's guide, when he comes in sight of it, removes his hat, and reverently bows to it, and mutters to himself a few words of mystic import.[1]

The whole appearance of the island shows how highly it was regarded. In one place the remains of a drinking fountain were noticed. Streams from some unknown source were still bringing to it their limpid burden. Perhaps as noticeable a ruin as any is represented in this cut. It is

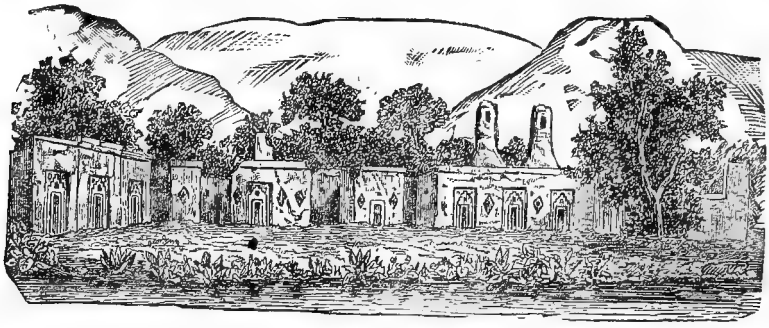


Ruins on the Island of Titicaca.

called the Palace. It is in a sheltered nook. The lake washes the very foot of the foundation on which it stands. It is two-storied. In the lower story were twelve rooms, so connected with each other that but four of them communicated by doors with the outside. The others were certainly dark and illy ventilated. The second story was entered by means of the terrace in the rear. The same

[1] Squier's "Peru," p. 336.

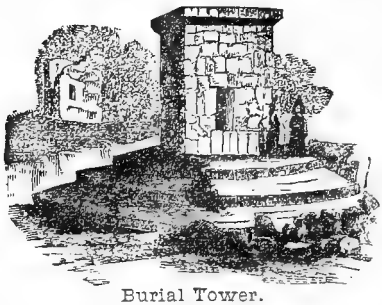
statement may be made in regard to its rooms; they did not, however, at all correspond in arrangement with the rooms below. The Island of Coati, but a short distance to the south-east, was sacred to the moon. It has also a num-



Ruins, Island of Coati.

ber of ruins. The approach to this was guarded by a number of terraces.

We will describe one more class of ruins found abundantly in the Collao region. These are burial towers, or chulpas. A view of one is here presented. The chulpas are common in the Titicaca basin, and usually occur in groups, and almost always in positions from which a large extent of country can be viewed. The great mass of a chulpa is solid, but within is a dome-shaped chamber, into which the opening seen in the cut leads. Sometimes the chulpas are round, and in some the masonry is of that variety we have already mentioned, called the Cyclopean. Another view of burial towers is given on page 788.

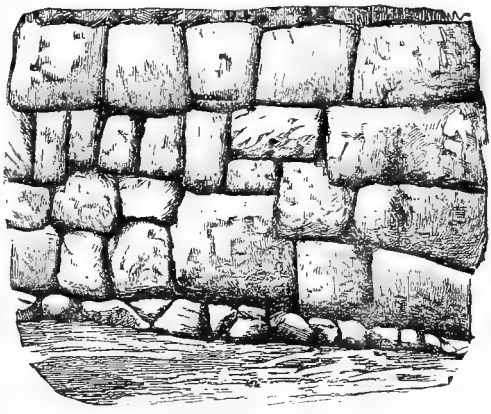


Burial Tower.

As a mere description of ruins becomes tiresome, we will now pass to Cuzco, and see of what we can learn of the

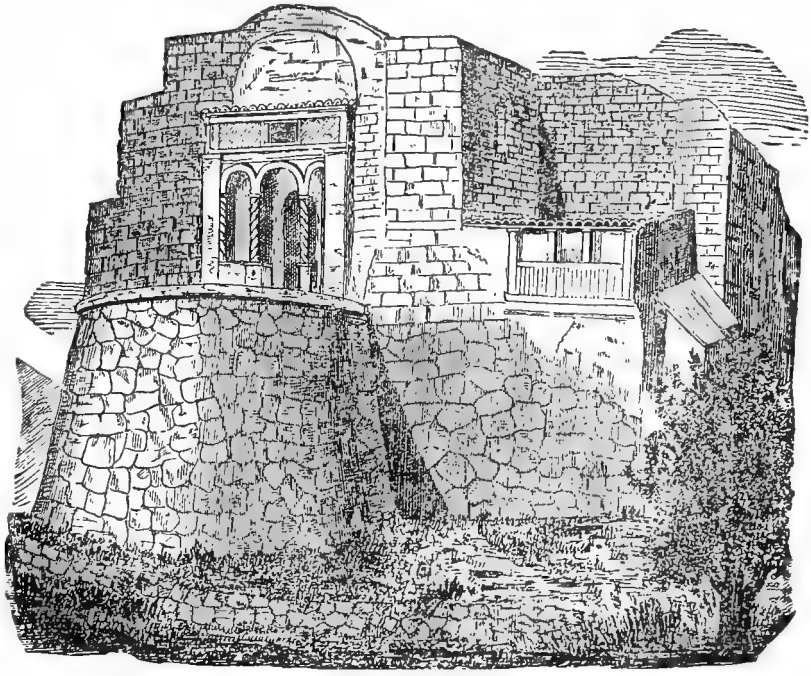
architecture of the Incas. The Incas were, of course, a very rich and a very powerful tribe. All the tribes of ancient Peru had to pay them tribute. We may therefore suppose that the pueblo of Cuzco was well built, the houses large, and imposing, and that the official buildings for worship and tribal business would be commensurate with their importance as a tribe. Yet we have but very few accounts of these buildings. Immediately after the conquest, many of the Spanish leaders settled in Cuzco. They made many changes in the various edifices, and introduced into them many improvements. At present in the modern city we still find portions of ancient walls, and can trace the foundation of various buildings.

The site of the city of Cuzco is very uneven. It stands on the slopes of three hills, where as many rivulets come together. The ancient builders had to resort to extensive terracing in order to secure level surfaces on which to build. These terraces, built in a substantial manner, and faced with stone, are still standing in many places. In this illustration we have a view of such a wall. Observe that the stones are not laid in regular courses, nor is there any regularity as to their size. This is a good example of a Cyclopean wall. Some of the stones must weigh several tons, and they are fitted together with marvelous precision, one stone having as many as twelve angles.



Terrace Wall at Cuzco.

All accounts agree that the temple of the sun was the grandest structure in Cuzco. We present an illustration of one end of it. This end is slightly curving. It is necessary to remark that this end now forms part of the Church of Santo Domingo. The fine-looking window and balcony are modern additions to this ancient building. According to Mr. Squier, the temple was an oblong building, nearly



Temple of the Sun.

three hundred feet long, by about fifty in width. It formed one side of a spacious court. It did not extend east and west, but rather north-east and south-west. Early chroniclers affirm that the inner walls of this temple were covered with gold. Portions of very thin plates of gold exist in private museums in Cuzco, said to have formed part of this covering. The end of the temple shown in our illustration was covered with a great plate of gold intended to represent

the sun. This plate was all in one piece, and spread from wall to wall.

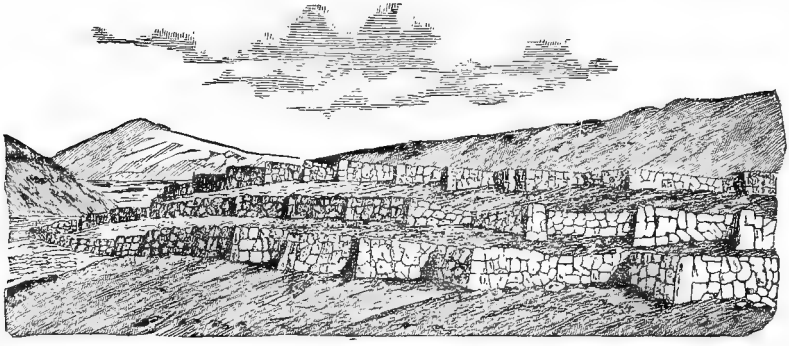
Only fragments of the ancient buildings of Cuzco now exist. But enough are at hand to enable us to describe their general characteristics. As a rule, they were built around a court, the outer surface presenting the appearance of an unbroken wall. These walls are excellent specimens of Inca masonry. All travelers speak in their praise. Mr. Squier says: "The world has nothing to show in the way of stone-cutting and fitting to surpass the skill and accuracy displayed in the Inca structures at Cuzco." There was but one gateway to the court. This entrance was broad and lofty. On the lintels, over the doorway, was frequently carved the figure of a serpent. The apartments were constructed so as to face the court, and nearly all opened upon the same. In some cases rooms were observed, to which access could be obtained only after passing through several outer rooms. Some of the walls yet remaining at Cuzco are from thirty-five to forty feet high. This would indicate houses of two or three stories.

It is here necessary to state that the structures we have been describing are considered by most writers as palaces of the Inca chiefs. Names have been bestowed upon them-such as the palace of Huayna Capac. It is asserted that each Inca chief built a separate palace. The credulous traveler is even pointed to a pile of ruins said to have been the palace of that mythical personage, Manco Capac. There is some conflict of authority as to the names of these palaces. Modern tradition names one of the most imposing piles as the palace of Inca Rocca, and as such it is described by Mr. Squier and others. Garcillasso De La Vega says this chief's palace was in an altogether different part of the city.[1] Those who

[1] Markham, in "Journal of Geog. Soc.," Vol. XLI.

call these buildings palaces, think the houses of the ordinary people have all disappeared. It is evident, however, that if our views of the state of society among the Incas be right, that it is a misnomer to call these structures palaces. Some of them may have been public buildings, devoted to tribal purposes. But we need not doubt but that this was the type of communal buildings erected by the natives of Cuzco.

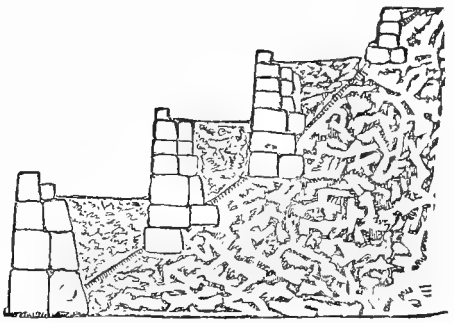
We must describe one more piece of aboriginal work. This is the celebrated Fortress of Cuzco. As we have



Fortress Walls.

stated, the ancient pueblo, or city, was built on the slopes of three hills. One of these, easily defended, was strongly fortified, and thus converted into a citadel. Though called a hill, it is in reality a projecting headland. Back of it rise still higher hills. The portion overhanging the city is very precipitous, in fact, almost incapable of ascent. There is, however, a pathway up this front, ascending in places by stone steps. On this front it did not need very strong fortifications, yet sections of stone wall, serving for this purpose, are to be seen. They have been mostly thrown down, and the stones rolled or tumbled down the hill to be utilized in building. The main defensive works are where the headland commences, from which point the city is not visible.

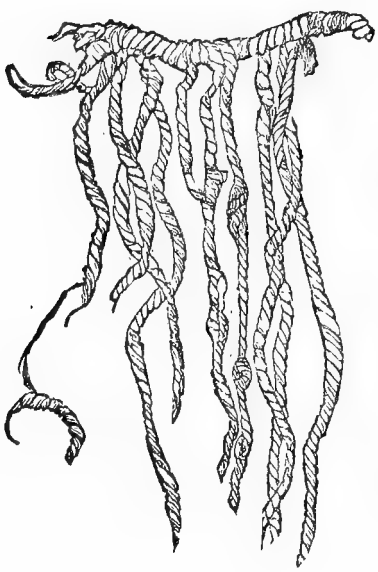
In this illustration we have a view of the three massive walls which defended the citadel. They are really wonderful works. In order to understand the construction, we will present an imaginary section of the walls. The walls support terraces, but they rose above the terraces so as to form a parapet. To prevent the accumulation of water behind the parapet, channels were cut through the walls at regular intervals to drain them. The height of the outer wall is at present twenty-seven feet; the width of the terrace thirty-five feet. The second wall is eighteen feet high; the width of its terrace is also eighteen feet. The height of the third wall is fourteen feet.



Section of Fortress Walls.

The Incas divided the year into twelve months, but we do not learn how they kept track of the years. In this respect they were behind the Mexicans. Neither do we know of any hieroglyphics for days, or months, or years. In the matter of keeping records, they must have been far below the Mexicans. Our next illustration is that of one of their knot records, or quippos. It is a very rude attempt to assist the memory. To the base cord are attached other threads of various colors, and tied in various ways. We, of course, know but very little about them. It is claimed, however, that a red thread signified a soldier, or war; a yellow one signified gold; a white one silver, or peace; a green one wheat, or maize. A single knot is said to have stood for ten; two knots, twenty; a knot doubly intertwined, one hundred, etc. Also the position of the knots on the threads was to be considered, their distance apart, the way the threads were

twisted, and many other details.[1] It is manifest, however, that this system of records is of very little value, and is way below the picture-writing of the Mexicans.

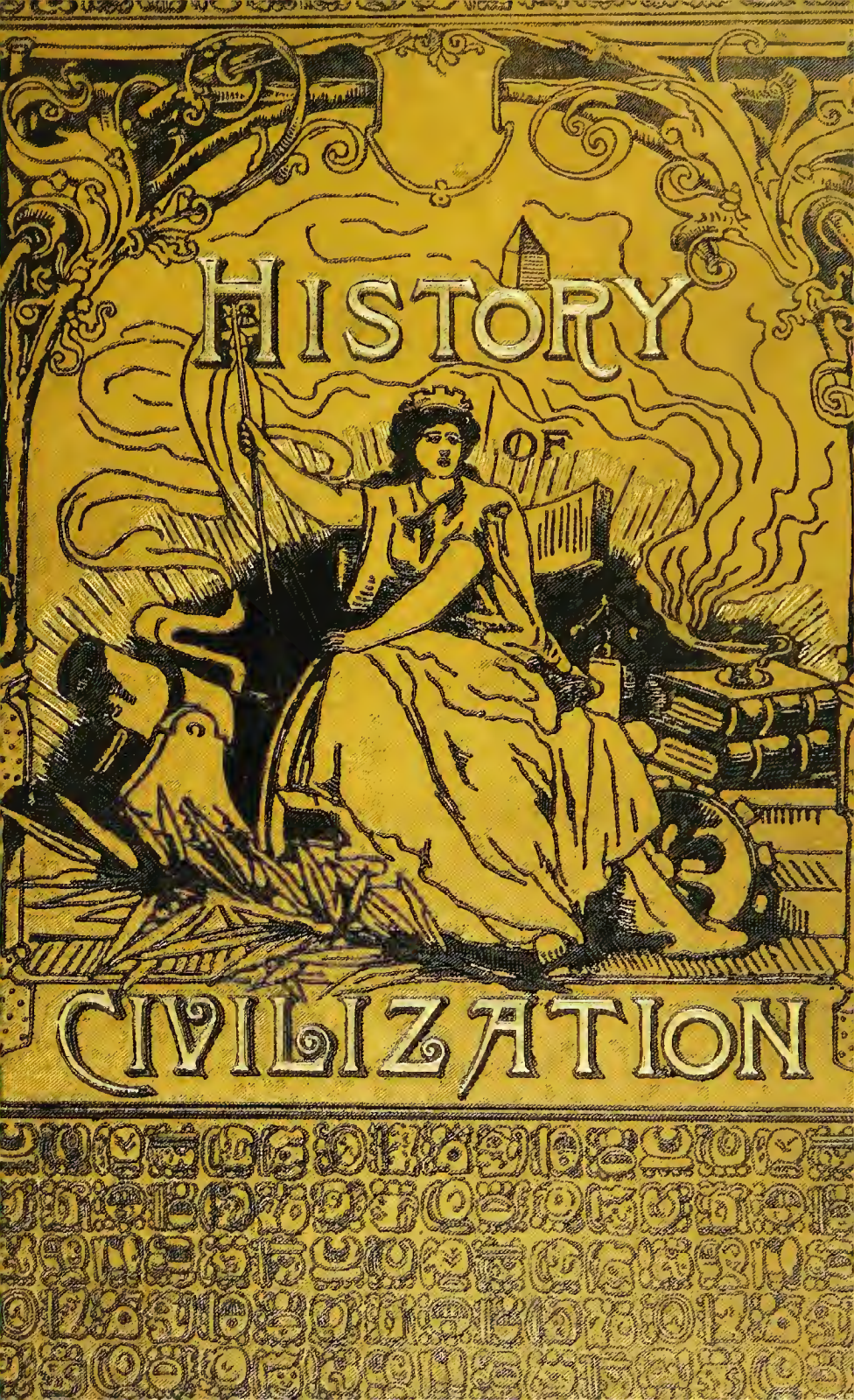


Quippos, or Knot Record.

Take it all in all, the Incas are indeed an interesting people. We believe, however, their culture has been greatly overrated. Our object in this chapter has been to give an outline of the Incas and the tribes subject to them. It is impossible in these few pages to give more than an outline. Should the reader, by the perusal of these pages, acquire an interest in the culture of the Andean people just before the Spanish invasion, and be thereby induced to continue his investigations, the writer will consider such a result reward enough, even though the conclusions reached should be totally opposed to those set forth in this chapter on Ancient Peru.

[1] "Peruvian Antiquities," p. 110.

# HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION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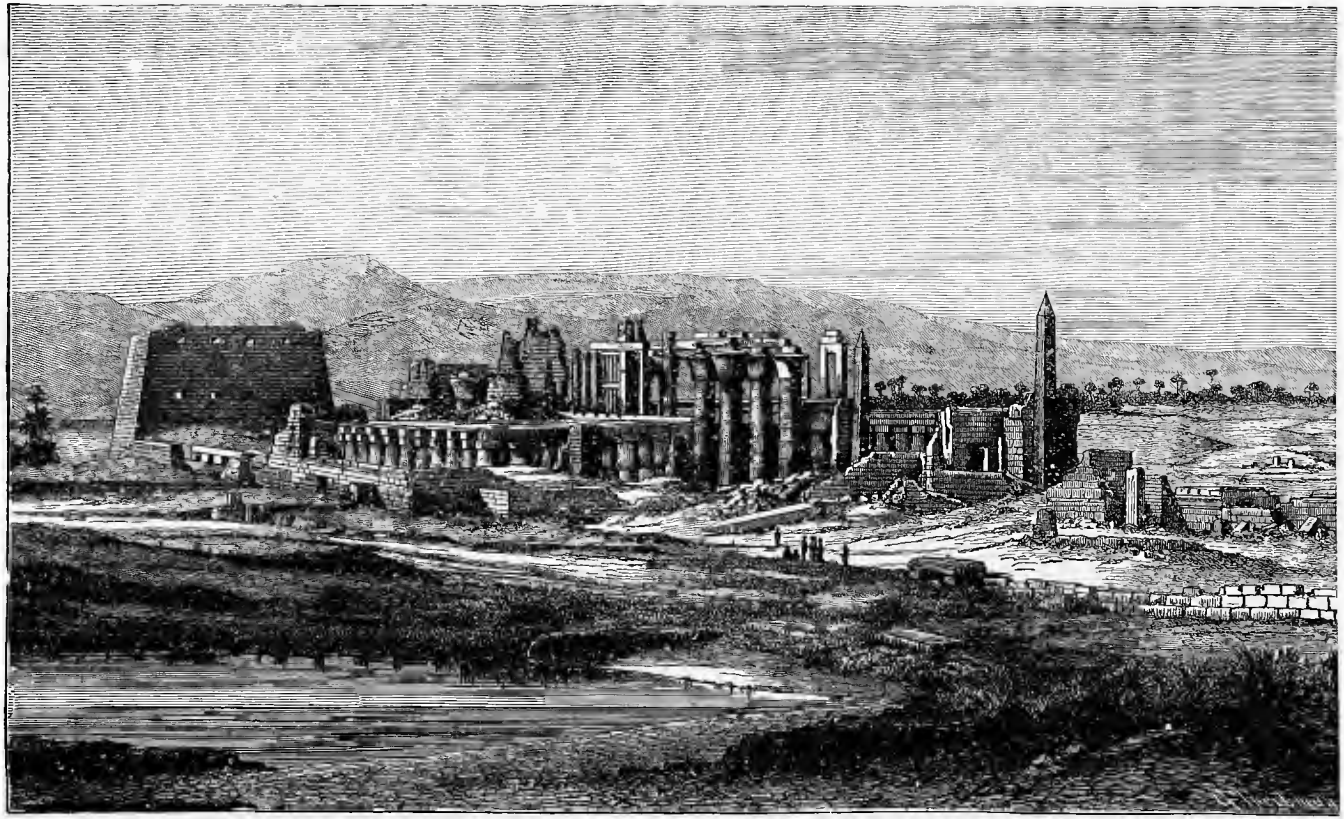
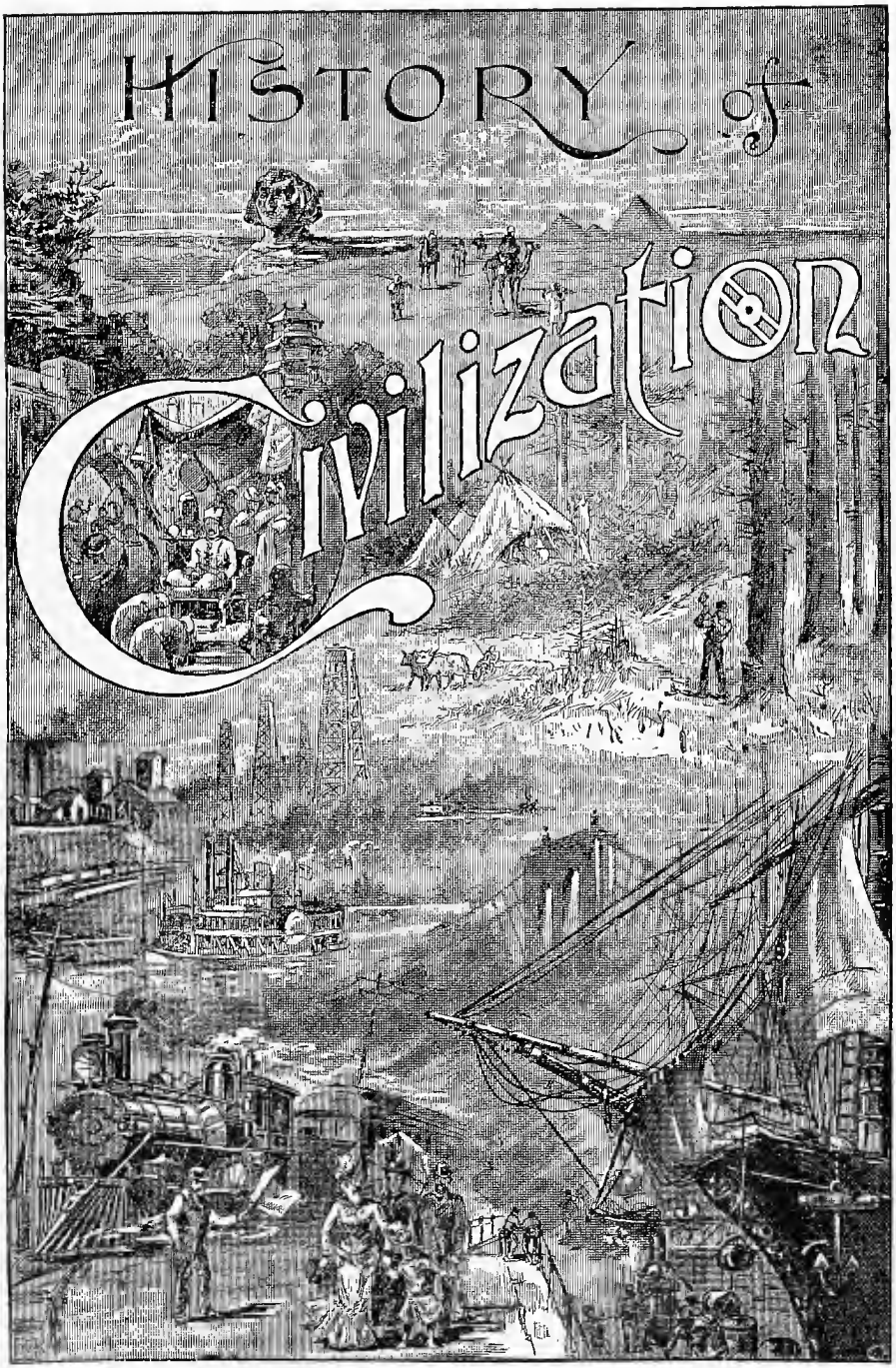


GENERAL VIEW OF THE RUINS AT KARNAC. Frontispiece.


History of
Civilization

# HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION

VOL. II.

## The Ancient World; OR Dawn of History,

BY

E. A. ALLEN,

CINCINNATI:
CENTRAL PUBLISHING HOUSE.
1889.

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# PREFACE.

VOLUME is the second one of the series of four entitled THE HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION. We have found it necessary, in discussing the subjects here spoken of, to make two general divisions of the same. Many topics not usually considered by historical writers require a somewhat extensive examination at the hands of those who seek to investigate the rise and progress of Civilization. This extra work is not, however, of the nature of drudgery. The man of mature years takes a calm enjoyment in contemplating the advance from childhood's years. So there is enjoyment for the civilized man in surveying that long and wearisome road along which many generations of men have trodden, but which has led them from Savagism, through Barbarism, to Civilization.

When we allow ourselves to reflect on the events of the last few centuries, we quickly realize that within that time very great advance has been made in everything contributing to our physical well-being, and, indeed, in every department of human knowledge. Further reflection convinces us that what is true of recent times is true of the entire life of man on the earth. But since man has lived on the earth for a very extended time, indeed much longer than the few thousand years once supposed to cover this period, it follows that we may reasonably inquire as to the course of development of the several departments of culture, the whole of which constitutes that complex entity we call Civilization. We know of nothing which will more thoroughly impress on the investigator a

sense of the value of human life and its possibilities than the investigation here proposed.

Our efforts in this direction would be in vain if all men had advanced with equal rapidity and had made equal progress in the line of development. This, as is well known, is not the case. Some have halted at one stage of advancement, some at another. When an astronomer studies the starry heavens, he finds planetary and stellar worlds in all stages of development, from the scarcely luminous nebulous mass to the glowing sun that gives light and warmth to a train of attendant planets. So, if the student of human progress will but look around him, he finds people in nearly all stages of culture—from the lowest of existing savages to the most enlightened nations.

It is further evident that if we had before us a full account of all the various tribes and nations of men, we would be able to draw, by a careful analysis and comparison of the same, certain general conclusions as to the course of development of Civilization. This method has been pursued by some of the most eminent scholars of our times. At the present day, any work on Civilization deserving attention must take notice of these results and this method of work. In PART I. we have followed this method in treating of a few of the most prominent of the factors of Civilization; such as organization for social and governmental purposes, Primitive Culture and Primitive Religion.

Having thus laid the foundation for an understanding of the general course of development of Culture, in PART II. we take up the principal people in each of the great groups of races, and seek to determine their position in the scale and the part they took in advancing Civilization. Here we resume the thread of historical research of Volume I. We must bear in mind that for our purpose all that is required is an historical outline only. We are not concerned in writing a political history, and exact dates and full descriptions of campaigns are not so much required as is the connection between various people, and the degree of development each had reached in culture.

Here it is well to remark that the general division of our sub-

ject into Ancient, Medieval and Modern Worlds is not at all the same as the divisions of the same name made by many historical writers. We have reference solely to culture divisions. The difference will be at once noticed in the treatment of Greece and Rome. As far as mere antiquity is concerned, they belong to the Ancient World. But their culture is Aryan; and Aryan or European culture had almost nothing to do with the Ancient World in culture. We therefore pass them entirely by in this volume. It will be found, in the sequel, that the culture of the Ancient World is Asiatic, the foundation being laid by the Yellow Races, but carried to its greatest height by the Semitic Whites. The Ancient World, in history, ends with the fall of the Western Empire of Rome. The Ancient World, in culture, came to an end a thousand years before, when the Aryans overthrew the political power of the Semitic people in Western Asia.

"Diligence and accuracy," says GIBBON, "are the only merits which an historical writer may ascribe to himself." The author and his assistants feel that with due modesty they may lay claim to this merit. It has been our earnest endeavor to present the latest conclusions of our very best scholars on all questions here discussed. At the same time, we have not hesitated to show that the facts they state are in some instances best interpreted by conclusions other than those stated by them. We have freely given the sources of our information. At the present day, the people have the right to know on what authority statements are made.

This volume must, of course, stand on its own merits; but a few words as to the preparation of it will not be out of place. In preparing the first volume, the manuscript of many of the chapters was submitted to a number of eminent scholars for final revision. Some defects attended that method; not the least being that the reviser of one chapter, knowing nothing of the contents of the others, was in darkness as to the connection, and so could not criticise as intelligently as he desired. This objection was felt still stronger in this volume. Some gentlemen with whom we corresponded thought it best to have one or more scholars revise the whole.

Arrangements were made with EMIL REICH, D. C. L., Vienna University, Vienna, Austria, well known to many as a lecturer on topics connected with Civilization, to not only assist with valuable suggestions and revision of manuscript, but to prepare the material for a number of chapters. Arrangements were also made with WILLIS BOUGHTON, B. A., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, to devote his entire time in preparing material for the work. We have to thank him for many valuable suggestions and much careful work in revision. In this volume, while Mr. ALLEN is responsible for the form in which the chapters occur, yet the main points in each were discussed by all the gentlemen now named. We therefore feel that the public can rely with confidence on the statements of facts here given, and trust the conclusions drawn from them will commend themselves to the good judgment of all readers.

Our sincere thanks are due to A. W. WHELPLEY, Librarian of the Cincinnati Public Library, and his corps of assistants. Every advantage that this large and well-appointed library could afford us in prosecuting our researches was given. The value of this assistance will be seen when we remark that on the shelves of this library there are over *thirteen thousand volumes* treating topics connected with History and Civilization, not to mention numerous pamphlets and scientific reports. Special facilities for investigating this large and valuable mass of material were given us.

In conclusion, we might remark that we have been much pleased with the favorable reception given our first volume. Of course, on such a topic as this, probably no two minds see things in quite the same light. We have, however, received words of encouragement from representative men of all classes and professions. We think the times are eminently fitted for a discussion of the many problems connected with the rise and progress of Culture, and we trust that our work will awaken in the minds of its readers a desire to continue the investigation here begun.

E. A. Allen

CINCINNATI, *December* 1, 1887.

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# PART I.

A Comparative
Study and Analysis of the
Attainments, Institutions and Beliefs of Primitive
Men.

Races of Men.
Ancient Society.
Primitive Culture.
Primitive Religion.

Ancient of days, who hast from the beginning
Reigned in majestic silence o'er the infant world,
Guarding in some secret Eden the cradle of mankind,
Broken is the magic spell that bound thy lips
For chiliads of years. And thy enchanting tales
Have caused the very rocks to break their silence,
And reveal the hidden records graved thereon.
The rock-hewn tombs give up their royal dead.
Their inmost halls resound with tales of bloody wars.
The mummy ope's his lips and speaks of ancient days.
The solemn sphinx hath e'en its tale to tell.
Temple halls, in lichen covered grandeur
Rising from the very verge of desert sands,
Upward hurl their great cyclopean walls,—
Mute testimonials of boundless wealth and power—
Whose great foundation stones give up their storied tablets.

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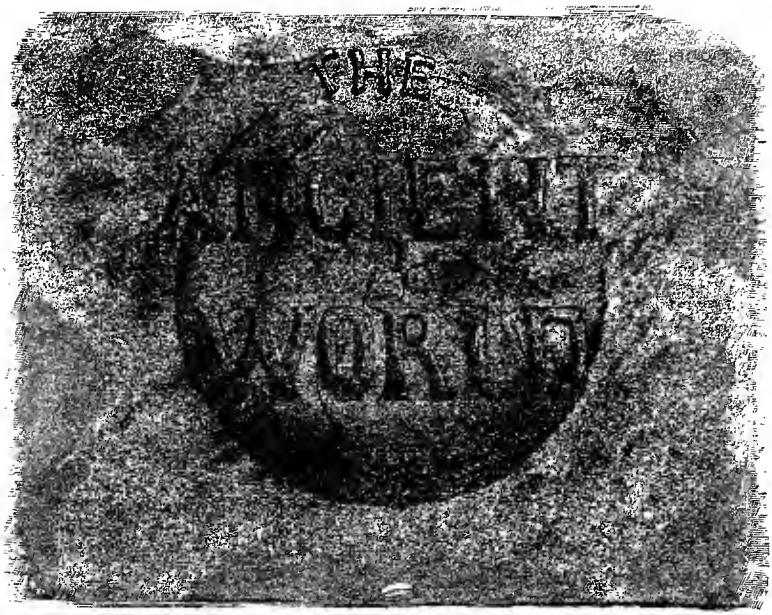
Read, then, oh man, the story of the Ancient Past,
And meditate upon thy great Creator's ways.

WILLIS BOUGHTON.




# CHAPTER I.

## RACES OF MEN.

INTRODUCTION—Difficulties of classification—Color—Cranial measurements—Linguistic families—Relationships—Unity or diversity of species—Primitive type of man—Origination of races—Condition of life—Sexual selection—Time of origin of man—Original home of man—Primitive enlightenment—Degradation theory—Progression theory—The primitive race—Conclusions—Table of classification.

FROM a mountain peak we cast our eye over a wide, extended scope of country, it is only the more prominent features that impress themselves on our view. The lesser details, the waving field, the blossoming bush, which attract the observation of the immediate passer-by, are lost in the distance; but the range of forest-clad hills, the

winding river, the wide expanse of fertile plain, or the purpling peaks in the distance, determine the landscape and claim our attention. We are to-day surrounded with the civilization of the nineteenth century; let us from this height glance back along the line of human progress and note what we can of our journey hither. We can, at best, only hope to perceive the more prominent lines of advance. To carefully trace the growth in all departments would not only greatly exceed the limited space at our command, but would confuse us by the very multiplicity of subjects demanding attention.

In the dim distance the darkness of prehistoric times shuts out the vision. In the preceding volume[1] we have seen that that extended period of time preceding the dawn of history is by no means lost to us. We have learned many facts in reference to primeval man, and have observed that the life of man on the globe has been one of progress. We have stood in amaze before the long term of years that seemed demanded to account for all the facts laid before us. The evidence has everywhere been that primeval man, though possessed of all the attributes of humanity, started at the very foot of the ladder of human progress. When we come to the wavering line that everywhere separates the historic from the prehistoric period, which line, as we have seen, varies in different countries, we find that it discloses man in very different states of society, and in very different stages of social enlightenment. It seems best, therefore, to take a comprehensive view of the situation at the dawn of history, and to note how we find the different races of men disposed over the earth; and it seems to us there are many questions at which we must at least glance, in order

[1] "The Prehistoric World."

to clear up our thoughts, which might at first be considered foreign to our subject. It is known, however, that no branch of learning stands by itself; each demands some assistance from others; so these inquiries will be found of great help to a clear understanding of the somewhat complex subject of civilization, and will help us to understand some of the otherwise dark points in the history of human progress.

If we are to study civilization as a whole, it will not do for us to commence with the civilization of the inhabitants of ancient Chaldea and the Valley of the Nile. When the light of history fell on these people they were already far advanced. We have, first of all, to consider other questions. The preceding volume was wholly taken up with questions of that nature. Our object in this chapter is to combine the results there obtained with some general statements as to races of men, the constitution of ancient society, and the development of civilization, and thus place ourselves in position to intelligently understand the earliest civilization that history reveals to us. This labor has generally been omitted by historical writers,[1] but it is of the utmost value, since such questions must exercise, as Lenormant points out, a great influence on the facts and interpretation of history.

Let us therefore commence with the question of race and the classification of men. Now, on this question, eminent scholars have spent years of travel, study, and observation. A great many volumes have been written. Items of information that in any way throw light on the manners of life amongst the most diverse tribes of men

[1] As Buckle observes, "Among them (historical writers) a strange idea prevails that their business is merely to relate events, which they may occasionally enliven by such moral and political reflections as seem likely to be useful." ("Hist. of Civ. in England," Vol. I, p. 3.)

have been put on record. The laws of plant and animal growth have been investigated to obtain what light we could from that source. Some of the keenest intellects of our day have given themselves to a consideration of the terms *species* and *race*, and have searched the entire realm of natural history for information on these topics. The science of language has been studied. In short, from all sources information has been gathered, in order, if possible, to come to a clear understanding of the various races of men and the degree of connection existing between them.

In spite of all this work, however, it must be admitted that a great diversity of opinion exists as to the question at issue. So true is this that, as to the number of races, good authority may be found for claiming almost any number from one to sixty-three;[1] and it is admitted that the classification of men is largely a matter of personal views,[2] and further increasing knowledge only makes it more plain that races of men are not separated from each other by exact differences, but that their peculiarities overlap and intermingle.[3]

Still, it is better for us to make an effort in this matter. A faulty classification would be better than none at all. We will therefore append to the end of this chapter a scheme showing the groupings of various races of men.

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[1] Darwin: "Descent of Man," p. 174.

[2] "It must be confessed, however, that the circumscription of human races is a work which must be largely guided by the personal views of investigators." (Winchell: "Preadamites," p. 77.)

[3] "The different races of men are not distinguished from each other. . . . The diversities which exist are variable, and pass into each other by insensible gradations." (Prichard.) "The races of men graduate into each other. . . . It is hardly possible to discover clear, distinctive characters between them." (Darwin.) As to racial distinctions, "Endless intermixtures have involved the study of details in confusion inextricable, and difficulties, perhaps, insurmountable," (Winchell.)

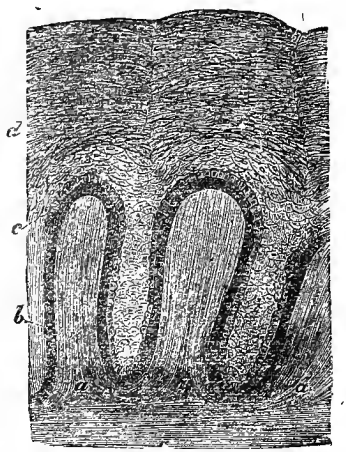
But it will be necessary to first take into account a great number of facts. With anthropologists, we will have to note the physical appearances of the different races of men. We will find it advisable to compare various measurements they have made. It also becomes necessary for us to learn what conclusion some of our scholars have come to in regard to the languages of men; that is to say, what languages, if any, can be grouped together in families, and whether the races speaking the languages thus grouped are found to bear any relation to the groupings we would form from a consideration of physical causes only.

Every one knows that all men are not of the same color. Somewhere over the earth we find tribes of men showing the various shades of color, from a dark-blue black to the fairest blonde type. It might at first be thought this character could be used in classifying men, and, in fact, it is much in favor; but more extensive research shows that it will not do to place too great a reliance on it. Sometimes, in the same section of country, tribes separated in distance but a few miles, speaking, perhaps, dialects of the same stock language, will be found to vary considerably in color. The most we can say is that large groups of races can be made, such as black, yellow, etc., in which the prevailing color is that of the main division. The general conclusion is that color, though regarded as "a most excellent secondary character," is too feeble a character to found a classification upon.[1] In this connection we need only recall that the dark-skinned

[1] Quatrefages: "The Human Species," p. 359. Waitz: "Anthropology," p. 232. Topinard: "Anthropology," p. 349. Prichard: "Nat. Hist. of Man," p. 645. Perhaps they have gone too far in this matter; as Prof. Winchell is inclined to believe, "it (color) possesses more significance than its seemingly capricious distribution in some cases would permit us to suppose." ("Preadamites," p. 298.)

Hindoos are closely related to the fair-skinned inhabitants of Europe.

It is probably well known that the skin in all races is much the same. We have first the scarf-skin, the outer layer of which is being constantly worked off; then what is called the mucous layer, in which the coloring matter is found, and then the skin proper. Now, the coloring matter in the mucous layer, which is the varying factor and the cause of the differences in color of the various races of men, depends on a great many circumstances. It is influenced by climate, but habits and mode of life regulate the force of this influence. Food has its share in the production of color, though in a subordinate degree. It makes a difference whether the body is exposed to climatic influence, or protected from the same by clothing and houses; especially is this true where there are great alterations of temperature and sudden changes from wet to dry, and in hot and damp countries unprotected by forests.[1] To the above and similar causes we must primarily look for the difference in color of the various races of men. But, these differences once established, the great law of inheritance, by virtue of which the child resembles its parents, comes into full force, and descent has a great controlling influence over color.[2]




**Much Magnified Section of Skin.**

*a* True skin; *b*, *c* Mucous layer; *d* Scarf skin.

The color and form of the hair have also been care-

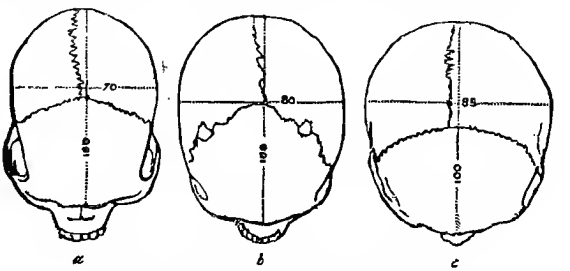
[1] Waitz: "Anthropology," p. 41., *et seq.* [2] Ibid., pp. 42, 52.

fully studied. This apparently insignificant feature has been found to possess considerable importance, and some rely on it as the most suitable natural character on which to base a classification. In general, the color of the hair may be regarded as the result of the same set of causes that affects the color of the skin. It will be found that dark hair generally accompanies a dark skin, though this statement, like all others of a general nature, is subject to exceptions. In all races we occasionally find individuals with fair, or even red, hair.[1] The form of the hair is, perhaps, more important. Neighboring tribes are sometimes separated by a difference in this respect. The Papuans and Australians are both among the black races; but the former are widely distinguished by their great crown of woolly, matted hair from the Australian, with his comparatively straight hair. We know that straight, coarse black hair is characteristic of our Indian tribes. More extensive reading shows us that this kind of hair characterizes the Mongolian or yellow races generally. On the other hand we know that the negroes have short, black hair, so tightly curled that we call it woolly, though it is still true hair. Between these two extremes are the white or fair races. That this difference in hair is a persistent character is also well known, since a person having so small an amount of African blood in his veins that he does not betray it in color may still possess black, curly hair, though we would not call it woolly. The Hungarians still betray their Asiatic origin by the tint and shape of the hair, though otherwise scarcely distinguished from the neighboring Aryans. We must therefore keep these facts in mind in grouping the races of men.

The dimensions and general shape of the skull have

[1] Waitz: "Anthropology," p. 218.

also been carefully studied. Skulls from all parts of the earth have been gathered, measured and compared. It seems to be generally admitted that, like color, no measurements can be obtained which will give us a good basis of classification;[1] yet some general facts have been obtained of interest. Not to go into details, we may state that one such result is obtained by comparing the width of the skull with the length. In this cut we have a top view of three skulls, one from each of the main groups. The diameter from front to back is considered in each case




*a* Black race; *b* White race; *c* Yellow race.

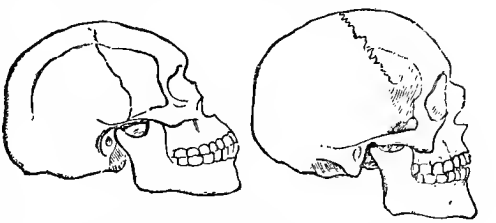
as 100. The cross diameter, when compared with this, gives us the index. It will be found that in general terms the white races occupy a middle position between the black races on the one hand and the yellow races on the other.[2]

If the investigator were confronted with a collection of skulls which had been gathered from various sources over the surface of the earth, he would not be very far out of the way if he were to divide them as here indi-

[1] Quatrefages: "The Human Species," p. 375. Waitz: "Anthropology," p. 235.

[2] The ratio thus obtained is called the *cephalic index*. When this index falls below 74, the skull is said to be long-headed, or *dolichocephalic*; between 74 and 79, it is characterized as middle-headed, or *mesocephalic*; above 79, the skull is broad-headed, *brachycephalic*. Any good work on Anthropology contains tables of these ratios, and the general truth of this statement can be deduced from the same. (Quatrefages: "Human Species," pp. 372–4. Winchell: "Preadamites," pp. 68, 166–7. Topinard's "Anthropology," pp. 240–1.)

cated and confidently predict the groups to which they belonged. Yet we must bear in mind that numerous exceptions exist, and we are not yet prepared to state what value this character has in determining the place of a race in the scale of civilization. Thus, among the very lowest of the black races is to be placed the broad-headed Negritos; and amongst the yellow races must be classed the Eskimos, who are narrow-headed people. As for the white races, there are some exceptions both ways.



Skulls of Members of Black and White Races.

In this cut is presented another feature; that is, the forward projection of the lower portions of the face. The extremes are found in the black and the white races. This feature is called prognathism. It is most pronounced among the black races, decreases somewhat among the yellow races, and is the least among the whites. Of course, in all races there are exceptions.[1]

A great many other measurements have been made, to which we need not refer. As to the capacity of the skull and weight of the brain, there is probably no dispute as to the general statements that both increase from the black races to the whites. Still, we are not prepared to place a value on these facts; for behind the material element here mentioned lie other factors which we can not at present estimate, such as quality of the brain and functional energy.

We have thus far been considering physical features, and we have passed by many points that could be made the

[1] Tables of measurement can be found in the authorities already quoted.

subject of comparison, as we can only hope to sketch the main points, so to speak, of our subject. Let us glance at the subject of language. Probably all are aware of the brilliant results attending the comparative study of the language of Europe—how it has been satisfactorily proved that the people speaking them have wandered from the same primeval home, and that the Hindoos of India were co-dwellers with them there in a forgotten long-ago. We need not be surprised then to learn that scholars eagerly equipped themselves with this new weapon—that is, the comparative study of languages, or, as it is called, Philology—and have sought in this manner to solve the problem and present a satisfactory classification of the races of men. Let us inquire of them concerning some of the conclusions reached.

The great law of inheritance imposes upon children the likeness of their parents. They are born members of a certain race. In color they may be black, or yellow, or white. They can not, of their own volition, change their race type; nor will culture or years of continuous effort bring about this result. Not so with language. This does not pass with the blood. An infant of any race will learn the language of any people amongst whom he is brought up, or, in mature years, another language may be acquired. By persistent effort this may be accomplished so perfectly that a person will habitually speak and think in the language of his adoption rather than that of his infancy. This at once shows the difference between linguistic and ethnical traits. The latter pass with the blood and are beyond our control. The former is an acquisition. It is the result of mental efforts. A child as truly learns the language that he speaks as does the adult learn a foreign language.

What is true of language now always has been true. We can no more conceive primeval man being endowed with a language, rich in grammatical forms and possessing a plentiful store of words, than we can conceive of him endowed with a knowledge of mathematics. Language, as far as we know it now, is an invention of the human intellect, before which all other human inventions shrink to utter insignificance. The crowning glory of man is that he was endowed by the Creator with intellectual powers capable of achieving such a wonderful result. We all know that those vocal sounds we call words are the instruments wherewith language accomplishes its end. But a word, in and by itself, has no meaning at all. It is only the common consent of the people who employ it as the sign of an idea that gives it force. This consent, expressed by usage, may in time be withdrawn, and another word be employed to convey the idea, or the older word may, from the operation of several causes, become so changed in pronunciation as to be scarcely recognized. We expect, then, a language to slowly change, and the degree and rapidity of this change will depend on several causes.

Now, when we look around the world to-day, we quickly learn there are a great many different languages. In any of our large cities we can find people representing a dozen or so, and in books of travel we learn of numerous others. Our first effort is to try and arrange these into some systematic order; to see what languages, if any, have such common features that we are justified in considering them related—descended from a common ancestor; and to learn what are so diverse in structure that we can scarcely conceive of them as being in any way connected. All of this, of course, may have an important

bearing on our ideas of the connection existing between various races of men.

The thoughts are comparatively few which in any language can be expressed by a single word. To express thought we have to employ a number of words combined in what we call a sentence; therefore, it seems natural to take the sentence as the basis of classification of language. The isolating family of language represented by the Chinese and the nations in the south-eastern part of Asia keeps each separate idea in the sentence distinct. The Chinese is often spoken of as a monosyllabic language, which statement is again denied by others. It is, of course, true that in the written language each character represents a syllable; but in the spoken language it is just as true that several of these syllables are often combined to form a single word. Thus, if *wân* is "to paint letters" and *lì* is "strength," it seems quite natural that *wân-lì* should express an author's style; though in written language this expression would represent two words, yet in speaking it is certainly one word of two syllables. Neither are we to understand that it is a language destitute of grammar, as it is sometimes asserted. They distinguish, where necessary, person, number, gender, and case, and the same is true of other grammatical properties. But the distinguishing peculiarity of these languages is that each idea in a sentence is kept distinct. Such a language is called an isolating speech.

The agglutinating class of language shows us another way of sentence development. The ideas which make up the sentence, though still kept distinct and independent, are brought into mutual relations. Some of them are loosely joined together. Suppose a Turk, for instance, who speaks a language of this group, wishes to use a

sentence containing the verb *love*. The root of this word is *sev*. It is wonderful how many modifications of idea he can produce by adding on terminations to this root *sev*. With *sev*, meaning love, we have *sev-mek*, to love; or *sev-er*, loving; or *sev-dir-mek*, to cause to love; or *sev-ish-mek*, to love one another; and so on of a great number of other expressions, even to such a cumbersome length as to express in one word the idea of "not-able-to-be-brought-to-love-one-another." Here we at once see the great difference between this and the preceding class of languages. In Chinese, for instance, there is but one form of the verb given, and all the variations of tense or mode will have to be expressed by auxiliary words. In the agglutinating language these changes are expressed by adding on terminations.

The peculiarity of these combinations is that the people using them always see in them two or more words. We have in English grammar, for instance, such expressions as this: "He might have been gone." Suppose, in accordance with custom, we wrote the four words together, "might-have-been-gone," so as to make but one word; for a long while, at least, we could not help but see and feel in this new compound, "mighthavebeengone," the four words which compose it. This illustrates our remark. Each part of a compound word in agglutinating languages is felt as a separate word.

This principle is carried still further in what are known as the polysynthetic languages, of which examples occur among the Indian tribes of our own country. Here we have the exact opposite of the isolating languages. All the ideas in a sentence are here represented by root words, but all are fused and reunited into one huge polysyllabic word. Tribes speaking languages of this family

do not speak in words, but in sentences. It is well to notice how each of the three types of languages of which we have thus far spoken are but different ways of looking at a sentence. In the last example, all the ideas in the sentence are fused together to make one word of unwieldy proportions. In the agglutinating languages, the ideas, though separate, are brought into mutual relations and harmony, and largely by suffixes the grammatical relations are expressed. In the isolating languages, each idea is kept distinct. It is by their position and the mutual bearing each has on the other that we determine the meaning of the sentence. Now, let us glance at some other types of language.

What is known as the inflected family of languages is not very large; but, when we turn to history, we find that it mainly concerns the races speaking inflected languages. People who developed this form of language seem primarily to have hit on the expedient of symbolizing the relation existing between the different words in a sentence by changing the vowel in the words. For instance, in the Hebrew, an inflectional tongue, we have *melech*, meaning "king." The consonants, we notice, are *m-l-ch*. Now we express many different meanings by a simple change of vowels: *malach* is "he reigned;" *malachu*, "they reigned;" *yimloch*, "he shall reign." And thus in this way different grammatical properties are expressed. In the Aryan family of inflected languages, the relations seem, from an early date, however, to have been expressed by means of vowels or syllables added onto the root word, though it is generally thought that internal vowel change was the first stage.

We have described the principal types of language. We will not at present consider the polysynthetic lan-

guages, since they concern only the New World. This leaves us, then, the inflective, the agglutinative, and the isolating languages to consider. These three great communities of language divide between themselves the languages of the Old World. It is, of course, impossible to make any exact classification. All languages possess qualities tending to unite them with each of these classes. No language is perfectly isolating or otherwise. The English, an inflected language, in many points approaches the isolating Chinese. But, in the main, languages can be classified on the basis here pointed out, all depending, we see, on the peculiar development which a sentence underwent in their grammar.[1]

We are now ready to continue the examination further and ask what languages are so closely connected that we have some reasonable ground for thinking that the people speaking them were once closely connected—constituted one people, in fact. In the inflected languages we find several closely-related families. The one most widely known is the Aryan or Indo-European family of languages. The civilization and culture of the world to-day are mainly Aryan. History, for the last two thousand years, has largely been taken up with a record of the doings of Aryan-speaking people. The nations of Europe, with a few exceptions, are all Aryan.[2] In Asia we find that the Persians, the Afghans, and the Hindoos of India, are all members of this same great family.

[1] On this subject, consult Max Müller: "Science of Language," first and second series, New York, 1868. Sayce: "Introduction to the Science of Language," London, 1880. Whitney: "Life and Growth of Language," New York, 1875. Douglass: "Language and Literature of China," London, 1875. Summers: "Rudiments of the Chinese Language," London, 1864.

[2] The Basques, Lapps, Finns, and some Turkish tribes in Russia, the Hungarians and Turks, with the Alarodian-speaking tribes in the Caucasus, are the exceptions.

That these various nations we have mentioned are closely connected—are, in fact, descended from a common ancestry—is considered established beyond all doubt. This is shown in the fact that the grammar in all the languages is substantially the same. They furthermore possess great stores of common words. They are slightly changed in form, to be sure, to suit the genius of the people using them; that is to say, the word appears in different dress according as it is used by English-speaking people, or German, or Russian, or the Indian Brahmins. But in all these cases the real part of the word, the root—the nucleus—can be quite easily traced from language to language. They have also a common mythology. Most surprising

Albanian Greek (Aryan).

results have attended the study of the languages in this group. We have been enabled in a measure to dispel the gloom of prehistoric times and become acquainted with the customs, social organizations, and degree of enlightenment of the far-away home tribe that afterwards split up into the people who in turn formed the principal nations of Europe, and firmly established themselves in India and Western Asia.

All the various languages of this group are, of course, inflected; but we must observe that the highest degree of inflection probably existed in the home tribe before it commenced to send out its great migrating bands, which, as Celts, commenced the invasion of Europe near the close of the Neolithic Age.[1] Certain it is that the languages of the various Aryan nations, as they have grown more modern in time, have departed more and more widely from the standard of pure inflections. In the English, indeed, we are presented with a language which is only partly an inflected language and in part isolating.

In physical features there will be found considerable diversity in color, the dark-colored Hindoos being at one extreme and the blonde Norwegians at the other. As only part of this diversity of color can be due to conditions of life, we shall have to allow some of it to be due to intermarriage with darker-colored aborigines with whom they came in contact.[2]

Another great family of inflected languages to which the world owes much is known as the Semitic family. It includes the languages of those ancient people, the Assyrians and Babylonians, the Phœnicians and Hebrews, and

[1] Vol. I, p. 213.

[2] See remarks by Dr. Winchell in "Preadamites," p. 79; also, Dawkins' "Early Man in Britain," p. 320, *et seq.*

the Syrian in the north; and the languages of Arabia in the south, which have made considerable progress in Africa. The Semitic languages form a compact group. In them the principle of inflections—that is, internal vowel changes—has remained in full force. We have already noticed one instance of it. We noticed in that instance that three consonants—*m-l-ch*—formed the internal skeleton, which was variously built upon to express different ideas. They constitute what is called a Semitic root. Nearly all roots in Semitic speech consist of three consonants. Thus, *k-t-l* are the consonants forming a root from which, by vowels, a number of words are formed, all expressive of some idea of killing; as, *kotel*, killing; *katala*, he killed; *kutila*, he was killed; *katl*, murderer, etc.

The parent speech from which the various Semitic tongues have been derived is unknown. Some of them are sister languages, showing evidence of a common growth after separation from the parent speech. Such are the Assyrian and Babylonian. In Palestine we found another group, which differed but slightly from each other. These were the various Canaanite tribes, of which Hebrew constituted a local dialect—destined, however, to become a very important one. The Phœnician and the Moabite belonged also to this group. The Syrian proper must have separated itself from the northern branch at an early day. The Semitic-speaking people played a very important part in the civilization and culture of the ancient world.

There is enough resemblance in physical features of the people speaking the Semitic language to classify them all in the same family;[1] but here, also, considerable diversity exists in regard to color. There are Semitic tribes in

[1] See table at end of chapter.

Africa as black as the blackest negro tribes. While some of this diversity in color may be due to conditions of life, the principal part must be ascribed to intermarriage.

As we have already remarked, these two inflected languages include in their ranks nations that have had most to do with civilization and history. Is it possible to trace any relations between them? Can we derive from a study of their languages any evidence that in some early time the pre-Aryans and the Semitics dwelt together as one people? We may be sure that most persevering research has been given to this subject. So far, all evidence tending to show any connection between these two people has been sought in vain.[1] Indeed, as far as we are able to judge from philology, such contact has never taken place. The primary idea of inflection seems to be different in the two families—the Semitic forming their inflection largely by means of internal vowel change; the Aryan basing theirs on terminations. In the Semitic languages, the roots consist almost invariably of three consonant letters. Illustrations have already been given. In the Aryan family, the great majority of roots are one-syllable words, such as *spas*, to see; *ard*, to hurt; *da*, to give.[2]

Such faint, indistinct light as history has to throw on this subject seems to show that they were separated widely and at a very early period. If we are justified in assigning any home to the pre-Aryan people, it was

[1] "The attempt to derive the Aryan and Semitic families from a common source must be pronounced scientifically worthless." (Sayce.) To the same effect, see Whitney's "Life and Growth of Language," p. 253. Prof. Max Müller shows from his point of view they could have been in contact only in the monosyllabic stage of their language, but fails to find any proof of such contact even then. ("Stratification of Langnage," p. 253.) It is, however, far from proved that they were ever in a monosyllabic stage.

[2] Müller's "Science of Langnage," First Series, p. 262.

to the east of the Caspian Sea. That of the pre-Semitic people seems to have been in Arabia.[1] To the west of the pre-Aryans was a considerable expanse of inland water, since it is probable that the Aral, Caspian and Black Seas were united.[2] To the south of them was the desert expanse of Persia. Had they crossed this and climbed the Zagros mountain range, they would not then have been in contact with the Semitic; for, occupying the fertile Tigris and Euphrates Valley, was probably a Turanian people, known as the Accadian race.[3] Thus, in the twilight preceding the dawn of history, we behold these two families of inflected language almost as widely separated as though inhabiting separate continents.

We must now turn our attention to a third family of inflected languages. This is the Hamitic. It includes the language of ancient Egypt; the Coptic of the Nile; a considerable group south and west of Abyssinia, with the Galla as a principal representative; the Libyan or Berber of North Africa; and the Haussa, south of the Sahara. This family is, however, much less clearly defined than either of the others. The ancient Egyptian is the principal language of this group. This comes before us as a language of great simplicity, but a step removed from the Chinese. Its roots are also its words. Neither noun nor verb, nor any part of speech, has a characteristic form. The same word may be used as one of several parts of speech. Thus, *seki* may mean to write, something written, or a writer. If a word is used as a noun, an article is generally prefixed to it. Pronouns added to a verb designate the person; mode and tense are indicated by auxiliary words. The personal ending

[1] Sayce: L. C., Vol. II, p. 167. [2] Ibid., p. 124. [3] Ibid., p. 189.

to the verb, of which we have just made mention, may be used to denote possession. Thus, *ran-i* means "my name," or, "I name," just as the sense requires.

It is evident from the foregoing that the Hamitic group falls considerably below the Aryan or Semitic families. Like them, however, it distinguishes gender. The value of this grammatical feature has been greatly overrated.[1] It has quite often been asserted that the Hamitic languages are intimately connected, and by some they are classed with the Semitic.[2] The strongest points of resemblance between the two languages is in the pronouns; but when we consider the exceeding difference between the languages in other respects, we can but doubt whether pronominal resemblances are sufficient to justify an assertion of connection.[3] Mr. Sayce thinks that, on the whole, we are certainly justified in asserting that a relationship of some kind existed between them.[4] But we are, at all events, safe in saying that this contact must have been, if at all, in very early times.

We have now described the most important families of inflected languages. Before passing to the agglutinative tongues, let us glance at some other families of inflected speech. In the extreme south of Africa we find a family of tongues which seem to belong to the inflected group. These are the Hottentot dialects. By some, this language has been considered as belonging to the Hamitic family, but it seems sufficient to say that they are probably inflected, and we leave the question of relationship one for further study. The inflections here take the form of suffixes, differing from the agglutinative compounds in that the suffixes are frequently merely classificatory or

[1] Whitney: "Life and Growth of Language," p. 285.
[2] Müller: L. C., p. 282. [3] Whitney: L. C., p. 343. [4] L. C., Vol. II, p. 178.

even meaningless. They have the same conception of gender that the Aryan has. In the neighborhood of Lake Van, in Western Asia, are found a great many inscriptions written in an inflected language. It is thought it will ultimately be found to be connected with the languages spoken in the Caucasus, known as the Alarodian, family, which has not, as yet, been connected with other families of inflected languages;[1] still, other families of inflected languages have probably passed away.

In the agglutinating class of languages, we will find by far the larger number of languages now spoken. We must remember the peculiarities of this class of languages given a few pages back. There may be several kinds of agglutination. The modifying elements may follow the stem, as in the example we gave on page 31. This will be found to be the case in the Turanian family; or they might precede the stem, as is true of some African families. In one large family of this group, the Malayo-Polynesian, we will discover that they have failed to develop a true verb. The most important family of this class of language, as far as history is concerned, is the one that we will call the Turanian, though it also goes by other names.[2]

This family is not only widely extended now, but we have good reason to suppose it was much more widely extended in prehistoric times. The Aryans probably found Europe in full possession of the Turanian tribes.[3] At the present day, tribes speaking languages of this family are found scattered from the eastern coast of Siberia to Scandinavia. As Mongols, Tartars, Tunguses,

[1] Whitney: "Study of Language," p. 354. Sayce: L. C., p. 184.

[2] Called also Ural-Altaic, or simply Altaic. Uralian, Mongolian, Tartaric, or Scythian are also applied to it.

[3] Vol. I, p. 212.

etc., they occupy nearly all of Asia north of India and China. As Osmanli Turks, they are found in Asia Minor, Egypt, and Turkey in Europe. As Lapps, Finns, and Esths, they are found in Northern Russia and Scandinavia. As Magyars, they formed the ancient kingdom of Hungary, now constituting the larger part of Austria. Finally, we would remark that there are good reasons for concluding that in early times the population of Media, Susiana, Elam, and Chaldea all spoke languages which must be connected with this wide-spread Turanian family.

As in the case of the Aryan and Semitic families, we seem justified in concluding that the widely scattered people whom we have just named had a common home and common ancestry. The parent language has disappeared. The common home seems to have been north of the center of Asia, as near as we can now decide. The following features may be named as possessed by the languages of this family in common: The agglutinated words are suffixed to the stem. In most cases each part of the compound retains an independent meaning. In some cases, however, in Finnic and Hungarian dialects, the compound has become so close that it is difficult to distinguish the primary words. In such cases there seems to be but little to separate them from an inflected language like the Aryan. Close study, however, shows that the two languages have traveled by different routes to nearly the same result.

The parts of the agglutinated compound have to observe what is called the law of vocalic harmony. An illustration will make this plain. The vowels are divided into two classes—the strong (*a*, *o*, *u*, etc.) and weak (*e*, *i*, *ü*, etc.). If the stem has strong vowels, then the vowel in each suffixed part must be strong also. Thus, *baba*

(strong vowels) means father; its plural form is *baba-lar*. But *dedeh* (weak vowels) is grandfather; its plural form, then, is *dede-ler*. Here we see the vowel of the suffixed part changes to agree with the vowel of the stem, and this law holds good no matter how many terminations we annex.

We can but barely mention some of the other families of agglutinating languages. The Dravidian languages in India form a most interesting group; indeed, their languages come very near the inflected form. They employ affixes instead of suffixes, as in the Turanian group. The Malayo-Polynesian is a very extensive group of languages. It is the language showing every sign of age; yet, strange to say, it is destitute of true verbs. The Dyak, for instance, can not say, "Your boat is beautiful," but must content himself with some such expression as this, "Your boat very-its-beauty." Tribes speaking agglutinating languages are found in Australia and Central and Southern Africa. No family resemblances are known to exist between them.

We have spent some time now in studying the general subject of language. We have gone as far as our present purpose requires. We come very far, indeed, from presenting even a full outline; but we believe we shall now be able to see in what directions, and how far, language will prove of assistance to us in classifying the races of men. One class of scholars is, perhaps, inclined to rely too much on linguistic traits; another, perhaps, goes too far the other extreme, and does not give to evidence derived from the study of language its due weight. In the Aryan family of languages, we have no hesitation in classing as members of one race people of considerable diversity of physical features. In this instance, we

feel confident that the physical differences must be due to conditions of life and sexual selection.

We will find that we apply the same reasoning to all families of languages—such as the Aryan, the Semitic, the Turanian, and, as far as it is worthy the name of a family, to the Hamitic. We feel confident that any classification of races must not separate, for instance, the Turanian people, and so of each of the others. Can we go any farther, and say, for instance, that no classification of races must be allowed to separate the inflected languages? When we reflect that the Hottentot and Aryan are both inflected, we at once see that we can indeed separate people speaking inflected languages into different races, provided physical characters call for such separation.

The eminent scholar Waitz[1] remarks that "it probably would never have occurred to a zoölogist to group the Indo-Germanic, Semitic, and other tribes in the same family." It seems to us that only zoölogical reasons justify this grouping. Philology gives us no warrant for grouping them together which would not justify us in uniting with them the Hottentots of South Africa. Indeed, Peschel[2] uses the following language: "No one who has studied the subject any longer doubts that the so-called Indo-European, the Semitics, the Bantu nations of South Africa, all derive the rudiments of their language from intercourse in a common home where they used a common vocabulary." On the contrary, we doubt whether there is any good reason for making such an assertion. In other words, inflection simply marks a stage of language development to which different races may have attained, and may have arrived at this result by following different lines of progress.

[1] "Anthropology," p. 238. [2] "Races of Men," p. 130.

Here, then, we see ethnology separating what philology might unite; but, on the other hand, in the Mongolian races, ethnology readily makes a group that includes in its members not only the principal bulk of the Asiatic tribes, but extends far out in Polynesia, and takes in all of the New World, or rather the New World as it was at the time of its discovery. Yet in this group of races we find the isolating monosyllabic languages of Eastern Asia, which, though very similar as regards character, show "a great and astonishing diversity of material," and "only scanty correspondence of form and meaning are found in their vocabularies."[1] We find also a great number of agglutinating languages, which, as yet, are not shown to be related. We have not only the Turanian family, but the Dravidian and the Malayo-Polynesian, and any reasoning which would unite all those tongues in one family would also bring in such agglutinating tongues as the Australian and some African.

So, without extending the comparison further, we conclude that the terms isolating, agglutinating and inflecting simply denote stages of development, and can be of no great assistance in helping us to classify the races of men. The case is different, we have seen, as regards linguistic families. But here a caution is necessary. There is no family of languages of which the boundaries are exactly known. Further study is required in every case. It is only lately that the Celtic language has been satisfactorily shown to be Aryan. The standing of the Albanian language may be still a question.[2] The Hamitic people have become so mixed up with the aboriginal inhabitants of Northern Africa that not only in features,

[1] Whitney: "Science of Language," p. 331.

[2] Whitney: L. C., 290.

Hungarian Girl (Turanian).

but in language, it is difficult to show a dividing line between the two. The boundary of what we call the Turanian family is in considerable dispute. Professor Müller[1] puts all the languages of Asia (except the isolating Chinese and neighboring dialects) into the Turanian family, dividing them into a northern and southern branch. Other scholars warn us against such a sweeping classification, and limit the word

[1] "Science of Language," First Series, p. 289.

Turanian to Professor Müller's northern branch, which is the limit we give it in this chapter.[1] The fact is, an immense amount of work is yet to be done in the science of language. We have described the Hottentot as an inflected language, and we have most excellent authority for so doing.[2] Nevertheless, there are not wanting those who deny it is an inflected language,[3] and so in a great many respects. Hence, we see with how much caution we must proceed.

At the best, when we come to reflect on the nature of language being an invention of the human intellect, we would expect it to change much more rapidly than race types. In the long lapse of years since man has been on the globe, but few race types have been developed. But languages are very numerous. Even in a very limited locality, among tribes incontestably belonging to the same race, languages have so widely diverged that we can not reduce them to the same stock. There is not a spoken language on the globe which is not in a process of change. In some cases this change proceeds at so rapid a rate that but few generations pass before dialects are formed widely differing. In short, we are to use the linguistic differences in the classification of men just as we do other points of comparison.

Another point which has not been very much considered we think capable of yielding considerable light on this vexed question. We refer to the system of relationship employed by various tribes of men. This might seem, at first thought, to be a trifling matter. An American scholar, Mr. Lewis H. Morgan, spent many years

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[1] Farrar's "Families of Speech," pp. 148–49. Whitney: "Science of Language," p. 325.

[2] Lepsius, Bleek, Whitney. [3] Friedrich Müller.

of his life in collecting information on this subject.[1] As we expect to examine this point at considerable length in a subsequent chapter,[2] we will not dwell on it at present. The general conclusions to which Mr. Morgan's investigations tend are of no little interest, and some of them may be here noticed. He shows that there is a striking similarity between what we term the Turanian people[3] and the Aryan and Semitic people. They all employ the descriptive method in describing relationship—in this respect standing apart from the other nations of the world, who employ the classificatory method.

When we learn that these two methods, the descriptive and the classificatory, are radically distinct, and demand distinct social customs in reference to marriage to explain them, we can not help being struck with the connection here indicated. We must not forget that the descriptive system of relationship would almost necessarily arise when monogamy, or marriage between single pairs, came into vogue. But what influence was it that caused the Semitic, Aryan, and Turanian nations alone, of all the nations, to adopt monogamy as a form of marriage?

Another interesting inference can be drawn from Mr. Morgan's work in reference to the people of India. In India we have not only the Dravidian-speaking people in Southern Hindoostan, but tribes speaking the Guara language in Northern India. These latter people are usually considered as Aryans. A large per cent. of their words is undoubtedly drawn from Sanscritic sources. Their grammar, however, is not Aryan. Mr. Morgan shows us

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[1] "Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity." "Smithsonian Contribution to Knowledge," No. xvii

[2] Chapter ii. [3] He designates them the Uralian.

that their system of relationship is certainly not Aryan or Sanscrit. Its features are such as to class it with the classificatory system; but it also shows the result of a conflict between this and the Aryan method. It makes it all the more plain to us that a great mixture of people has taken place in India. The Aryans were strong enough to force their words into common use, but they were not strong enough to change the grammar of the people or to greatly change their system of relationship.

So, also, of what he calls the Malayan system of relationship, which we think ought to be called the Africo-Polynesian. This system exists not only among the Kafirs in Southern Africa, and hence presumptively among the African people generally, except where modified by Semitic or Hamitic blood, but is found widely extended throughout Polynesia. Is there not in this fact strong confirmative evidence of the theory that a primitive negro population—the Papuan—in short, was once widely spread over these same islands? Migration of Malay people may have greatly changed the type of people, but the old customs in reference to relationship still continue. In short, systems of relationship are another element for us to bear in mind when arranging a classification of the races of men.

We have noticed some of the difficulties of classifying the various races of men. That differences do exist is plain and patent to all; and, when we contrast the extreme types, which are the black and white races, this difference becomes quite marked. We must examine one question which has caused a great deal of discussion in past years; that is to say, have these variously constituted races of men all descended from common ancestors, or were they created thus differently constituted "in the beginning?"

Now, this is a question for science alone to deal with. Some have unwisely sought to solve it by an appeal to the Bible. We have, however, long since learned that the statements in the Bible are always of a general nature, and are always found in accord with true science, and more than one rash investigator has been rebuked for losing sight of this fact.

Let us, then, examine this question in a candid way. Let us consider man just as we would an animal, and see what can be said on both sides of the question. We have learned that the various races of men differ in color of the skin, the texture of the hair, in form and capacity of skull, in position of facial bones, in weight of brain; and we need only examine the authorities to learn of a great many other differences, such as the relative proportions of different parts of the body. Volumes could be written on these minute points. We would learn of difference in constitution and temperament. They differ in liability to take certain diseases. Some are light-hearted and cheerful, some morose and taciturn. They differ, also, in mental powers, some being much more intellectual than others. We thus learn that races of men differ on many points, and that some of them are of considerable importance.

We further learn that the principal types of men have remained apparently unaltered for some thousands of years. In referring to the monumental remains of ancient Egypt, we find depicted on the same representations of the principal races that would serve equally well to define them to-day.[1]

We find further that man is very widely distributed over the globe—much more so, in fact, than any other

[1] Nott and Gliddon: "Indigenous Races;" "Types of Mankind."

mammalian species we are acquainted with; but races of men seem well fitted for the region they occupy. On further comparing the geographical range of man with animal, we can not help noticing how some of these so-called races accord in distribution with the range of some undoubtedly distinct species of animals. This view appealed very strongly to the eminent naturalist Agassiz.[1]

Examining the subject further, we find some excellent authorities claiming that the whole question is settled, because they have observed that the various races of men are fertile between themselves, and this they regard as conclusive of a common descent; yet others advise us not to place too much reliance on this fact, giving us good ground for concluding that it is indeed "an important, but not a decisive, mark of distinction between species and race,"[2] and, in fact, that that definition of species which persists in claiming that the members of a species have necessarily descended from common parents[3] is assuming too much.[4]

From the foregoing, we might be justified in classifying them as separate species. Other writers, however, remind us that the various races do not keep distinct when inhabiting the same country. Numerous examples of the truth of this recur to every one. We find the inhabitants of all Spanish-American States to be largely

[1] See his division into zoölogical realms, in "Types of Mankind." Mr. Darwin remarks that "Mr. Wallace has plainly shown that the Papuan and Malays are separated by nearly the same line which divides the Malay and Australian zoölogical provinces." ("Descent of Man," London, 1874, p. 169.)

[2] Waitz: "Anthropology," London, 1863, p. 32.

[3] Cuvier, Prichard, Quatrefages.

[4] Further, on this point, "Man, in many respects, may be compared with those animals which have been long domesticated, and a large body of evidence can be advanced in favor of the Pallasian doctrine that domestication tends to eliminate the sterility which is so general a result of the crossing of species in a state of nature." (Darwin: "Descent of Man," London, 1879, p. 169.)

mixed breeds. We see the same influence at work in other parts of the world. The yellow race of Malays have become largely mixed with the Oceanic negroes, giving rise on the one hand to the Polynesians, and perhaps on the other to the Negritos. The whole of Northern Africa has been profoundly influenced by admixture with Hamitic and Semitic people. We should scarcely expect such results if the races of men were of different species. Then, again, we learn that the distinctive characters of all races, weak though they are, are highly variable in the race. "Thus, the Aryan or Indo-European family of nations is of one origin; yet they include physical types as diverse as the dark Hindoo, the blonde Norwegian, the classic Greek, and the Irish. Color, size, feature, and shape of the head are all exceedingly different in these various types."[1]

These race characteristics, such as they are, we have seen graduate one into the other by such insensible degrees that we can not form an exact classification. This last argument is used with very great effect by Blumenbach, who shows that if the same laws determine the variability of type in animals as in man the latter necessarily constitutes but one species, since animals of the same species exhibit, as regards color, hair, size, cranial forms, no greater differences produced by climate, food, etc., than are presented by human beings.[2]

Turning to authorities to see what their individual conclusions have been, we do not find them all agreed. Blumenbach concludes as follows: "No doubt can any longer remain but that we are, with great probability,

[1] Brace's "Races of the Old World," p. 469.

[2] Waitz: "Anthropology," London, 1863; but see "Life and Works of Blumenbach," London, 1865, article on "The Natural Variety of Mankind;" also. see Quatrefages' "Human Species," New York, 1879, p. 47, *et seq.*

right in referring all, and, singular, as many varieties of men as are at present known to exist, to one and the same species."[1] To the same effect are the conclusions of a large number of eminent scholars.[2] But there is not uniformity by any means.[3] Topinard,[4] after a long discussion on the subject, finally decides in favor of diversity of species. Waitz,[5] who certainly seems to present both sides, shows, after much discussion, that we are not yet able to answer this question, inasmuch as a great amount of observation must be made on many different points before we can arrive at a satisfactory conclusion. Finally, we will remark that the writings of Mr. Darwin tend to simplify this question, since all who believe in any form of the doctrine of evolution will at once admit that all the diverse races of men have originated from common ancestors.

On this point the study of language gives us no aid. We must not lose sight of the fact that language is not a race mark, but only a culture mark. If we admit that it is an invention, then there might have been some time, at least, when man was destitute of language,[6] and during this period the race may have wandered forth to the various regions of the world. Therefore, if the study of language finally leaves us with a knowledge of several

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[1] Op. cit., p. 276.

[2] Linnæus, Cuvier, Lawrence, Camper, Buffon, Lamarck, Darwin, Geoffry, Quatrefages, Humboldt, Prichard, Morton, Pickering.

[3] Agassiz, Nott, Gliddon. [4] "Anthropology," London, 1878, p. 511.

[5] "Anthropology," London, 1863, p. 33.

[6] "Language, in short, was not created until the several types of race had been fully fixed and determined." (Sayce: "Science of Language," Vol. II, p. 318.) To the same effect, see Whitney: "Life and Growth of Language," p. 270. There seems to be a very respectable body of evidence tending to show that gesture-language must have preceded sound-language. See Tyler: "Early History of Mankind," chaps. i, iii, and iv, especially p. 275, *et seq.;* also, same author: "Primitive Culture," Vol. I, p. 164.

families, between which we can trace no connection,[1] we can only say that this result would naturally follow from the statement just made. On the other hand, should we finally decide that all languages had a common origin (which idea is about given up by all), this would not demonstrate the unity of mankind, since one race only may have been sufficiently advanced to develop a language and to have imparted this knowledge to other races. So, in either case, the problem remains as before.[2]

Attempts have been made to reconcile the views of our scholars on this important question. Men of great learning take opposite ground, and we may be sure that they have good reasons for so doing. Mr. Wallace[3] thinks he can reconcile the two schools. After passing in review the main arguments on both sides, he gives in detail his reason for thinking that man was originally of one species. But this could only be true of him for a very limited time, and while he was certainly very low in the scale, and living "what might be called a mere animal existence." During such a period he would be as much subject to natural selection (conditions of life) as any animal; but at this early time "he must have been even then a dominant race, spreading widely over the warmer regions of the earth as it then existed, and, in agreement of what we see in the case of other dominant species, gradually becoming modified in accordance with local conditions. As he ranged farther from his original home, and became exposed to greater extremes of climate, to greater changes of food, and had to contend with new

[1] At present there are about seventy-five families of languages between which no connection has as yet been proved. Future study, instead of reducing this number, will probably increase it. (Sayce: L. C., p. 325.)

[2] Müller: "Science of Language," New York, 1866, p. 326.

[3] "Anthropological Review," London, 1864, p. 158, *et seq.*

enemies, organic and inorganic, useful variations in his constitution would be selected and rendered permanent. Thus arose those striking characteristics and especial modifications which still distinguish the chief races of mankind;" such as the variously colored skin, the diversity of hair, and the many little points of comparison.

But man was endowed by his Creator with a brain and the capacity of improvement; and, therefore, while the changes we have just mentioned were being produced, "his mental development had correspondingly advanced, and had now reached that condition in which it began powerfully to influence his existence." By its use he provides himself with clothing and weapons, and with fire wherewith to cook his food. He originates the social state, language becomes a more perfect instrument, the weak are assisted by the strong, the sick are cared for, and thus, in the power of natural selection (condition of life), is weakened, and virtually ceases to act as regards his physical features. In this way would Mr. Wallace admit the primary unity of man, also the development of the principal race types; but, as by his intellect man was enabled to overcome, in a large measure, the operation of the laws of natural selection, he can also account for that wonderful persistence of mere physical characters which appeals with strong force to those who advocate diversity of origin.

We thus reach the conclusion that, as far as our present knowledge extends, we are justified in concluding that the various races of men are the descendants of common parents. This conclusion at once suggests some other points. How did these differences arise? What was the primitive type of men? When and where did they make their first appearance? We must resort to speculation to some extent; yet this is a perfectly safe way of doing if

we will only not lose sight of facts. If the conclusion just reached in regard to the unity of man be a sound one, then man must have commenced his existence in limited numbers in some one locality. However low he may have been in the scale of civilization, we are safe in assuming that he was moved by much the same feelings, desires, and passions that work upon savage tribes to-day. As time passed on and population increased, migratory bands would go out from the original home. Now, however uniform in appearance we may suppose these primitive men to have been, which was doubtless considerable, owing to the fact that they were exposed to the same climatic influence, partook of the same food, and intermarried for many years, yet no sooner would migrations begin than differences in external form and appearances would commence to arise, for the conditions of life would begin to vary. By conditions of life we mean every circumstance which has an influence on the growth of an individual.

In this connection, we need only recall what surprising changes have been produced, for instance, in the vegetable world by cultivation. The same laws hold good in the animal world. From the very earliest stage of existence to the close of life, the organism is subject to the influences of what we call conditions of life.[1] It seems that a difference in nutrition alone is sufficient to cause a larva which would have developed into a worker bee to change and become a queen instead.[2] Sheep, when transported to a very warm country, only retain their fleeces on condition of being regularly shorn; if left to themselves, the wool is replaced by hair.[3] Similarly situated, European oxen

[1] The milieu of French writers; the natural selections of evolutionists.

[2] Kirby and Spence.

[3] Quatrefages: "Human Species," p. 248.

tend to lose their hair and become naked.[1] Man is able, as no other animal is, to protect himself from the influences here mentioned. But he can not escape them altogether.[2] If clans from the same tribe separate, and one goes to the highlands and the other chooses low-lying plains as a place of residence, but few generations will pass before a change will appear.[3] If at the present day, with all the resources of civilization, man is unable to escape altogether from the influence of condition of life, still less are savages able to escape; and the lower in the scale they are, the truer is this remark. Climate, whether it be warm or cold, wet or dry, healthy or unhealthy, exercises an influence on man. The physical geography of his land also molds his character, whether it be plateau or lowland, mountain or plain, continent or island, fertile or sterile—a region abounding in food or the reverse; although the influence from any one of these factors may be small, yet, in the aggregate, the result is not inconsiderable.[4]

And yet we must call into account the action of another force. We all know about the law of descent or heredity by virtue of which the child resembles his

[1] Ibid.

[2] On this point, we think Mr. Wallace's arguments are scarcely sound. See Lubbock's criticism of same: "Prehistoric Times," New York, 1872, p. 591.

[3] This is true of the Aryan tribes in India; also, of the Semitic in Abyssinia; also, compare the highlanders and lowlanders of Scotland. Of the first two cases mentioned, we must allow considerable, perhaps most, of the changes noticed to be due to intermarriage with darker aboriginal tribes.

[4] This matter is very thoroughly discussed by Waitz. Some of the older school of anthropologists evidently go too far, and maintain that each continent is only fitted to support its particular type. It is generally admitted, for instance, that the western continent has given rise to a type somewhat different from the Aryans in Europe. Some of this result must be due to the great intercrossing of various nationalities, but considerable is due to changed conditions of life. There is, however, no evidence that this change will continue until the people in America approach the Indian type; yet this is what Knox would have us believe.

parents. Now, when variations in type for any causes begin, these variations tend to be transmitted to the offspring. Thus, the change will go on from generation to generation, until finally the individual comes into full harmony with all his surroundings; then the conditions of life tend only to perpetuate and more firmly establish the changes already made.

Nubian.

We have, in the foregoing, given in a very condensed form some general statements upon the changes which would inevitably take place amongst the primitive people as soon as they commenced to spread themselves abroad over the earth. Probably there is no dispute amongst scholars that such changes would result; but there is a question, however, as to the permanency of any and all changes wrought by changing conditions of life. Thus, Topinard concludes, after a long discussion: "We have no proof . . . there has ever been produced an important and

hereditary change of a physical character under the influence of external circumstances."[1] Messrs. Nott and Gliddon insist in the strongest manner on the permanence of type, and show from the pictorial remains of ancient Egypt that the negro type has remained unchanged for some thousands of years, at least.[2] But, perhaps, a sufficient answer to this argument may be found in the fact that in this case the conditions of life have also remained unchanged;[3] or, we may deny it altogether and bring many statements to show "how valueless is that asserted fixity of the negro type," and claim that, "taken generally, it rests upon fancy."[4] In fact, the student who proposes to read on both sides of this question will cordially conclude with Mr. Darwin that "this is a most perplexing subject."

To illustrate some of the difficulties in our way, we need only recall some facts. The Eskimos live exclusively on animal food; they are clothed in thick fur, and are exposed to intense cold; their conditions of life have not greatly changed for a very long period of time; as cave-dwellers they probably hunted the reindeer in the valley of the Vezère, while yet considerable portions of Europe were incased in glacier ice; and in America we have found probable proof of their presence along the front of the great glacier of the Glacial Age.[5] The condition of life, then, has probably made what change it could in their characteristics, such as color, features, stature, hair, etc. What shall we say, then, when we learn that in no extreme degree do they differ from the inhabitants of Southern China, who, for certainly a very long

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[1] "Anthropology," p. 388. [2] "Types of Mankind," p. 271

[3] Waitz: "Anthropology," p. 29. Quatrefages: "Human Species," p. 257.

[4] Waitz: Op. cit., p. 213. [5] Vol. I, pp. 113, 300.

time, have been exposed to conditions of life very different indeed, inasmuch as they live almost entirely on vegetable food, and are exposed almost naked to a hot, glaring climate.

In the instance just given, then, we have seen that widely different conditions of life fail to greatly change the type. On the other hand, tribes living in the tropical regions of the western continent, such as the Botocudoes of Brazil, are exposed to very similar conditions as regards climate, and follow much the same mode of life as the various negro tribes of Africa. In both places, they have probably inhabited their respective countries for certainly a long time, but no striking resemblances in features and other characteristics are noticed. They are described as being "wholly different."[1]

It appears, then, that, though our best scholars are willing to admit that there is but one species of man, a question at once arises which as yet they have failed of solving. Mr. Darwin proposes, as a partial solution, one clearing up many difficulties—the theory of sexual selection. He points out that "the differences between the races of man, as in color, hairiness, forms of features, etc., are of a kind" which might be expected to arise as a result of sexual selection. He furthermore passes in review the whole animal kingdom, to show what surprising changes have probably been brought about in the course of time in the external appearances of animals by the action of this mode of selection, and remarks that "it would be an inexplicable fact if man had not been modified by this agency, which appears to have acted powerfully on innumerable animals." He particularly remarks that his theory will not account for all differences between races,

[1] Darwin: "Descent of Man," p. 197.

but that we still remain in ignorance of many points.

Let us now consider when and where man first appeared. The former question has been so carefully treated[1] that we have nothing to add to what has already been said. It may be well to repeat some of the conclusions already given. In the first place, then, we need only say that the probable existence of man on this globe goes back to a former geological age. We detect faint traces of his presence in the Miocene Age, and more decided proofs of his existence in the Pliocene.[2] It is no longer a question that he was living before the advent of the Glacial Age. When we ask for the result in years, we have seen how nearly impossible it is to answer that question. The probable date of the Glacial Age was fully considered,[3] and we have seen what an important bearing that has on the whole question. Aside from that, all the evidence simply serves to emphasize the fact that it was indeed long ago when man first arrived on the scene. No petty term, embracing a few thousand years, will suffice. We must rather conceive of the flight of unnumbered chiliads.

On this question the study of language can not fail to be of great help. Of course, it gives no hint as to the length of time when language was forming; but if we consider any family of languages, we can not shut our eyes to the fact that a great lapse of time is required to explain the facts before us. Mr. Sayce thus impressively states the argument as regards the Semitic family: "When we consider that the grammar of the Assyrian language, as found in inscriptions earlier than B. C. 2000, is in many respects less archaic and conservative than that of the languages spoken to-day by the tribes of Central Arabia—when we

[1] Vol. I. [2] Ibid., pp. 51, 58. [3] Ibid., chap. v.

consider further that the parent language which gave birth to Assyrian, Arabic, and other Semitic dialects must have passed through long periods of growth and decay, and that in all probability it was a sister of the parent tongues of old Egyptian and Libyan, springing in their turn from a common mother speech—we may gain some idea of the extreme antiquity to which we must refer the earliest form we can discover of a single family of speech; and behind this form must have lain unnumbered ages of progress and development. . . . The length of time required by the process will be most easily conceived if we remember how stationary the Arabic of illiterate Nomads has been during the last four thousand years, and that the language revealed by the oldest monuments of Egypt is already decrepit and outworn, already past the bloom of creative youth." Similar remarks could be made in reference to all of the great families of language.

Another question which we may profitably consider is the question of the original home of the human race. It is doubtful if this question can be settled with any degree of assurance. We can, however, clear up our thoughts on this subject. It seems necessary, in the first place, to assume some warm, tropical region as his birthplace. This is so because, as far as his physical constitution is concerned, primeval man must have been poorly qualified to contend with even a moderate degree of cold. The force of this reasoning is admitted by nearly all scholars of note.[1] In the next place, it is generally admitted that the primeval home of man was on a present existing continent, or near regions now occupied by continents.[2] Of Oceanic Islands proper, a large number were found by

[1] Winchell: "Preadamites," p. 356. Lubbock: "Prehistoric Times," p. 43.
[2] Peschel: "The Races of Men," p. 26. Darwin: "Descent of Man," p. 169.

early navigators to be uninhabited; and, in the case of others, we can generally prove that their inhabitants have been derived from other sources, as in the case of Polynesia.[1]

We are, therefore, to provisionally decide in favor of the tropical regions of some continental expanse of land. Here, again, other lines of evidence compel the rejection of the western continent. Geologists have no trouble in showing that from the very earliest times[2] the eastern continent has taken the lead in animal life. The western continent has, so to speak, lagged behind the eastern continent in the value and number of its animal forms.[3] The mammalian fauna of the eastern continent has always been, and is at present, the richest in those forms that make the nearest approximation to the type of man.[4] All this points with no little force to the conclusion that the original home of man was on the eastern continent.[5]

We are further to reflect that we are to take into account the geography of the Tertiary Age, for we have just stated that man probably dates from some portion of the widely extended time known as the Tertiary Age. It is, of course, extremely difficult to give exact details of the geography of the Tertiary Age. It was doubtless greatly different from the geography of to-day. Examining scholars to obtain their views, we learn that until middle Tertiary times Africa probably existed as an immense island,

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[1] Quatrefages: "Human Species," pp. 188–198.

[2] Paleozoic. See outline, p. 41, Vol. I.

[3] Prof. Dana: "Proc. Amer. Assoc.," 1855, Inaugural Address.

[4] See table of distribution of Primates and Carnivora in Dr. Winchell's "Preadamites," p. 358.

[5] This is entirely independent of any belief in the doctrine of evolution. Since all are willing to admit that man is the highest of created animals, it is eminently fitting that, primarily, he should have been placed in the same region of country where the higher animals were first placed,

much like Australia of to-day, and probably possessed a very poor mammalian fauna.[1] Furthermore, in the earlier portions of this age,[2] a large portion of both Europe and Asia was submerged.[3] Indeed, Europe existed as an archipelago;[4] much the same state of affairs obtained in what is now Asia, for we read that probably Hindoostan was an island, that a large portion of the plains of Thibet was beneath the waves, and that a wide arm of the sea extended from the Caspian north to the Arctic, submerging most of Northern Asia.[5] How long this condition of things lasted is not easy to decide. Speaking generally, both Europe and Asia were undergoing a process of elevation throughout all of Tertiary time, and the result must have shown itself in the formation of large land areas. Prof. Dana tells us that after the Eocene Age Europe was mostly dry land, its sea-coast being characterized by "numerous indentations and winding estuaries;"[6] and Mr. Wallace speaks of Europe, Northern Africa, and at least parts of Asia, as composing a continent in Miocene times, characterized as possessing a very rich mammalian fauna.[7]

There are also excellent reasons for concluding that at this time the eastern and south-eastern coast of Asia extended considerably farther than at present, stretching in a winding line from the Japanese Islands, taking in the Philippines and the islands of the Malay Archipelago;[8] and probably the main portion of what is now the Indian Ocean was occupied by islands, not widely separated, extending in a chain from Madagascar to Hindoostan,[9] or, as some think, a veritable continent existed in

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[1] Wallace: "Island Life," p. 390. [2] The Eocene. See outline, p. 41, Vol. I.
[3] Dana: "Manual of Geography," p. 53. [4] Ibid. [5] "Island Life," p. 185.
[6] "Manual of Geology," p. 533. [7] "Island Life," p. 390. [8] Ibid., p. 509.
[9] Wallace. These last statements are not by any means "guess work." They are based on the present distribution of animals. Mr. Wallace spent many years

this region.[1] Probably, then, it was in some portion of this strangely-featured continent—with its indented shore, extending in its greatest length from north-west and south-east, with Southern Africa as a great island to the south-west, with large islands dotting the Indian Ocean—that in the fullness of time man appeared.[2]

Another question before us is the primitive state of man. Every one knows that the world of to-day is inhabited by tribes in very different stages of social enlightenment. There have been two theories to account for this fact. For convenience, they may be called the "progression" and the "degradation" theories. Those who hold to the progression theory think that the life of man on the globe has been one of progress. They think that primitive man started at the very foot of the ladder of human progress, and by the exercise of those powers implanted in him, by virtue of which he is a MAN, and not a brute, he has gradually risen from a state of abject savagism,

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in study, travel, and observation on this question. His views are set forth with a wealth of learning in his works entitled "Geographical Distribution of Animals" and "Island Life."

[1] Winchell.

[2] We question, however, if, in accordance with the views presented on page 51, Vol. I, we must not separate, at least, the western portions of Europe from this continent. We wish, also, to remark that in several places in Vol. I, notably page 24, we speak of a submerged Pacific continent. A more guarded reference is also made on pages 276 and 278, and an opinion is expressed that there might have been the primeval home of man. The existence of this hypothetical continent seems questioned. (P. 155 of same volume.) We think now there never was a continental expanse of land in the Pacific. Here seems to be a good place to speak of "Lemuria." A number of writers have thought there were good reasons to conclude that a continental expanse of land formerly existed in what is now the Indian Ocean, and have not hesitated to express the opinion that there was the original home of man. Dr. Winchell gives a summary of this evidence and authorities in "Preadamites." (Pp. 359-363.) Mr. Wallace, however, is not willing to admit there was, properly speaking, a continent there. He insists the land areas were simply islands, not widely separated. ("Island Life," pp. 394-399.) We submit that, as far as the primeval home of man is concerned, there is not much difference between these views.

through barbarism, to that enlightened state we call civilization. The degradation theory assumes, on the contrary, that primitive man was possessed of a certain degree of enlightenment, from which plane of primitive enlightenment some races have gone on to higher stages of civilization, while others have fallen away and have become the savage, uncivilized races of to-day.

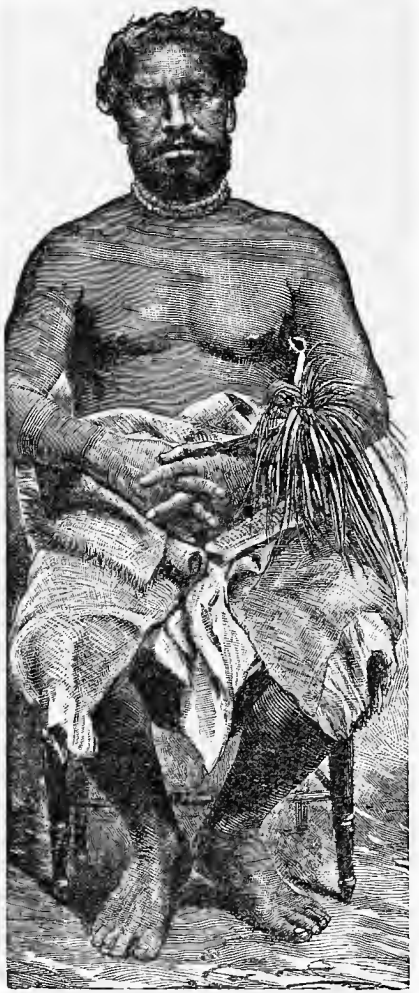
There is a lack of precision in the statement of both of these theories, and yet we have tried to state each as fairly as we could. It is not yet settled what was the condition of man in "abject savagism;" and, on the other hand, the holders of the degradation theory are by no means settled among themselves, and have nowhere defined the stage of enlightenment of which their theory supposes that primitive man was possessed. Two writers of recent date are much quoted as champions of the degradation theory. Archbishop Whately, in his somewhat celebrated lecture on the origin of civilization,[1] founds part of his argument on error. He asserts that "all experience proves that man, . . . in the lowest degree of barbarism, . . . never did and never can raise himself into a higher condition." But many writers have clearly proved that existing savages have certainly raised themselves a few steps in the scale. Thus, if the evidence of language be of any value at all, it shows that, in family relations, many savage tribes of to-day have advanced from the communal family to the group family, and many still further to the pairing family; and this advance has, at times, taken place where we can not suppose any aid from outside sources was given.[2] As for

[1] "Miscellaneous Lectures and Reviews," London, 1861.

[2] See Howitt's memoir on the Kurnai, a South Australian tribe, in "Kamilaroi and Kurnai," Melbourne, 1880.

mechanical arts, it seems clearly established that advance has taken place.

The remainder of this writer's argument fully illustrates what we had to say as to the indefiniteness of this theory. He expressly warns us that "the earliest generations of mankind were in a condition far short of what can be called 'high civilization,'" and points out that "he had received only very limited, and what may be called elementary, instructions—enough merely to enable him to make further advances afterwards by the exercise of his natural powers;" but he neglects to tell us in what these instructions consisted, and gives us no idea of what amount of "elementary instruction" was sufficient to render further advance, by the exercise of man's natural powers, possible.



Polynesian Chief.

Later, the Duke of Argyll writes in support of the degradation theory.[1] He abandons, as of no account, the arguments of Whately in reference to the inability of

[1] "Primeval Man," London, 1871.

savage tribes to advance. He admits the great antiquity of man, going back to the Glacial Age. We look in vain for any statement as to the probable condition of primitive man. We are told that, as regards knowledge, his condition "may have been one of mere childhood." He admits that "it probably is true that all nations, in the progress of the arts, have passed through the stages of using stone for implements before they were acquainted with the use of metals." But he insists that along with this childhood in knowledge (if we admit it to be true) there may have been clear conceptions of God and duty.

Polynesian Chief's Wife.

It is clear enough, however, that the duke believes that primitive man was possessed of a certain degree of civilization, though we can not, from his writings, determine what degree. He accounts for the existence of savage tribes by arguing that they are simply outcasts from society. He believes that man commenced his career in "some one or more of

those portions of the earth which are genial in climate, rich in natural fruits, and capable of yielding the most abundant return to the very simplest arts." Population would, under such circumstances rapidly increase, and soon migrations would begin; but he says "it would always be the weaker tribes who would be driven forth from the ground which had become overstocked, and, as the lands to which they went forth were less and less hospitable in climate and productions, the struggle for life would be always harder. And so it always happens, in the natural and necessary course of things, that the races which were driven farthest would be the rudest—the most engrossed in the pursuits of mere animal existence."

The duke's theory, however, fails in a number of points. It is not true that migrating bands are composed of the weaker tribes. As Lubbock argues, "the gradual extension of the human race has been effected, not by forces acting on any given race from without, but by internal necessity, and the pressure of population; by peaceful, not by hostile, force; and by prosperity, not by misfortune. . . . Of old, as now, founders of new colonies were men of energy and enterprise, animated by hope and courage, not by fear and despair."[1] Neither is it true that the lowest races are found at the outskirts of continents. The Botocudoes, inhabiting the finest position of Brazil, are as low in the scale as the miserable Fuegians of Patagonia. The Eskimos are one of these "outskirt" races, and the struggle for existence is certainly severe with them, yet they seem to have been quite as enlightened as some Indian tribes much farther south. We have seen that there is considerable evidence to show

[1] "Primitive Man," New York, 1871, p. 342.

that the Eskimos once inhabited the interior of what is now the United States.[1] It may be that the early Norse Sea kings found them on the eastern sea-coast. We need only add that as far as the evidence of the Sagas goes it shows that the Eskimos then were quite as low in the scale as now, though occupying quite a different country.

In short, this view seems to be but a restatement of the effect produced by a change in conditions of life. We have seen that condition of life, though exercising considerable influence, is not able to explain the differences in races as far as physical appearances are concerned.[2] So, also, we may observe that, though condition of life doubtless exercises some influence on the degree of enlightenment of a people, it is totally inadequate to explain all; in fact, the argument is capable of another reading. These tribes, being low in the scale of civilization, were driven out of the fairer regions of the world. We submit that this view is more in accordance with all the known facts in the case than to suppose they became degraded in consequence of such expulsion. Language, as far as it goes, is of some help to us in this matter. Thus, the Aryan races must have possessed a common home and a common parentage. They were living there at a time at least three thousand years before Christ, and had attained considerable civilization, as is shown by the evidence of language. We have no evidence of any tribe wandering off from this home and losing the civilization there attained. On the other hand, their descendants have progressed until they include in their ranks the most enlightened nations of the world. It is quite true that in India we find some degraded tribes, who

[1] Vol. I, p. 302. [2] Page 55.

speak a language allied to the Aryan; especially is this the case with the Veddahs of Ceylon, but it is well known that the Veddahs are, in the main, descendants from the indigenous non-Aryan tribes of Hindoostan.[1]

When we come to ask the history of these two theories, we find that the degradation theory is the one which early finds expression in the beliefs of civilized nations. It, therefore, comes to us invested with that peculiar sanction which age ever gives to beliefs, even though founded on error. Whatever reason we may give, the fact certainly remains that both the Aryan and Semitic nations, or such as achieved civilization, held, in substance, this theory. As from the Semitic Hebrews Christianity was given to the world, it is, perhaps, not strange that this theory was held in mind in explaining and interpreting many passages of Scripture; and thus it is that the advocates of this theory sometimes claim for it the sanction of religion. Sir Henry Maine, in a most interesting way,[2] shows how this theory passed from the philosophers of Greece to the jurists of Rome, and was considered as the natural foundation of the law of nations. Hence, we can readily see how, before science arose, this theory was the most acceptable one, and we see, also, the foundation of its power to-day; and we can understand how it is that, though it has no standing before the scientific knowledge of the present, yet it retains a considerable hold in popular belief.

[1] Tyler's "Primitive Culture," Boston, 1874, Vol. I, p. 51. The case of the Veddahs is one of the facts relied on by Rawlinson to sustain his position, that there are "grounds for believing broadly that savagery and civilization, the two opposite poles of our condition, are states between which men oscillate freely, passing from either to the other with almost equal ease, according to the external circumstances wherewith they are surrounded." ("Origin of Nations," New York, 1881, p. 8.) We can not see how the condition of the Veddahs tends to prove any such statement.

[2] "Ancient Law," New York, 1864, p. 52.

The progression theory is the child of modern study. Many lines of research unite in affirming this result. The social life, the manners and customs of savage and barbarous tribes all over the world have been collected and compared, and with them civilization has been passed in review. Our plan of government, our laws, the whole fabric of our social life, our marriage customs, our systems of consanguinity and affinity, our inventions and discoveries, which make civilization a delight, are found to be but the matured fruits, the fair flowers, growing on the vine of progress. But as the germ and the plant precede the flower, so we can detect the germ of modern civilization in the social organization and plan of life of savage tribes, and the growth can be observed in the customs and manners of barbarous nations.

Having thus examined this question as much as our limited space will allow, let us sum up the conclusion. We believe that our scholars are becoming more and more unanimous in the belief that, as regards primitive man, his starting point was the zero point of humanity; and, speaking broadly, his career through all the vast stretch of years that have elapsed since his appearance has been one of progress. This by no means denies the fact that instances of degradation have occurred. Nations may and probably have, at times, fallen away in civilization. Some tribes, having to contend with new conditions of life much less favorable than those to which they had been accustomed, may and probably have retrograded. We are to regard such instances as simply exceptions, to which nearly every general rule is subject. In no instance do such retrogressions become race-wide. We therefore conclude with Mr. Tyler that the history of civilization has "not been the history of a course of

degeneration, or even of equal oscillations to and fro, but of a movement which, in spite of frequent stops and relapses, has on the whole been forward; that there has been from age to age a growth in man's power over nature, which no degrading influence has been able permanently to check."[1]

Have we any evidence which of the great types of races was the primitive type? Did the first men belong to the white, or the black, or the yellow races? It is doubtful whether we have the necessary data from which to draw a conclusion; but let us see if we have any solid ground on which to venture. We probably will not reflect on this question long before we will decide that the white races must be left out of account. The rank they hold in the scale of civilization seems to show this. We have just seen that the first men were probably very low in the scale of civilization. While we would not be understood as saying that the white races were not once in a savage state, yet, if they were the primitive men, we would scarcely expect them to leave their descendants behind in the process of development. Further, the white races seem to be traced back to Western Asia. From here, they seem to have spread over the world. Wherever they went, they seem to have found other people ahead of them. In India, the Aryans found the Dravidians; in Europe, the Turanians. The tribes speaking the Semitic languages found the Turanians in Mesopotamia. That branch of them which, under the name of the Hamitics, went west to Egypt nearly lost their distinctive characters by their extensive mingling with the blacks.

Now, although we can not claim that these considerations are of such a character as to necessarily show that

[1] "Early History of Mankind," p. 191.

primitive men were not members of the white races, yet they certainly are of some weight. We must not lose sight of the fact that what we call the divisions of the white races—that is, Aryan, Semitic, and Hamitic—may be, and probably are, modern divisions, and that the type itself may, and probably does, go back much farther than the languages which they now speak. Perhaps we can yet trace it where, at present, we are in doubt. M. Quatrefages[1] thinks he has shown that the Malays are a mixed race, and that they are a mixture of white with other races. Still another scholar[2] extends this observation, and thinks he can show that the Polynesians properly belong to the same race. Should these views be accepted, we should have to extend our views in regard to the origin and antiquity of this race type. Yet, we would still have to give due weight to the fact that the white races, so far as we know them, are above the others in civilization; and, therefore, the probability remains that primitive man was not of this type.

We have still before us the yellow and the black races. M. Quatrefages gives the weight of his great authority in favor of the yellow races.[3] Two facts seem to influence him greatly in this conclusion; one is that the color yellow is present as an element of color in all races. On this point we might remark that a great diversity of color exists among the so-called black races; that it is only one among a group of characters by which we make our classification. It, therefore, seems to us not safe to base far-reaching conclusions on this character. His second fact is derived from the study of language. He thinks that isolating, one-syllable languages, such as are spoken

[1] "Human Species," New York, 1879, p. 433.
[2] Kean; "Nature," Vol. XXIII. [3] "Human Species," p. 242.

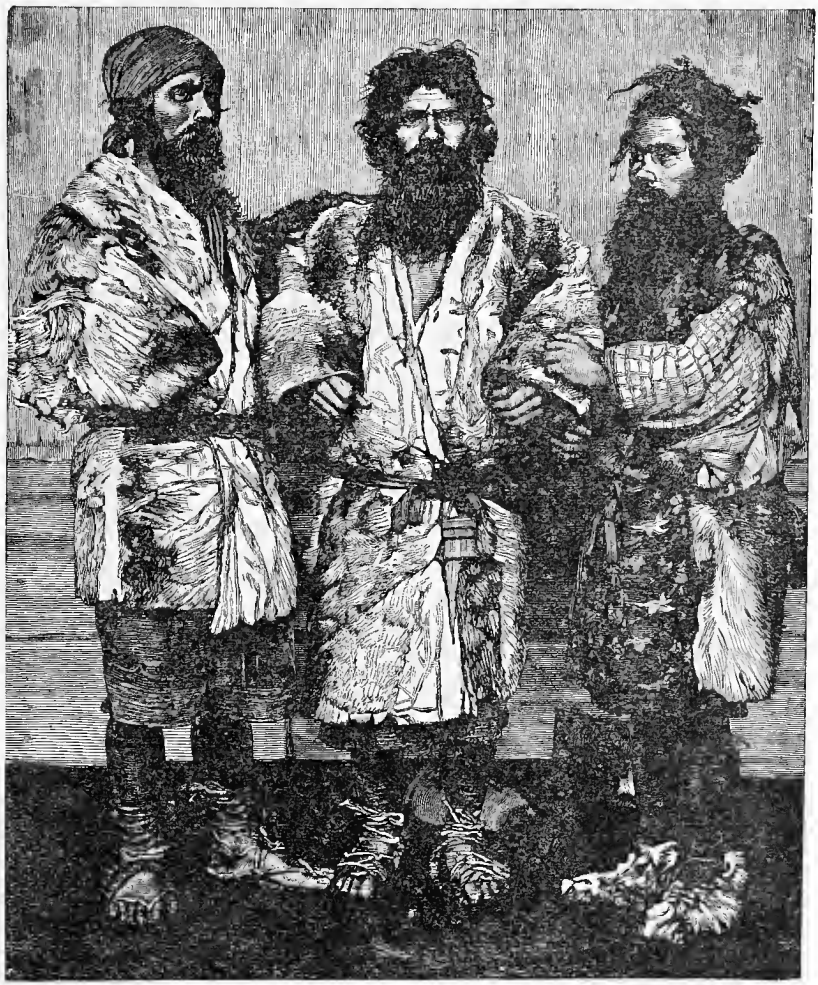
by some yellow races, mark the infantile stage of all languages. This conclusion, though supported by scholars of great ability, is far from proved. One needs only to read the literature on the subject to discover that there is equally as good authority for thinking that the stage of language development to which we have just referred has really nothing to do with other stages, as the agglutinating or inflecting, and therefore can not be used to show that the yellow races preceded the others in time.

For our part, we think the probabilities are that the black races were represented in the primeval race of men. This, of course, leaves the degree of color unsettled. It leaves unsettled the amount of prognathism; also, the character of the hair. Our reasons are based almost solely on the stage of enlightenment generally prevalent among the black races. Their social institutions are of the rudest and most archaic type. Some writers think that the Australians are the lowest in civilization of any.[1] Professor Owen would lay this distinction on the Andaman Islanders, and Professor Flowers[2] thinks it is not unlikely that these latter people are "representatives of the primitive negro type, which has been since altered in various points as it spread over its wide district of the world."[3]

The various African tribes are quite a ways from being savages, but it seems that they have derived almost everything that improves their condition from outside sources. Peschel tells us: "The negro possesses, in a high degree, both the power and the inclination to adopt the benefits of foreign civilization, but they are extremely deficient in inventions of their own. . . . Had this

[1] Tyler's "Primitive Culture," Vol. I, p. 27.
[2] "Nature," 1879. [3] Tyler's "Anthropology," p. 89.

race made its appearance in Australia, they would scarcely, by their own strength, have risen above the state of the Australian nations." We search in vain for



Kurile Islanders.

any evidence of the rise of any black races to be a source of culture and enlightenment to surrounding nations. It may be true that some Mongoloid tribes of men are, at

present, lower in the scale than the African generally; but China comes before us as an instance of the rise to quite a high degree of civilization of a Mongoloid people at a very early day, which continued for ages to be a source of enlightenment to surrounding people. It may be that in ancient times Western Asia had its China in Mesopotamia. Probably few will take exceptions to the general statement that, taken as a whole, the black races represent a lower, a more primitive, state of society than the yellow races.

We need not assert that the present low condition of the black races is a proof that their intellectual endowment is of such a nature that they are incapable of achieving civilization. In this, as in a great many other questions, we must be cautious in forming conclusions. It is a simple historical fact that the negro race in Africa has had a national existence for at least five thousand years. During that time, they have accomplished nothing of importance in developing native civilization.[1] We can not explain this by laying it to unfavorable surroundings. We have learned, of late years, that the interior of Africa is a very favorably situated country, for the possession of which the principal European nations are now vigorously contending. Nor can we conclude that "they are young in the immense period necessary for the historical development of races,"[2] for the probability is that they are very old. Waitz considers the following proved: "The various degrees of culture in various people depend in a much greater degree on the mode of life, the historical events, and other elements, than on their original mental

[1] Winchell: "Preadamites," pp. 256, 257. Hunt, on the Negro: "Anthropological Review," Dec., 1863. Pim, on the Negro: same journal, Feb., 1866.

[2] Brace's "Races of the Old World," New York, 1868, p. 312.

endowment."[1] He does not deny the influence of mental endowment, but thinks it not possible to demonstrate it. It certainly seems difficult to explain the generally low condition of the black races, unless you take into account the difference in mental capacity.

Now, let us see how our general subject is advanced by the inquiries of this chapter. We have divided the various tribes of men into groups, and are thus enabled to take a more comprehensive view of the inhabitants of the world in general. Further reflection will show us that, except for the purpose of illustrating the very earliest, and therefore rudest, states of society, we will have but little to do with the black races. The same remark is, in a measure, true of the yellow races. The exception will come in in the case of China. As before remarked, China was a source of culture to surrounding nations at a very early day. Our pages will be mainly concerned with the white races, for they only were enabled to achieve civilization. We shall further discover that the civilization and culture of the world are largely Aryan. This division of the white race seems to have been the first to cast off the constitution of ancient society—that is, tribal society—and founded political society in its stead; and to this fact is probably due the high position they assumed and held in the history of civilization. They were, of course, greatly influenced in their development by the culture of Egypt and Assyria; but to assume that all our civilization dates from those two countries is to ignore a large body of facts.

How do the facts set forth in this chapter agree with the general conclusions of the first volume? We think exceedingly well. They give added interest to the question of the racial connections of the River-Drift men.[2]

[1] "Anthropology," p. 381. [2] Vol. I, p. 93.

Perhaps the Paleolithic tribes, that spread over the world before the decline in temperature that brought about the Glacial Age began, were ethnically connected with the tribes now found in Australia. In thus tracing them to the black races, is there not added significance to the statement that they appeared not to have made appreciable advance during the long term of years known as the Paleolithic Age?[1] We saw further that, after the Glacial Age had passed away, Neolithic man appeared in Europe. It was furthermore rendered probable that Neolithic man in Europe belonged to the yellow (Turanian) race.[2] We at once perceived that we were dealing with more advanced people. This accords well with the actual facts of the case. The yellow races, in the main, are certainly more advanced than the black races. We may not be able to detect what it was that started them forward on the road to civilization. For a long time, at least, they were the ruling races in the ancient world. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the black races were driven out of Asia by them, and so are now found only in Africa and Australia, with adjacent islands. They reached their highest level in China, and not a few think that the inhabitants of ancient Chaldea were of the Turanian race; and to them they would trace the rudiments of the civilization that afterwards underwent so great a development in Egypt and Mesopotamia.

We must never forget, in thinking over these and similar questions, that the unknown is still a vastly greater quantity than the known. We are to hold our views subject to further information. With the most painstaking efforts, we are not yet in position to speak with any degree of assurance—we can only say that such and such

[1] Vol. I, p. 88. [2] Ibid, pp. 212, 213.

results are in keeping with present knowledge; but, even when imbued with this spirit, we allow ourselves to dwell on the probable condition of man during the infancy of his life on this globe, how strange the scene! If we can no longer think of a stage of enlightened innocence, we can see a primeval race making their first conquest over nature, entering on that stage of progress whose end is yet far off. The whole earth was, in truth, of one blood and one speech. We need not be sure we know when, nor where, nor how, the various race types arose, nor the order in which this occurred, nor all the stages in the growth and development of language, nor of all the steps leading up to our present civilization.

We may be reasonably sure that all this took a great many ages to accomplish. Families of languages were developed and passed away. Races doubtless arose, flourished, and became extinct. Incipient culture, perhaps, originated here and there, only to be lost again; but, with all, the movement was forward. The forms of ancient society were developed, and proved sufficient to conduct man from savagery to the confines of civilization. We shall find, therefore, that it will be necessary to study, to some extent, Ancient Society, which will form the subject of the next chapter.

# CLASSIFICATION OF MEN.

In the absence of any well marked characters which could serve as a basis of classification, we would naturally expect that different individuals would adopt different schemes. M. Quatrefages recognizes three main stocks, the same as here given, with numerous branches. ("Human Species.") Dr. Winchell gives the same classification, excepting what we call the yellow races he calls the brown. ("Preadamites.") One of the earliest divisions made was almost exactly the same as this, save that the yellow races were in that scheme called red. ("Life and Works of Blumenbach," London, 1865, p. 264.) Linnæus divides mankind into four groups, separating the red, or American, group from the yellow. Blumenbach gives three principal groups, as here stated, but also gives two transitional groups—the American and the Malay—thus making five in all. Kant took one dark-brown race as the primitive stock, from which subsequently arose the red, black, and olive-colored races. Cuvier assumed three principal races, the same, substantially, as here given, but he names them the Caucasian, the Mongolian, and the Ethiopian; he leaves undecided the ethnic standing of the Oceanic negroes.

**I. BLACK RACES.**—1. WOOLLY HAIRED. This division includes the various negro races in Africa; also, the inhabitants of a chain of islands extending from Tasmania eastward to Fiji, north to New Guinea, not including Australia; also, the Negritos, or the aboriginal inhabitants of the Andaman Islands, the peninsula of Malacca and the Philippine Islands.[1]

2. STRAIGHT HAIRED. This division includes the inhabitants of Australia, and we will also include it in the aboriginal inhabitants of India.[2]

### GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS.

The prevailing color is black, or dark brown. The Bushmen of Africa are yellow, and the Hottentots are sometimes described as being copper-colored. The heads of nearly all the members of this group are narrow as compared with their

[1] The ethnical standing of the Negritos is still in doubt. Prof. Flowers asserts ("Nature," July, 1879) that they form a race apart by themselves. Winchell quotes from recent investigators to show that they are, at the bottom, Papuans, mixed with Malay blood. ("Preadamites," p. 77.)

[2] Huxley, Broca, Topinard, and Tyler are some of the authorities for this last statement. Peschel does not unite these two people, yet his description of the physical characteristics of one fit well the other. Winchell classifies them separately, but shows the several points of resemblance between them. Flowers ("Nature") does not think there are cranial resemblances sufficiently strong to justify classing them together. There is no question but there has been very great intermixture of blood in India. Prichard shows that white, yellow, and black races have here commingled. Their color and development of the pilous system separate them from the yellow races, and we think justify this classification.

length. The Negritos are an exception, and so are some of the negro tribes in Africa. In all, the lower parts of the face project forward (prognathism) more than in the other two groups. The capacity of the skull and weight of brain are also less. Their institutions and state of society are of the rudest and most archaic types. The languages are mainly agglutinating. Some of the South African approach inflection, and some are said to be isolating. (Sayce.) Their system of relationship is the most primitive.

**II. YELLOW RACES.**—This division includes probably the majority of the world's inhabitants. It is difficult to make satisfactory subdivisions. The following may be considered as a convenient grouping:

1. TURANIANS. This division includes the various tribes in Northern Asia, extending over into Europe. They constitute a linguistic family, though not one so closely connected as the Aryans. Their system of relationship is the same as the Aryans. This family has the following subdivisions: Tungus, true Mongols; Turks, Finns, and Samoyedes. Each of these latter could be still further divided. The Japanese and Coreans are closely related to the Turanians, and by some their language is classed with the Tungus. (Sayce.)

2. ASIATICS. It is difficult to find a name for this group. It includes the Chinese, the inhabitants of Thibet and the southern slopes of the Himalayas, the Burmese, Siamese, and South-eastern Asia generally. The language of this group is isolating. (Sayce.) Little is known of their system of relationship.

3. MALAYO-POLYNESIAN. This division includes the inhabitants of Oceanica generally. It is largely a mixed race. A black race, represented by the Papuans, appears to have been the foundation. Relationship, still allied to the Kafirs of Africa. Languages, agglutinative.

4. BEHRING'S FAMILY. This "includes a number of North Asiatic and American tribes, which, for the most part, inhabit the shores of Behring's Strait, or have migrated, like the Eskimos, from its shores to Greenland." (Peschel.) It includes the Eskimos, Thlinkits, and Aleutians, of America; the Itelmes, Koriaks, and Namalls, of Asia. Language, polysynthetic.

5. AMERICAN FAMILY. This includes the numerous tribes of North and South America at the time of their discovery. Language, polysynthetic; some tribes in Mexico said to have been in the isolating state. (Sayce.) Relationship, allied to the Dravidian.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS.

Color of all the Old World families, yellow, leather yellow, or yellowish brown. The Behring family has "brownish, dark-colored skin." The American family varies from "a slight darkness to copper red." Very little hair on the body; hair of the head, black, coarse and straight; prominent cheek bones; eyes, oblique; heads, broad, as compared with the length—to this last the Eskimos are an exception.

**III. WHITE RACES.**—1. THE ARYANS. This includes the inhabitants of Europe generally, and the great bulk of the immigrant people in the New World. In Asia, the Brahmins of India, the Persians, Kurds, Armenians, and Afghans. Language, inflected. Relationship, descriptive.

2. THE SEMITES. The Abyssinians and many tribes in Eastern Africa; the Hebrews, Phœnicians, Syrians, Assyrians, Chaldeans, Babylonians, and Arabs. Language, inflected. Relationship, descriptive.

3. THE HAMITES. The Berbers and several tribes in Africa; the Copts and the ancient Egyptians. Language, inflected, though weakly so. Relationship, unknown; probably descriptive.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS.

Color, fair; lightest in the Aryans, darkest in the Hamites. Dimensions and weight of the brain, greatest among the white races. In shape of the head, they occupy an intermediate position between the black and the yellow races. They have the smallest degree of prognathism. They are the historic races. The culture and civilization of the ancient world was Hamitic and Semitic; that of the modern world is Aryan.

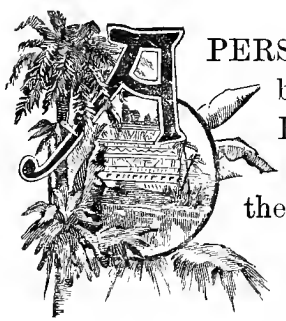
ANCIENT ARYAN

N BURIAL.

# CHAPTER II.

## ANCIENT SOCIETY.

Difficulty in understanding ancient society—Different forms of government—Tribal organization—The communal band—Group marriage—Systems of relationship—The Turanian system—The Indo-American system—The classificatory system—The customs in Australia—The class divisions of the tribes—Explanations of the Indo-American system—Africo-Polynesian system—Proves the communal band—Origin of the Australian classes—The Kamilaroi tribes in Australia—The classes the origin of the phratries—The origin of gentes—The tribes explained—Phratry explained—Gens explained—General prevalence of tribal society—Change of descent—Tribal organizations of the Hebrews—Among the Persians—The Hindoos—The Joint-family—The Celts—The Germanic tribes—The Slavonians—Joint-family among the Slavs—The ancient Greeks—Spartans—Change to political society among the Athenians—The Romans—Conclusions.



PERSON who has been blind from his birth can form no conception of color. He may hear most eloquent descriptions of the glorious color that flecks the sky when Summer's sun is setting, but the words convey no proper meaning to his mind. He may enjoy the perfume of the rose, but the exquisite painting that nature has bestowed on corolla and calyx exists not for him. Similarly, if nature has denied to him the gift of hearing, it is impossible for him to conceive of sound. He may enjoy the plumage of birds, and admire their power of flight; but their caroled songs

are not only not heard by him, but he can form no idea of what they are like. This world is very large, and its surface presents a great diversity of features. Many people, exhibiting a great variety of social life, live at different places. He who has never traveled, and at the same time is not given to reading and reflection, has but very crude ideas of other lands and people. If well read and thoughtful, he has formed mental conceptions of the same, but the probabilities are that they are far from being exact.

It is well-nigh impossible for the people of one nationality to thoroughly understand the thoughts and feelings of foreign nations. We fail to take into account national thought and feeling. Especially is this true when we have under consideration people of a different race and living in a different stage of social enlightenment. We are altogether too apt to assume that their manner of thought is the same as ours. We weigh their actions, customs, and manners by our standard. Hence it is that we meet with so many beliefs, social customs, habits of life, in the lower races of men, which seem to us to be foolish in the extreme. They may, indeed, be very foolish as viewed from our stand-point; but mankind, the world over, including even the lowest savages, as a rule, have good reasons for the course they pursue. We may see that they are foolish and childish reasons, but they never seem that way to savages.

We know that in all probability man was simply endowed with intellectual powers, which enabled him to progress. They could, therefore, no more commence their career with well-organized systems of government than they could supply those governments with the resources of modern science. In every department of human activ-

ity, in every thing which raises us above the brutes, we may be sure that mankind occupies its present vantage ground only as a result of experience gained by painful efforts. Nature took her feeble children by the hand and conducted their tottering footsteps along the road of progress. So we may be sure that no custom exists without some reason for its existence. It becomes, therefore, necessary to pass in review the savage or but partially civilized tribes, and examine their customs and manners, and see if we can determine what relation they sustain to the habits of civilized people.

And first in regard to government. It seems to us perfectly natural that bodies of men, finding themselves associated together, should at once proceed to organize themselves as a body politic. If we could conceive of one thousand Europeans of various nationalities suddenly finding themselves in possession of a large island, and cut off from communication with the rest of the world, we feel confident that some plan of organized government would appear among them before the lapse of any great length of time. And yet what seems to us as perfectly natural, is not so because of any instinctive feelings; it simply follows as a result of education and previous habits of life. Primitive man had to feel his way up to organized society.

The truth of this statement is probably not seriously questioned by any one at all conversant with the result of recent researches into primitive life and times. We are all familiar with political organizations of the most enlightened states at the present. This kind of government is territorial, and not personal; the state is in possession of a certain definite territory; in most cases its boundary is well defined; its code of laws takes effect in

that territory; all persons residing therein are under its sway, and are equally entitled to its protection; this territory is generally subdivided for the purpose of local government into smaller areas, such as counties, parishes, cantons, communes, etc.; but here again local government is simply a question of territory.

This seems to us perfectly simple and natural; yet ages passed before any people hit on this expedient. The Aryans were the first people to institute a state. The struggle of ancient Greece to throw off tribal society, and adopt modern political society, extended over some centuries of time, and forms one of the most interesting chapters in its history. The same is true of Rome. A state, in the modern significance of the term, first appeared in Greece, as a result of the legislation of Cleisthenes, B. C. 509. Before that time, there were but different forms of tribal society. This form of social organization had been able to accomplish considerable. It built up, at an early day, a wonderful civilization in Egypt; also, in Babylonia and Assyria. To this day more people are living under what is essentially a tribal organization than the other. They have not been able to grasp the idea of a state, or perhaps we had better say they have not felt the necessity of the same.

It is necessary, therefore, to define what we mean by tribal organization. This does not present an invariable form. Two people may both possess governments based on tribal organization, yet differ greatly in details. The specialization of the different departments of government may be much more forward in one than in another. This remark probably needs no illustration, but we might refer to the league of the Iroquois. This organization was worthy of admiration, but it was not the equal of the

Aztec confederacy in Mexico. Still, we can not suppose that even the simplest, the rudest, form of tribal organization was so simple that primitive man at once adopted it. It must necessarily be a growth out of some pre-existing state of society; it must have originated because it met some felt want.

The commencement of tribal organization is lost in the very night of time. In its more primitive form, it is probably seen in some of the more savage tribes of to-day. In its higher forms, it is to be found among the nomadic tribes of Asia. In its highest form, we will need to search the histories of ancient Greece and Rome to obtain clear ideas of the same. It was unable to meet the wants of a rich and varied civilization. Thus it is that at the dawn of history we perceive the principal Aryan nations engaged in the solution of a most difficult social problem. It was nothing less than the substitution of modern society for the ancient form under which mankind had lived from time immemorial.

It is doubtful if we appreciate the magnitude of this problem. At the present day, our most enlightened nations—our own country and Europe—find looming up before them most grave social problems. It remains to be seen whether our present civilization will successfully solve this problem. No one knows what changes may be in store for us. The people of ancient Greece and Rome had to consider much the same condition of things. At both Athens and Rome a state of affairs had gradually arisen that imperatively called for some change in government. But how were the rulers to form any conception of a government different from that they already had? There was no model for them to copy. To the reflective citizen of ancient Greece, the future must have

seemed full of most gloomy forebodings. His people were about to abandon the only form of social organization for governmental purposes he knew anything about, to enter on new and untried methods. No wonder it took some centuries of time and a succession of gifted men to make the adjustments. We must express our admiration that they were enabled to make this change without blasting their already high civilization. Let us hope their descendants of a later day may be equally as fortunate in dealing with their social problems.

We come, then, to the conclusion that in ancient times tribal organization for governmental purposes was the only form of government known. But this does not present an unvariable form. It varied according to the degree of enlightenment of the people—according to the advance they had made in other respects. It is, therefore, a developed organization, and consequently its growth is a question for study. We are at liberty to consider the probable origin of the same, and can study its probable archaic form among the ruder, less developed tribes of to-day. Its origin is, indeed, lost in the prehistoric ages, and we must resort to theory, which is allowable if we will only square our theory with ascertained facts. We will find that the investigation here proposed opens up a most interesting chapter in the history of man, and throws light on a great many primeval customs, some of which still influence us at the present day, though we have lost all knowledge of their origin.

Like a good many institutions, we have general ideas of what is meant by a tribe, but it is rather of a hard matter to express this meaning in words. It is not every wandering body of savages that constitutes a tribe. It is often quite a complex organization, and it need not sur-

prise us to know that it is only within the last few years that we have learned of its constituent parts. Older writers, and travelers generally, often used the word *tribe* where *gens* or *phratry* should have been used, and in this way some wrong conclusions were reached. Perhaps we can best understand the organization of a tribe, and the constituent parts of which it is composed, by considering its probable origin.

We do not want to keep dwelling on the low condition of primitive man, and yet we are in constant danger of reasoning, in regard to his probable actions during his primeval life, as if he were in possession of a large amount of information, which he could have gained only by experience. The only safe way is to assume that he started at the zero point of humanity, and in this way we must conceive of his primitive social organization. There is, of course, reasonable ground to differ as to what would be considered the primitive social organization. We may safely assume that man was always a sociable being. We may assume further that his passions were always active, and that he was always courageous, and was always ready to fight for his real or supposed rights; always ready to risk his life in defense of the band with whom he was associated.

But what were the relations of the members of this band to each other? That is the very point at issue. As even the very lowest of existing savage tribes have undoubtedly been able to make considerable advance, we need not expect to find any examples of a band organized on the same basis as were probably the men of primeval times. Scholars have differed considerably in their final conclusions in this matter. We will state what we think the relation was, give the lines of reasoning which conduct

to this conclusion, and examine authorities to see how we are sustained.

We will state, then, that at first the division could only have been made along the line of sex. Supposing we conceive of a band of these savages landing on a hitherto uninhabited island. We will suppose them to be of about the same age, and that the number of men and women was about the same. We must conceive of the entire absence of marriage, as we understand the term. None the less, however, did this relation exist; but it was what is called the communal marriage—every man, for instance, being, theoretically, the husband of every woman. As time passed on, the second generation would reach the stage of manhood and womanhood. Here, again, communal marriage would exist. Every male of this generation, for instance, being, theoretically, husband to every female. As marriage was in the group, so was relationship in the group. Between these two generations, or two groups, existed the relation of parent and child.

Theoretically, every male in the first group was father to every individual in the second group. Similarly, every female was mother to every individual in the second. Or, taken collectively, the first group was parent to the second group. The second group was not only husband and wife to each other, but they were brothers and sisters as well. In like manner, the third generation would form a brother and sister-group, and a marriage group as well. The first, or original, group would be grandparents to the third. The same relations would exist between the second and third groups as between the first and second. Thus would each generation form, by itself, a brother and sister-group, which

was also a marriage group, and it would stand in some direct lineal relationship to all the preceding and following groups. Practically, there would be but few of these groups living at the same time. Terms to express five groups only need be employed. Any individual group would recognize as preceding it a parent and a grandparent-group; as following it, a child and grandchild-group.

We have thus briefly sketched what we regard as the social organization of the primitive tribes, and are ready to discuss the position here assumed. But, in the first place, in regard to the name. Morgan calls such a state of society the "consanguine family."[1] Lubbock uses the term "hetairism," or the phrase "communal marriage," to designate this social state.[2] Bachofen[3] and McLennan[4] use the same language. Powell[5] styles it the "communal family." Howitt[6] expresses this state of society by the phrase "undivided commune." Here we have certainly a variety to choose from, but we make free to adopt one differing from any here given. We will call it the *communal band.* We will have to admit that no known example of a band organized just in this way exists. The organization of tribes among the lowest of existing savages has been studied in many parts of the world. Though we have thus learned many curious facts, yet we have come across no example of a communal band; nor do we find any instance of such a band in the pages of ancient history. It is true that Herodotus, Pliny, Strabo, and others mention instances of this kind,[7] but in all such

[1] "Ancient Society," New York, 1878, p. 401, *et seq.*

[2] "Primitive Man," New York, 1871, pp. 67–70.

[3] "Das Mutterrecht." [4] "Studies in Ancient History," p. 130.

[5] "Third Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology," p. 17.

[6] "Kamilaroi and Kurnai," Melbourne, 1880, p. 364.

[7] See paper by Charnock in "Anthropologia," London, 1873, p. 165; also, Morgan: "Ancient Society," p. 501.

cases it is extremely probable that the writers did not have a clear understanding of the facts of the case. It is, then, necessary to present quite a body of facts, bearing on this question, which shall present strong evidence in favor of the social organization here proposed, before we accept it as probably true. But let us pause right here to notice one objection that may be brought forward. Some might think that, instinctively, mankind would revolt from such a relationship as this. Peschel[1] remarks that "the hypothesis that at a remote age marriage was unknown to the human race is hardly credible," and, he remarks, "that even among animals we sometimes find strict pairing," and refers to examples which are more or less familiar to all. Darwin,[2] judging from the principle of jealousy in the animal world, doubts the community of wives at an extremely early time. Both these writers' remarks, however, are aimed at a state of society that some suppose to lie back of even the communal band. Into that field we do not follow them. We are concerned only with the first organized society.[3]

Our ideas, as to what constitutes propriety in the matrimonial state, depend almost entirely on usage and custom. Civilized man revolts at certain states of society amongst rude tribes—not from instinctive feeling, but because their usages contravene his ideas of propriety, which have been fostered by the education and refinement of civilized lands Nature does not teach that polygamy is wrong, since we find it almost universally practiced amongst the lower races. The question of monogamy seems to some people a scandalous practice—"just like

[1] "Races of Men," New York, 1876, p. 229.
[2] "Descent of Man," London, 1879, p. 591.
[3] "Ancient Society," p. 418.

the monkeys," they exclaim.[1] The custom of one woman marrying several husbands[2] is thought by McLennan to have been almost universal once.[3] He gives a formidable list of people practicing it. We think, however, that many of his instances are really examples of communal marriage.[4]

The first missionaries to the Sandwich Islands were greatly shocked at what they found there, which was nothing more nor less than the survival, to a limited degree, of group marriage. Such a survival, as we will soon see, extends over a wide range of country. As far as any instinctive feeling was concerned, these natives were living in quite as proper a manner as the excellent missionaries themselves. In almost all of the lower races which have individual marriages, the strength of the tie is very feeble. Of some it is stated that the parties separate, "as a matter of course," when the child is weaned.[5] Generally speaking, divorce is at the pleasure of the parties. In short, we will find the most diverse customs in vogue in regard to marriage, and if we once set out to investigate them, we will soon come to the conclusion that as far as natural feelings are concerned in this matter, they revolt only at what is, to the individual, strange.

There is, then, no natural reason to object to group marriage. On the other hand, some customs of savage people seem to pave the way to a belief in group marriage. Is it not a group of persons that holds and inherits land? Where an office goes by inheritance, the right is to the group, and not the individual. It is a group that is

[1] Lubbock: "Prehistoric Times," New York, 1878, p. 449.

[2] "Polyandria." [3] "Studies in Ancient History," p. 143.

[4] Lubbock: "Primitive Man," p. 100. Fison: "Kamilaroi and Kurnai," Melbourne, 1880, p. 144.

[5] Andaman Islanders. ("Primitive Man," p. 60.)

responsible to another group for the wrong-doings of one of its members. It is a group that demands that this wrong be righted. In short, a group is always the social unit in savage life. We ask, then, with Mr. Fison, "What difficulty is there in the way of our accepting the fact that it is the group which marries and is given in marriage?"[1]

But now we must address ourselves to questions of proof. It is not sufficient to show that there are no natural objections to the theory; or even that, for some reasons, we would naturally expect to find traces of such an organization among the lower races. Let us, then, see if this theoretical state of society will explain the probable origin of any of the institutions still existing among some of the ruder tribes. We will find that it does explain, in a very full and satisfactory manner, the strange system of relationship which we will call the Africo-Polynesian. Indeed, it seems difficult to otherwise account for this system. We will examine the general subject of relationships, and see wherein the peculiarities of the last named system consists.

It would seem, at first glance, as if a system of relationship was not only a dry and uninteresting subject, but of what avail would a knowledge of the same be in helping us to a clear understanding of the condition of society in early times? But investigation soon shows that we are laboring under wrong impressions in both cases. It not only proves a most interesting field of research, and sheds a flood of light on a vast number of savage and barbarian customs, but speaks as well, in no uncertain terms, of a condition of society which, happily, long since disappeared from the earth. Therefore, we

[1] "Kamilaroi and Kurnai," Melbourne, 1880, p. 158.

think it best to spend some time in trying to make clear the salient points of several systems of relationships, believing that the reader will find in the same much of profit.

Under the system of social life prevalent among ourselves and the Aryan nations generally, any individual, in general, readily recognizes that he stands in much closer relationship to some persons than to others. The primary, and what are, under our system of marriage (*i. e.*, monogamy), the natural, relationships are recognized by all Aryan nations. The same is true of other ethnic stocks, such as the Semitic and Turanian[1] people, who are essentially monogamous. These primary relationships are such as father and mother, brother and sister, son and daughter. But, aside from expressing these primary relationships, it is necessary in social life to distinguish many more The individual, besides seeing and expressing the relationship to his father and mother, wishes to express also his relationship to the brothers and sisters of his parents.

How shall we do this? We all know we use general terms—uncle and aunt—but not all of the Aryan people have such general terms, and, from a variety of reasonings, we conclude that there was a time when they were not generally used. To describe them, then, it was necessary to compound some of the primary terms and use such expressions as "father's brother" or "mother's sister." We can see, also, that by simply using several of these primary terms we could describe any individual to whom we were at all related—such, for instance, as "father's brother's son" (*i. e.*, cousin), or "father's father's father's son's son's son" (*i. e.*, third

[1] Remember, this stock is variously named. See p. 40.

cousin). Such a method as this is called the descriptive system, and is the system of the Aryan, Turanian, and Semitic people, but not, as far as we know, of other ethnic stocks.

But we can also readily see that such a system would tend to break down, by its own weight, when we have to use such a roundabout way as we have described to express the relationship of third cousin; we would naturally expect some general expression to appear and take the place of the several words; and, in effect, this is just what happened, though several nations remained true to the descriptive method, and none departed very widely therefrom.[1] The Erse and Gaelic retained the descriptive method. In most cases, however, general terms appeared for the near relations.

The table which we give fully illustrates the entire matter. It will be observed we have taken only near relatives in each case, and have given the designation of the same in ten of the principal families in the stocks named. The Erse, it will be noticed, remains descriptive throughout; but the others show a number of variations. We have uncles and aunts on the side of each of our parents. You will notice that while, in each example here given, aside from the Erse, general terms are employed to express this relation, yet considerable difference exists as to the degree of generalization expressed by the term. In the relation of uncle and aunt, the English, the French, and the Germans make no distinction of the uncles and aunts on father or mother's side. The Romans, the Greeks, and the Finns put each one in a class by itself. The Hebrew falls back on the descriptive

[1] Tables of the relationship of thirty-nine nations of the Aryan, Semitic, and Turanian (Uralian) people are given in "Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity."

# ARYAN RELATIONSHIPS.

| FAMILIES. | | NEPHEW AND NIECE GROUP. | | | | UNCLE AND AUNT GROUP. | | | | COUSIN GROUP. | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | BROTHER'S SON. | BROTHER'S DAUGHTER. | SISTER'S SON. | SISTER'S DAUGHTER. | FATHER'S BROTHER. | FATHER'S SISTER. | MOTHER'S BROTHER. | MOTHER'S SISTER. | FATHER'S BROTHER'S SON. | FATHER'S BROTHER'S DAUGHTER. | FATHER'S SISTER'S SON. | FATHER'S SISTER'S DAUGHTER. | MOTHER'S BROTHER'S SON. | MOTHER'S BROTHER'S DAUGHTER. | MOTHER'S SISTER'S SON. | MOTHER'S SISTER'S DAUGHTER. |
| 5 ENGLISH | ARYANS. | Nephew | Niece | Nephew | Niece | Uncle | Aunt | Uncle | Aunt | Cousin | Cousin | Cousin | Cousin | Cousin | Cousin | Cousin | Cousin |
| 5-1 FRENCH | ARYANS. | Mon neveu | Ma nièce | Mon neveu | Ma nièce | Mon oncle | Ma tante | Mon oncle | Ma tante | Mon cousin-germain | Ma cousine-germain | Mon cousin | Ma cousine | Mon cousin | Ma cousine | Mon cousin | Ma cousine |
| 5 GERMAN | ARYANS. | Neffe | Nichte | Neffe | Nichte | 3 Oheim | 3 Muhme | 3 Oheim | 3 Muhme | 3 Vetter | 3 Base | 3 Vetter | 3 Base | 3 Vetter | 3 Base | 3 Vetter | 3 Base |
| LATIN | ARYANS. | 2 Fratris filius | 2 Fratris filia | 2 Sorosis filius | 2 Sorosis filia | 5 Patruus | 5 Amita | 5 Avunculus | 5 matertera | 2-3 Patrui filius | 2-3 Patrui filia | 2-3 Amitae filius | 2-3 Amitae filia | 2-6-3 Avunculi filius | 2-3 Avunculi filia | 2-3 Materterae filius | 2-3 Materterae filia |
| 5 GREEK | ARYANS. | 3 Adelphidous | 3-4 Adelphidē | 3 Adelphidous | 3 Adelphide | 3 Patrōs | 3 Patradelphe | 3 metros | 3 mētradelphē | 3 Anepsios | 3 Anepsia | 3 Anepsios | 3 Anepsia | 3 Anepsios | 3 Anepsia | 3 Anepsios | 3 Anepsia |
| 2 ERSE | ARYANS. | Măc mo drihăr | Ineean mo drihar | Mac mo driffer | Ineean mo driffer | Drihar m'ahar | Driffur mahar | Drihar mo vahar | Driffur mo vahar | Mac drihar mahar | Ineean drihar mahar | Mac driffer mahar | Ineean mo driffer mahar | Mac drihar mo vahar | Ineean drihar mo vahar | Mac driffer mo vahar | Ineean driffer mo vahar |
| HEBREW | SEMITIC. | 2 Ben akhī | 2 Bāth akhī | 2 Bēn khōthī | 2 Bāth khōthī | 5 Dōdhī | 5-3 Dōdhāthī | 2 khi immi | 2 khoth immi | 2 Bēn dōdhī | 2 Bāth dōdhī | 2 Bēn dōdhāthī | 2 Bath dōdhāthī | | | | |
| ARABIC | SEMITIC. | 2 Ibn akhi | 2 Bint akhi | 2 Ibn akhti | 2 Bint akhti | 5 Ammi | 5 Ammeti | 5 Khâli | 5 Khaleti | 2 Ibn ammi | 2 Bint ammi | 2 Ibn ammeti | 2 Bint ammeti | 2 Ibn khâli | 2 Bint khali | 2 Ibn khâlēti | 2 Bint khâleti |
| 1 TURK | TURANIAN. | Yĕyĕn im | Yĕyĕu im | 4 Yĕyĕnmi | 4 Yĕyĕnmi | 5-3 Ammim | 5 Hälämm | 5 Dayim | 5 Diäzăm | 2 Amŭjâmun oghlu | 2 Amŭjâmun kŭsŭ | 2 Hälam oghlŭ | 2 Hälăm kŭsŭ | 2 Dâyim oghlu | 2 Dâyime kŭsŭ | 2 diäzăme ŏghlu | 2 Diäzăm kŭsŭ |
| FINNS | TURANIAN. | 3-2 Veljen poikă | 2 Veljen tytar | 3-2 Sĭsăren poĭkă | 2 Sĭsaren tytăr | 5 Setănĭ | 5 Tatĭnĭ | 5 Enŏnĭ | 5 Tati | 5-3 Serkuni | 5-3 Serkuni | 5-3 Serkuni | 5-3 Serkuni | 5-3 Serkuni | 5-3 Serkuni | 5-3 Serkuni | 5-3 Serkuni |

1. The pronoun *my* used. 2. Descriptive. 3. Other term or terms also used. This is the preferred one. 4. Male speaking. A female would describe this same relative differently. 5. Not descriptive 6. The alternative word here is *consobrinus*, whence comes our word *cousin*. It is interesting to note how we have extended the meaning of this special term to the whole class. It is significant that the term on the mother's side survived.

method for the relation on the mother's side. The Arabic makes one class of these relatives on each parent's side (the only distinction being one of gender). The Turks assign different words to the relatives on the father's side, but one word, differing in gender, suffices for these relatives on the mother's side. So, if we examine the cousin groups, we observe that the English, the Greeks, and the Finns are the only examples given which make one general class for cousins. The French separate out the cousins on the father's brother's side. The Germans have a class of male and female cousins. The Hebrews, Arabs, Romans, and Turks fall back on the descriptive method. We see, from this table, that the system of relationship is plainly descriptive in the families we are considering; such general expressions as have come into use to avoid the inconvenient length of the descriptive phrases are but few, and always include natural groups.

Now let us see what conclusions seem strengthened by the facts already brought out. We will probably admit that some system of expressing relationship is a necessity amongst all races of men wherever organized society exists, and in consequence there are definitely established relations between the sexes; some individuals, or classes of individuals, would perceive that they stood in closer relationship or connection to other individuals than to mankind in general. They would as surely have words to express this state of things. When once such a system is established, it would be very slow indeed to change; nothing but universal consent could change it, and this consent would certainly be withheld unless some universal change in the social relations should occur, and even then this change would not necessarily register

itself in a change of the system. Within the last thousand years, no change of any importance has taken place in the Aryan system, and probably will not in a thousand years to come, unless the family itself should change.

The Roman lawyers had occasion to draw up a scheme showing the relationship existing in Rome many centuries ago. They could have done nothing more than to put in formal shape and language what was the ordinary custom of the times. The scheme, as it appears, is a perfect *expose* of the Ayran system in general; slight changes have, of course, occurred. They have no general word for cousin, yet our word cousin comes from a Latin word, *consobrinus*. Our word nephew comes from their word *nepos*, meaning grandson. Such changes as these are unimportant; they do not concern the substance of the system. Language may change—may come to be entirely different—but, unless the state of society changes, the system itself will remain unchanged.

In regard to the descriptive system in general, we want to observe that it is a perfectly natural system if we will only start with the assumption of marriage between single pairs. The primary relationships would then stand out very plainly—father and mother, brother and sister, son and daughter; such individuals would certainly be perceived; terms to express such relationship would certainly spring up. Further, at an early day, before the invention of general terms, an individual who wished to express the relation of uncle could do so in no other way than by saying "father's brother" or "mother's brother," which is the descriptive method. It is enough for our purpose to point out that this system of describing relations is a perfectly natural one given the mono-

gamian family. It would not be natural under any other state of society that we could imagine.

In the descriptive system, general terms to express relationship will not appear with that ease which we would naturally suppose they would. The table already given amply illustrates this point. When the various Aryan nations first commenced their wanderings, they undoubtedly had much the same family (monogamian) as now; yet it is a significant fact that they had not originated any general terms. These terms are not derived from some common word. Each nation had to originate them for itself. The Erse and Gaelic of the Celtic race, one of the first Aryan nations to commence its wanderings, remained true to this system. They kept faithfully the system as given them. What would be more convenient than to possess some common word to signify the same as my "brothers and sisters?" Yet no language has been able to coin such a word and give it general currency. We conclude, then, that systems of relationships can not be adopted, or modified, or laid aside at pleasure; that in their origin, at least, they must have correctly expressed the natural relations to which the social organization then in vogue would give rise; that when once established, they have a remarkable vitality, and resist any attempted change with great strength. We have decided further that the descriptive system is a natural result of the monogamian family; so much so that when informed of the presence of one of these institutions among any people, we are reasonably safe in presuming the presence of the other. We will now consider some other systems of relationship.

We have learned that all the lower races of men are extremely reluctant to enlighten travelers as to their social

customs. Even those who have lived among them for many years are seldom favored with this information; and when it is imparted, it is only under the most solemn promises of secrecy. After some centuries of contact with our Indian tribes, it was discovered that we knew nothing of the organization of the tribes, or of their system of relationship. Hence it is that we must receive with so many grains of allowance those highly-colored accounts of society, etc., among the Mexicans and Peruvians with which the early explorers satisfied the curiosity of Europe, and which, even at this day, charm so many. Educated missionaries who have lived among rude tribes long enough to learn their language thoroughly, so as to speak it fluently, have frequently learned, to their surprise, when their attention was turned to the subject, that they knew really nothing of much that was essential to a clear knowledge of the social customs of the people among whom they lived. Passing travelers, even those who are cautious in their statements, are seldom qualified to speak understandingly on these subjects.

From the foregoing, we see we need not be surprised to learn that it is only of late years that the existence of another and different system of relationship, implying greatly different social customs, has become known, nor need we feel surprised that a certain class of scholars are still loth to receive the same with all its necessary corollaries, but modern researches seem to be fast demonstrating the truth of this statement. Mr. Lewis H. Morgan, an adopted member of the Seneca-Iroquois Indian tribe, had his attention called to the singular system of describing relationship among the tribe of which he was a member. He subsequently found that this same method was in use among the Iroquois generally. Struck by its singularity,

and supposing it to be peculiar to these Indians, he gave an account of it in a work published as early as 1851.[1]

It was not until some years later, when he found himself among the Ojibway Indians, south of Lake Superior, speaking a different stock language than the Iroquois, that he made the discovery that they, too, had this same system. This suggested the possibility of its still greater extension. It suffices to say that Mr. Morgan was able in the course of a few years to show that it prevailed generally among the Indian tribes of the New World, excepting the Eskimos. To give his investigations a world-wide scope, a very extensive correspondence was opened with men in different parts of the globe who were qualified to give information. The good offices of the government were obtained and consuls were asked to get the customs of the people among whom they lived, in this respect. The various missionary societies were asked to allow their representatives to obtain the filling out of the schedules sent them. In this way, a great mass of information was obtained. The results were finally published with the assistance of the Smithsonian Institute.

We have been thus full in describing the source of our information, simply because the results following from it are too momentous to be based on anything but the best of evidence. We will present another table and then see what conclusions we can draw from it.

In this table we have taken two people, speaking entirely different languages, separated by many thousand miles of land and water. The first, the Seneca-Iroquois, is typical of Indian relations in general; but few variations from this standard occur. The second, the Tamil, is typical of the Dravidian tribes in India. The position of the

[1] "League of the Iroquois."

# INDO-AMERICAN RELATIONSHIPS.

| Description of Person. | Relation in Seneca. | Translation. | Relationship in Tamil. | Translation. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| My Father | Hä'-nih | My Father | En Tăkkăppăn | My Father | En = pronoun my. |
| " Mother | No-yeh' | " Mother | Tay | " Mother | |
| Son | Hâ-ah'-wuk | Son | Măkăn | " Son | |
| Daughter | Ka-ah'-wuk | Daughter | " Măkăl | Daughter | |
| " Brother (elder) | Hä'-je | elder Brother | " Tamaiyan | " elder Brother | |
| " (younger) | Ha'-gă | " younger Brother | " Tambi | younger Brother | |
| " Sister (elder) | Ah'-je | elder Sister | Akkărl | " elder Sister | |
| " " (younger) | Ka'-gă | younger Sister | " Tangaichchi | younger Sister | |
| " Brother's Son | Hâ-ah'-wuk | " Son | Măkăn | " Son | |
| " " Daughter | Ka-ah wuk | Daughter | " Măkăl | " Daughter | Male Speaking. |
| " Sister's Son | Ha yă'-wan-da | " Nephew | " Mărŭmăkăn | " Nephew | Male Speaking. |
| " " Daughter | Ka-yă'-wan-da | " Niece | Mărŭmăkăl | " Niece | Male Speaking. |
| " Brother's Son | Ha-soh'-neh | Nephew | " Mărŭmăkăn | " Nephew | Female speaking. |
| " Daughter | Ka-soh'-neh | " Niece | " Marumakal | " Niece | Female speaking. |
| " Sister's Son | Ha-ah'-wuk | " Son | " Măkăn | " Son | Female speaking. |
| " Daughter | Ka-ah'-wuk | " Daughter | " Makal | " Daughter | Female speaking. |
| Father's Brother | Hä'-nih | " Father | " Tăkkăppăn | " Father | Terms for elder and younger. |
| " Sister | Ah-ga'-huc | " Aunt | " Attai | " Aunt | |
| Mother's Brother | Hoc no'-seh | " Uncle | " Mămăn | " Uncle | |
| " Sister | No-yeh' | Mother | " Tay | " Mother | Terms for elder and younger. |
| " Father's Brother's Son | Hä'-je | " elder Brother | " Tamaiyan | " elder Brother | If younger, term for younger brother used. |
| " " Daughter | Ah'-je | " Sister | " Akkarl | " Sister | If younger, term for younger sister used. |
| " Sister's Son | Ah-gare'-seh | " Cousin | " Attăn | " Cousin | |
| " " Daughter | Ah-gare'-seh | " " | Măittuni | " " | This term also used for the preceding. |
| " Mother's Brother's Son | | " " | " Măittŭnăn | " " | |
| " " Daughter | " " | " " | " Măittŭni | " " | |
| " Sister's Son | Hä'-je | elder Brother | " Tamaiyan | " elder Brother | If younger, term for younger brother used. |
| " " " Daughter | Ah'-je | " " Sister | " Akkarl | " Sister | If younger, term for younger sister used. |

Chinese is not as yet well settled. This system is called the classificatory. The primary terms are never used in composition to express relationship. All blood relations are arranged into great classes or categories. All individuals in a class are conceived as standing in the same relation to a certain individual.

Let us carefully notice the peculiarities of the classificatory system. All the relations are conceived in classes. You will notice a class of fathers, which includes not only the natural father, but all of his brothers; not only his natural brothers, but all of his brother-group. The same is true of the mother-group. Brother or sister means more than the same words in the descriptive system, since they include not only the natural brothers and sisters, but half of the cousins as well, and remember that this last term is itself the name of a group. The sister-group is of like extension. The son-group includes not only the sons of the individual, but the sons of all his brothers as well; that is, the sons of all his brother-group. The sister-group is of like extension. In short, relationships are in groups, and every individual in the group or class is supposed to stand in equal relationship to the individual. Every individual in the father-group is supposed to stand in as close relationship to the son as the natural father. Individual relationships are lost sight of, but the class relationships are kept alive.

We must notice that these relationships are in some cases different, according to the sex of the person speaking. A man speaks of his brother's son as son, of his brother's daughter as daughter; of his sister's son as nephew, of his sister's daughter as niece. A woman reverses these, and speaks of her brother's son as nephew, of his daughter as niece; of her sister's son as son, of her daughter as

daughter. An uncle, then, in this system, is the brother of my mother, but not of my father; so an aunt is sister of my father, but not of my mother. But, in each case, it is of a group that we are talking. The children of this uncle and aunt-group, as here defined, are cousins. But this includes only a part of the real cousins, since all the cousins on my father's brother's side and my mother's sister's side are my brothers and sisters. We must observe that we have two words for brother and sister, according as these individuals are older or younger than the person speaking. It would be well to notice that the lineal groups (father, mother, brother, sister, son, daughter) are larger than they are by nature. The father-group includes more than the natural father, and the same is true of each of the other lineal groups. But the reverse is true of the collateral (uncle, aunt, nephew, niece, cousin) groups. My uncle-group includes a part only of my natural uncles, and the same is true of each of the other collateral groups. We must observe that, as we recede from our system, the tendency is to merge the collateral groups in the lineal—a very important observation, since we will soon learn of a system that has no collateral group.

As to the name of this system and the people employing it. It is classificatory, as we have seen, but there are different kinds of classificatory systems. As this prevails extensively in both India and America, we may call it the Indo-American system. The Eskimos have a mixed system. It is like the Indo-American in some respects, but in others is like the Aryan. Perhaps the Eskimos have been influenced by contact with the Turanians. The Guara-speaking people in the north of India show all evidence in their system of relationship of a conflict between the Aryan (Sanscrit) and the Dravidian people. This, of

itself, shows a great intermixture of people in this section. The system of China is an anomalous one, but it presents several points of resemblance to this system, and in some respects it approaches a more primitive form still.

Now, what conclusions seem to follow from this system, which is found in such widely-scattered people? It seems evident that there must have been a time once when the relationships expressed by this system were the true ones. How else can we conceive of its origin, unless it truthfully expressed the relationships to which some form of social organization gave rise? McLennan thinks that[1] the terms of the classificatory system are simply ceremonial terms of address. It is certainly very hard to believe that the Indians of America and the Dravidians of India both hit on substantially the same form of ceremonial addresses! But, be that as it may, since McLennan wrote we have learned much of the social organization of the Australian tribes, and there we find ourselves face to face with a form of the family which as naturally gives rise to this method of designating kindred as does the monogamian family give use to the descriptive method.[2] Hence, we need have no hesitation in rejecting McLennan's theory. We will address ourselves, then, to a study of the Australian system.

Probably all are aware of the strange isolation of Australia. It seems to have had no connection with the continent of Asia since a very early geological age, and, consequently, forms of animal and plant life of that early era have survived in Australia, though they have long since passed away over the globe generally. In their

[1] "Studies in Ancient History," p. 372.

[2] Our facts in reference to the Australians are drawn mainly from the extremely valuable memoir of Fison and Howitt on the "Kamilaroi and Kurnai," Melbourne, 1880.

island home they have not had to come in competition with other and more vigorous forms, and so have held their own. It is fully in keeping with this state of facts that here we should also come across a form of society which is believed to have been once of wide extension, but which has given away, in most regions, to a much better form. It has, however, survived in Australia, and, with a knowledge of its characteristic features, we can obtain clear ideas of a most interesting phase of society in the early ages.

A large number of Australian tribes are divided primarily into two classes or divisions. Each class or division has a name, and every individual in that class has that for one of his names. These names are, of course, not the same in the various tribes, yet the classes themselves are considered the equivalents of each other; that is, a member of Class A, in one tribe, is considered as brother to Class B in a second tribe. As already remarked, most of these tribes are divided into two classes. Such a division is found not only in Australia, but in tribes widely scattered over Polynesia, and is true of tribes in Africa as well. Not every tribe in Australia has this division, but it extends clear across the continent in both directions. In quite a number of tribes, these primary classes are themselves divided into two classes, so that the tribes appear as if divided into four, instead of two, classes.

We are not to regard these classes as found in Australian tribes as the equivalent of phratries, as discussed in the previous volume. We may ultimately see fit to regard them as the starting point of the phratry, but they are something different from the phratry itself. The gens appear as subdivisions of these classes. Each

gens is distinguished by its totem. Yet, for all this, the class divisions are not phratries. Theoretically speaking, these classes are nothing more nor less than *intermarrying groups*. For instance, one large tribe in South Australia is divided into two classes, called the Kumite and Kroki classes. Every man in the first group is called a Kumite, and every man in the second group is a Kroki. Every woman in the first group is a Kumitegor, and every woman in the second group is a Krokigor. Every individual in the tribe belongs to one or the other of these divisions.

Now, marriage, as we understand the term, is theoretically unknown. The group Kumite is, theoretically, husband to the group Krokigor; the group Kroki husband to the group Kumitegor — meaning, in both cases, individuals of the same generation. We have used the word *theoretical*. This is because, in practical life, the present native usage is in advance of this, but this ancient communal right exists and frequently asserts itself. Informants from the most widely scattered parts of Australia join in confirming this fact. If a Kroki meets a Kumitegor, even though they be strangers to each other, yet they have the right to regard each other as husband and wife, and no one can deny tl 's right.

More than this can be asserted. As we have said, the names of the divisions in different tribes are generally different, yet they have a method of knowing which of the divisions are the equivalents of each other. Thus, if a Kumite goes on a friendly visit to another tribe, the natives have no difficulty in deciding to which of their classes he belongs, and during his stay in the tribe he has all the theoretical marriage rights that any member of that division has. Present usages are in advance of the

theory. Practically, these natives have a very loose form of polygamy; but this theoretical right is still active, and in the instance just given it is acknowledged. In many other cases it is also seen and acknowledged.

Yet we can not say that these Australians are licentious. They are simply following the customs of their country. They are very prompt to punish any violation of what is proper, as they understand it. Should one Kumite marry a Kumitegor, even though in reality there should be no relation between them, it is regarded by them as incest, and punished with death. These class divisions are strong enough to protect the female captive taken in war. Should a Kumite warrior capture a woman of a class the equivalent of his, he dare not marry her. His life might be the penalty should he disregard this custom.[1] We can easily see how the first explorers would fail of understanding this system, and so would represent the Australians as being in the lowest depths of social depravity. To avoid paining ears polite, they would resort to the Latin language when describing their manner of life. The Australians were, indeed, low down in savagery, but they were living quite properly, according to their customs. They were living in group marriage, and, further, this marriage exerted its sway across the entire continent, and held in theoretical marriage individuals who were complete strangers to each other. Hence the disgust of travelers generally, who knew nothing of this form of marriage. And even now, in spite of the strong testimony from many sources, some may doubt

[1] This last position is well established. ("Kamilaroi and Kurnai," pp. 65, 67; also, pp. 343–345.) It will be seen, then, that Sir John Lubbock is mistaken when he asserts "a warrior who had captured a beautiful girl would claim a peculiar right to her. . . . The tribe had no right to her." ("Primitive Man," p. 70.) We will return to this point.

it. It is, however, well established among many Australian tribes.

Here, then, we have a case of group marriage. Let us get this fully in our mind. It is not the individual Kumite that is married to the individual Krokigor, but the group Kumite to the group Krokigor. Marriage being thus in groups, what more natural than that relationships should also be in groups? Such is exactly what they are. Of the same generation, every Kumite is brother to each other; every Kumitegor is sister to the other; and, together, they form a brother and sister-group. The same is true of the Kroki class. Amongst the Australians and rude tribes, quite generally descent follows the mother; that is to say, if the mother is a Kumitegor, her children belong to the Kumite class. And so, also, of the children of a Krokigor. The group Kumite marries the group Krokigor. It follows, then, that the group Kroki of one generation regards the group Kumite of the preceding generation as father.

In short, every relationship given in the table on page 107, of the Indo-American series, follows as a natural consequence from the division of the Australian tribe into intermarrying classes, as here set forth. As this seems to be an important point, let us try and make it plain:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Tribe. | 1. | Kumite (*a*) marries Krokigor (*a*). Kumitegor (*a*). | Kroki (*b*). Krokigor (*b*). |
| | 2. | Kroki (*a*) marries Kumitegor (*a*). Krokigor (*a*). | Kumite (*b*). Kumitegor (*b*). |

In the diagram given we have first the tribe, divided into two classes—Kumite and Kroki—showing the marriage relations of the groups, and the descendants constituting the second generation. Here we see that group Kumite of one generation is father to the class Kroki of the second generation; similarly, group Kroki is father to class Kumite. According to the strict law forbidding marriage in the classes, and the law of descent, group Kumitegor is never mother of class Kroki. It is, however, aunt to that class. Here we notice that the sister-group of the father-group is aunt, but that there are no other aunts. This explains how father's sister only is aunt. For a similar reason, group Kroki is never father of the following class Kroki. It is, however, uncle; or the brother-group of the mother-group is uncle. This explains how mother's brother only is uncle. Again, looking at the second generation, we see the classes are cousins to each other; for the father and mother-group of the Kroki class of the second generation are, as we have just seen, the uncles and aunts of the class Kumite of the second generation. We now see how it is that the cousin-group includes only the cousins on the mother's brother's and father's sister's side. Thus we see that every relationship in the Indo-American system is a logical result of a state of society similar to the class divisions of the Australian tribes.

It follows, then, that the ancestors of the Indo-American tribes must have once been in such a state of society themselves, though they have now left it so far behind that we have no proof to offer aside from the evidence of their system of relationships; this is, however, quite sufficient. We have been thus full on this subject because we wanted to plainly show that systems of relationships

are fully competent to furnish evidence that can not be gainsaid as to the state of society among the people where they originate. Perhaps this was not necessary, as we should have admitted to start with that such terms could only have come into use because they truthfully represented the relationships naturally resulting from the social customs of the people. This example should settle all doubt on the subject. The example shows us further that we can not carry into the investigation of savage and barbarian customs our meaning of many words expressive of social relations. The individual and the family both disappear as units in social life. Their place is taken by a group.

Having now become aware that systems of relationship are in existence vitally different from our own, it need occasion no surprise to learn of a third, still more primitive than the foregoing, which compels us to assume the former existence of a still lower social state than that of the Australians. We will present a table showing the system among two of the principal tribes, and then see what conclusions follow it.

We will call it the Africo-Polynesian, though Mr. Morgan calls it the Malayan. The Malays have, however, modified their system. As we find it widely prevalent in Africa, we do not think the word Malayan proper to describe it. We select the Rotuman form as typical of the Polynesia.[1] This form was found among the Hawaiians, the Maoris of New Zealand, and the islands of Micronesia generally. The Kafirs are a very extensive stock of South African people. It is, therefore, a most interesting fact to find their system of relationship identically the same, or with but two partial exceptions only.

[1] "Ancient Society," p. 418.

# AFRICO-POLYNESIAN RELATIONSHIPS.

| Description of Person. | Relation in Rotuman. | Translation. | Kafir (Zulu). | Translation. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| My Father | Oi-fä | My Father | U-bä'-bä | My Father | U-bä'-bä is probably used in the sense of parent. In this way it also means father's sister (below). |
| " Mother | Oi-hon'-i | " Mother | U-mä'-me | My Mother | |
| " Son | Le'-e fa | " Child (male) | In-dö'-da-nä yä'-me | Son of me | |
| " Daughter | Le'-e hon'-i | " (female) | In-do-dä-kä'-ze Yä'-me | Daughter of me | |
| " Brother (elder) | Sä-sĭ-gi | " elder Brother | U'-mna wa'-tŭ | Elder Brother of us | Male speaking. |
| " " (younger) | Sa-sĭ-gi | " younger Brother | U-mna'-wa wä'-ma | Younger Brother of me | |
| " Sister (elder) | Sag-hon'-i | " Sister | U-dä'-da wa'tŭ | Sister of us | |
| " " (younger) | " " " | " " | " " " | " " | |
| " Brother (elder) | Sag'-ve-ven'-I | " Brother | U'-mua wa'-tŭ | Elder Brother of us | U'-mfo wa'tŭ (brother our) equivalent to my brothers. |
| " " (younger) | " " " " | " " | U-mnä'-wa wä'-ma | Younger Brother of me | |
| " Sister (elder) | Sa-sĭ-gi | " Sister | U-dä'-dä wa'tŭ | Sister of us | Female speaking. |
| " " (younger) | " " " | " " | " " " | " " | |
| " Brother's Son | Le'-e-fa | " Child (male) | In-do-dä'-nä Yä'-me | Son of me | Either male or female speaking. |
| " Daughter | Le'-e-hon'i | " (female) | In-do-dä-ka'-ze Yä'-me | Daughter of me | |
| " Sister's Son | Le'-e-fa | " " (male) | In-do-dä'-na yä'-me | Son of me | |
| " " Daughter | Le'-e-hon'-i | " " (female) | In-do-dä-kä'-ze Yä'-me | Daughter of me | |
| " Father's Brother's Son | Sä-sĭ-gi | " Brother (younger) | U'-mfo wa'-tŭ / U-mnä' wa wä'-me | Brother of us / Younger Brother of me | (elder). (younger). |
| " " " Daughter | Sag-hon'-i | " Sister | U-dä'-dä wä' tŭ | Sister of us | |
| " " Sister's Son | Sä-sĭ-gi | " Brother (younger) | U-mnä wä'tŭ / U-mfo wä'tŭ | Elder Brother of us / Brother of us | (younger). |
| " " " Daughter | Sag-hon'-i | " Sister | U-dä'-dä wä'tŭ | Sister of us | |
| " Mother's Brother's Son | Sä-sĭ-gi | " Brother (younger) | U-mzä'-lä wä'me | Cousin of me | |
| " " " Daughter | Sag-hon'-i | " Sister | " " " " | " " | |
| " " Sister's Son | Sä-sĭ-gi | " Brother (younger) | U'-mnä wä'me | Elder Brother | Form for younger brother if younger. |
| " " " Daughter | Sag-hon'-i | " Sister | U-dä'-dä wä'tu | Sister of us | |
| " Father's Brother | Oi-fä | " Father | U-bä-bä kä'sa | My Father | (The addition of *aze* does not change the significance. It means class.) |
| " " Sister | Oi-hon'-I | Mother | U-bä-bä | My Father (or Parent) | |
| " Mother's Brother | Oi-fä | Father | U-mä-lŭ'-ma | Maternal Uncle | |
| " " Sister | Oi-hon'I | " Mother | U-mä'-mä kä'ze | My Mother | |

Without doubt, we shall find this system prevalent among the black races generally. The mere fact that the Australians have departed from this system is to be borne in mind when classifying them.

Examining the table generally, we will notice that relations are in groups, the same as in the preceding system, but also observe that the collateral groups have disappeared. We have only natural groups left, such as father, mother, brother, sister, son, and daughter. The partial exceptions are in the Kafir stock. Here, indeed, we find that mother's brother is uncle, and his children are cousins; but, observe, though we call him uncle, he calls us child—though we may call his children cousin, they call us brother or sister. This shows at once that the relation is not reciprocal, and it renders it extremely probable that these instances are of recent introduction.

Now what shall we say to this relationship? It may well be that it is not true to present relationship anywhere; yet, when it first originated, it must have been true to the social organization of the people. We have seen that the descriptive system probably came in with the monogamian family, simply because it is true to the relations that arise under that form of the family. So, also, we have seen that the Indo-American relationships have a most natural origin in the class divisions of the Australians. This only makes us the more sure that such tribes and people as have the Africo-Polynesian form must once have lived in a social state which will give a natural explanation of the terms of this system. At present we do not know of any example of a tribe whose customs are such as this system of relationships would indicate.

If, however, we will turn back a few pages and read

the theoretical organization of the communal band, we see that it fully and completely explains this system. The tribe is not divided into classes at all—we have simply a male and a female group. Marriage, as we understand it, does not exist, but the male group of one generation is husband of the female group of the same generation. And in this tribe there can be no collateral relations; all must be lineal. An individual of the second generation calls all the males of the first generation father; all the females, mother. In his own generation, he knows only brothers and sisters; and in the following or third generation, only sons and daughters. Hence, the explanation of the terms: My father's brothers and my mother's brothers are alike my fathers. My father's sisters and my mother's sisters are alike my mothers. The sons and daughters of these individuals are not cousins, but my brothers and sisters, elder or younger; and hence, also, is it that the sons and daughters of these individuals are also my sons and daughters.

The last few pages have been written solely for the purpose of furnishing a proof of the former existence of the communal band. It seems to us that it is amply sufficient to establish it. As this is a most important conclusion, let us briefly recapitulate the points of the argument. All systems of consanguinity, when they originated, must have truthfully expressed the relationships naturally arising from the social organization of the people using them. When once established, they would be very slow to change, and so might, in course of time, fail to express the natural relationships, which would, of course, vary with changes in the social state. But still, in the beginning, we can not suppose that savages assumed fictitious relationships and then gave them names. We have found, on investigation,

three of these systems of relationship—the Aryan, the Indo-American and the Africo-Polynesian.[1] The first is fully explained by the social state peculiar to the Turanian and Aryan tribes; that is, marriage between single pairs, known as the monogamian family. In the second instance, not only do we find the system of relationship different from ours, but we are introduced to an altogether different social state in explanation of the same. We have to lose sight of the family as we are acquainted with it, and to substitute in its place a group. Having proved in these two cases the truth of the main assertion, we can not avoid the force of it in the third case, and therefore we must picture some theoretical organization capable of explaining its origin. We know of none which will do this in so complete a manner as the communal band; and it is another strong point in its favor that it is seen to be simply a more primitive form of the divided commune as it appears in the Australian tribes.

We are thus entitled to consider the existence of the communal band, as the primitive social state, abundantly proved. Scholars, generally, who have occasion to study into this matter, will not, we think, take exceptions to the views here stated. Many others, who have never interested themselves in the question, have taken it for granted that the form of the family under which we now live is

[1] In the matter of nomenclature, it will be found, on consulting "Systems of Consanguinity," that we have made some changes. The first, or descriptive, system, Mr. Morgan says, may be called indifferently the Aryan, Semitic, or Uralian. We will adopt the Aryan name. He calls the second system the Turanian, giving to it the name of the unwieldy Turanian group of Max Müller ("Science of Language"), but he restricts it to Müller's second division. Scholars have been quite free in making changes in Mr. Müller's Turanian group, and quite a number of them call the northern division the Turanian. We have followed this class; consequently, we can not call the second system the Turanian. We call it the Indo-American, which the geographical relation truthfully expresses. We have given the reason for calling the third the Africo-Polynesian.

the only natural one, and hence are hardly prepared, even now, to accept such statements. Peschel[1] argues from physiological reasons to show that this form of society could not have long continued; but it must be evident that in the band, as we have considered it, what are called brothers and sisters are often not at all or distantly related to each other. This band, as here defined, we are to regard as the primary social unit. From this we are to trace the development of tribes of more recent times, and eventually of our own form of government; and more than this—we are to trace from it the development of the family. Let us see if we can find any of the probable lines along which this advance was made.

When this form of society came into existence no one knows; whether laying back of it is a still lower social state is a question. How long it continued is also unknown. We have no reason to suppose that man passed rapidly through this experience. On the other hand, we have reasons for believing that it was an immensely long continued period. It probably came in in the infancy of the human race, and among the black races continued until a comparatively recent period, as witness their system of consanguinity. As to the condition of mankind during the continuance of this social state, it is largely a subject of speculation, yet we are not without some light. Their advance was probably not greater than that of the lowest of existing tribes. Consequently, a careful study of the present habits of the lowest tribes will help us to a knowledge of the probable condition of these primitive people.

In size, these primitive bands could not have been very large. Their facilities for obtaining a livelihood were

[1] "Races of Men," p. 231.

so poor that but small bands could have held together in one place. This is just what we find among many tribes to-day. Of the Andaman Islands, "They are generally divided into small groups; . . . the great majority . . . consists on an average of from thirty to fifty, . . . though sometimes as many as three hundred are found together."[1] Then from a mere increase of numbers would come a division, a smaller band going off from the mother colony. These wandering bands would recognize only the weakest ties uniting them. Their dialects would rapidly diverge, and they would soon become strangers to each other. When such was the condition of things generally, there could have been nothing like government. Each band would look out for itself. Hostilities must have been the rule, friendly relations the exception, and confined to bands but recently separated. This is not a very pleasant picture, we must confess, but such is what we seem compelled to believe was substantially the primitive social state.[2]

As to the relations of the members of the band to each other, we have probably described them as fully as is necessary. We will, however, quote from Spencer: "We have thus, to begin with, a state in which the family, as we understand it, can scarcely be said to exist. In the loose groups of men first formed, there is no established order of any kind; everything is indefinite, unsettled. As the relations of men to one another are undetermined, so are the relations of men to women. In either case, there are no guides save the passions of the moment, checked only by fears of consequences."[3]

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[1] "Descriptive Sociology."

[2] On this point, see Spencer's "Principles of Sociology," New York, 1877, p. 484.

[3] "Principles of Sociology," p. 632.

There could have been no higher, no lower, classes in the primitive band. That is, indeed, no more than we observe among the lower races to-day. Of course, individual differences would exist then as now. One man was stronger than the others, or he had other qualities which fitted him to exercise some sort of authority, but this authority was wholly personal. In many cases age alone gave authority. Among the South Australians "a man's authority increases with his age. If without age he possessed naturally intelligence, cunning, bravery, beyond his fellows, he might become a man of note, weighty in council, and a leader in war, but this is exceptional."[1] Of the Veddahs we read, "Each party has a heads-man, the most energetic senior of the tribe."[2] Of the Tasmanians it is said, "The place of command was yielded up to the bully of the tribe."[3] Speaking of such people as the Australians and Bushmen, the assertion is made, "Their members are subject to no control but such as is temporarily acquired by the stronger, or more cunning, or more experienced."[4]

We have now fully sketched the social organization that prevailed at an early day, and have proved its existence. It is necessary to make a few modifying statements. Human nature is much the same the world over among savage or civilized people, in the early ages of human life on the globe, as at the present day. This communism in marriage relation which we have described would therefore be broken in upon at times. Individual preference would sometimes exist, and the result would be individual marriage to a limited extent. Still, along

[1] Howitt: "Kamilaroi and Kurnai," p. 211
[2] "Descriptive Sociology." [3] Ibid.
[4] Spencer: "Principles of Sociology," p. 490.

with this, the communal right probably existed. Such individual marriages as we have just mentioned, being certainly in a very precarious state, either party probably having the liberty to put an end to it, for this usage in reference to divorce is found among many people.

Let us now address ourselves to a consideration of the question of how this primitive social organization changed to other forms, and especially to the class systems of the Australians. We regard this as the second very widely spread social state which supervened on the first.

It may not be out of place to mention that some Australian tribes have a tradition of this change. The tradition is not of any especial value; still we will quote the opening paragraph of the account that contains it: "After the creation, brothers, sisters, and others of the closest kin intermarried promiscuously, until, the evil effects of these alliances becoming manifest, a council of chiefs was assembled to consider in what way they might be averted."[1] It is extremely doubtful about primitive man perceiving the evil effects of such a state of society, and especially of any general discussion of it with a view to remedying it. It is very difficult for us to understand by what means these savages were enabled to make the great social advance implied in changing from the communal band of small proportions to the larger tribe, with class divisions analogous to those of the Australian tribes.

Mr. Morgan gives a general statement which, in an off-hand way, solves the difficulty at once: "It may be affirmed, as a general proposition, that the principal customs and institutions of mankind have originated in great reformatory movements."[2] Tracing the history of this

[1] Gayson's "Dieyeri Tribe," p. 13.

[2] "Systems of Consanguinity," etc., p. 481.

stop, he speaks as follows: "The transition from one into the other was produced by the gradual exclusions of own brothers and sisters from the marriage relation, the evils of which could not forever escape human observation, . . . a difficult process, because it involved a radical change in the composition of the family; . . . it also required the surrender of a privilege which savages would be slow to make. Commencing, it may be supposed, in isolated cases, and with a slow recognition of its advantages, it remained an experiment through immense expanses of time, introduced partially at first, then becoming general, and finally universal, among the advancing tribes, still in savagery, among whom the movement originated."[1] Mr. Fison, though not fully accepting the communal band, thinks that, granted its existence, the only explanation for an advance out of it lies in accepting these great "reformatory movements" of Mr. Morgan,[2] and he premises that the impulse to such a movement must have been given by Divine assistance.

The difficulty with Mr. Morgan's statement is that it is wholly theoretical. Perhaps he has given the explanation, but it remains theory only, and is still to be proved by ascertained facts. In a great many respects, primitive man did not proceed in what seems to us a natural way, and so we are not sure that he did so in this case. As to the origin of the reform itself, Mr. Fison may be in the right; but it is never wise to explain any advance in human progress by such an appeal as this. Were such aid granted, we can scarcely see why man was permitted to remain in savagism at all. We may not be able to point out any more satisfactory way, but we must look further before accepting these views.

[1] "Ancient Society," p. 424. [2] "Kamilaroi and Kurnai," p. 160.

McLennan, Sir John Lubbock, and Bachofen all accept the communal band as the starting point of social advance, but they do not agree as to how advance out of this condition was made. Bachofen[1] seems to have been the first to attempt an explanation of the fact, observed in many savage tribes, that descent was in the female line. He gathered a great number of facts in reference to this and other customs of the lower races. He then submits theories to explain them. In brief, he starts with the communal band. The advance, he thinks, arose in this way: The women became shocked at such a state of affairs, and rebelled against it, and thus established a sort of female supremacy, with descent in the female line, and changed the marriage from group marriage to individual marriage. We are glad to accept his facts, but his theories have long since been abandoned.

McLennan wrote[2] at a time when interest was first being drawn to these subjects. He also sets out to explain the meaning of a number of strange customs observed in different parts of the world. Perhaps few are aware how extensive—indeed, almost universal—is the appearance in some part of the marriage ceremony of the capture of the bride by the bridegroom. Let us, as briefly as possible, outline the evidence on which this rests. Among some of the Australian tribes, and the tribes of neighboring islands, the capture is a reality to-day. The bridegroom lies in wait for his bride. When an opportune moment arrives, he rushes upon her, stuns her by a blow upon her head, and carries her off.[3] In most cases, however, this actual capture has given way to a sham one. In order

[1] "Das Mutterrecht." I have not been able to examine a copy of this work. Lubbock gives the outlines of it in "Primitive Man," p. 67.

[2] "Studies in Ancient History."

[3] "Primitive Man," p. 77.

to retain ancient customs, a show of resistance is made, though the parties are well pleased at the match. Among many of the hill tribes of India, when all is arranged, the bridegroom and a large party of his friends, with a great show of fighting, enter the bride's village and carry off the bride.[1] Among the Kalmucks, after the preliminaries are all settled, the bridegroom comes with his friends to carry off the bride, but "a sham resistance is always made by the people of her camp," the bride, however, being finally carried off on a finely caparisoned horse.[2]

It is not so long ago that similar scenes were enacted in Europe. We are given the following account of marriage customs among the Welsh not many years ago: "On the morning of the wedding day, the bridegroom, accompanied with his friends, on horseback, demands the bride. Her friends, who are likewise on horseback, give a positive refusal, on which a mock scuffle ensues. The bride, mounted behind her nearest kinsman, is carried off, and is pursued by the bridegroom and his friends with loud shouts. When they have fatigued themselves and their horses, the bridegroom is suffered to overtake his bride."[3] In short, without making further quotations, we can say that capture, either as a stern reality or as an important ceremony, was almost always found a part of the marriage ceremony among all races until recently. McLennan, struck with the wide prevalence of this strange custom, essayed to explain the same, and thus arrived at his theories as to primitive marriage.

He starts with the communal band. He thinks it extremely likely that such people would kill off many

[1] "Ethnological Society Transactions," Vol. VI, p. 24.
[2] "Primitive Man," p. 77. [3] Ibid., p. 84.

infants, and especially female infants, whom they would not regard as highly as the males. He tells us that such a custom is "common among savages everywhere;"[1] and hence he urges that it was probably so among the primitive tribes. This would lead to inequality between the sexes, to remedy which they would steal or capture women from neighboring tribes. "Usage, induced by necessity, would in time establish a prejudice among the tribes observing it—a prejudice strong as a principle of religion, as every prejudice relating to marriage is apt to be—against marrying women of their own stock,"[2] and thus would grow up the custom of forbidding marriage within the group at all; the men must seek for wives from some other tribe.[3] Mr. McLennan calls the system of marriage within the group only *endogamy;* the marriage without the group, *exogamy.*

Here is a theory, and it may, at first view, be thought quite adequate to explain the facts of the case. It is, however, unsatisfactory.[4] The principle on which it rests—namely, female infanticide—is not proved true of the lower races of savages. Infanticide is, of course, common, but it can not be shown that the female children are the preferred victims among lower savages. Indeed, among the Mota people of Banks' Island, we are told, the "male children are killed rather than the female."[5]

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[1] "Studies in Ancient History," p. 111. [2] Ibid., p. 112.

[3] We have fairly stated one of McLennan's theories. He himself seems to present two theories. On page 42 of his work he affirms that exogamy must have given rise to wife-capture, thus reversing the sequence above given. Mr. Fison notices this same objection. ("Kamilaroi and Kurnai," pp. 133, 134.) Spencer ("Principles of Sociology," p. 646) also observes it. Many points in McLennan's work we do not touch upon.

[4] Spencer criticises it. ("Principles of Sociology," p. 648.)

[5] Amongst the Kafirs, girls are more valuable than boys. ("Descriptive Ethnology," Vol. II, p. 159. "Kamilaroi and Kurnai," pp. 135–138; also, pp. 171-176.)

But, aside from that, the terms exogamy and endogamy are misleading; indeed, are of no particular value. Their origin is a result of the confusion introduced by the wrong use of some of the divisions of a tribe for the tribe itself. Travelers come upon a band of people constituting a gens. They observe that their customs forbid them to marry a member of their own gens; they must seek a wife from some other gens. The tribe itself does not forbid marriage between its members—only between members of the same gens. But this distinction is not observed by the traveler. The announcement is made that here is a tribe that forbids intermarriage; they should have used the word *gens*. The fact is, amongst all people, civilized or uncivilized, certain people are forbidden to intermarry. Amongst ourselves, near of kindred are forbidden; amongst members of a tribe, members of the same gens are forbidden.[1]

Sir John Lubbock[2] accepts communal marriage as the first step. To explain its disappearance, he accepts substantially the view of McLennan, only he thinks that wife-capture explains the origin of individual marriage; taking the ground that the tribe would have no right to the captive, she was the property of her captor.[3] This, however, can be shown to be a mistake. Among savages the individual counts for nothing. Of the Australians, it is said "they maintain the tribal right against the individual with regard to war captives as strictly as they maintain it with regard to any other woman." If a warrior took to himself a captive who belonged to a forbidden class, he would be hunted down

[1] "Third Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology," p. 27: "Kamilaroi and Kurnai," p. 142; "Ancient Society," p. 510.

[2] "Primitive Man," chap. iii. [3] Ibid., p. 71.

like a wild beast, and, unless he kept out of the way until the hot wrath of the tribe had cooled down, he would be killed, and his captive with him.[1] Indeed, we very much doubt whether McLennan and Lubbock have not drawn the wrong or, at any rate, too strong a conclusion from the wide diffusion of capture as a part of the ceremony of marriage.[2]

In the last few pages we have seen how it is that some of our most recent writers and thinkers on these subjects fail to agree among themselves as to the steps by which primitive man achieved his first advance. This shows that the question is not a settled one, and we therefore feel at liberty to make some further suggestions. Those who are acquainted with the writings of Mr. Spencer know that he ranges over a wide field to show that, in whatever department of knowledge we are conducting investigations, if we are in any case enabled to trace the history of a growth, of a development, from a few simple germs to a matured product, we can in such case detect the workings of a few simple laws. It makes no difference whether we are considering development in the animal, the plant, the industrial, scientific, or social world; in each and all we can see the working of the same laws. They are world-embracing in their scope.

Now, our plan of government, our social and civil organizations, are the present results of growth that has been in progress from the very earliest times. Quite a large part of this growth is historical, such as the change

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[1] "Kamilaroi and Kurnai," p. 66.

[2] On this point, consult Farrar's "Primitive Manners and Customs," New York, 1879, chap. vii; also, Spencer's "Principles of Sociology," New York, 1877, pp. 652–657; C. S. Wake, in "Anthropologia," p 73.

from tribal society to political society. But a still larger part is not historical. We are not able, for instance, to trace the stages of growth of tribal society, though we are certain it has passed through various stages. We may be reasonably sure, however, that this development has been made in accordance with the general laws of development to which we have just referred. A knowledge of these laws, then, will prove of assistance to us in forming a theory of the origin and growth of tribal society. Briefly speaking, progress is always from the simple to the compound, from the uniform to the diverse. Pages of striking examples could be given. The simplest form of animal or plant life is a cell, microscopical in size. Some plants consist entirely of a union of such cells, as, for instance, certain lichens—progress being from the simple to the compound. But a further step is noticeable. A divergence appears—some cells becoming fitted for one purpose, some for another; in the animals, some organs becoming fitted for locomotion, some to catch prey, and some to derive nourishment for the entire mass from the prey thus caught. Progress is from the uniform to the diverse.

Well, now, our social organization, developing from the communal band, must show the working of these simple laws. We would expect this development to take place along certain lines. In tribal society the organization is made on the basis of kin, or personal relationships. Mankind carried the development to the fullest extent possible under the workings of this system before it was finally abandoned. Now we have already stated that these primitive men were organized only along the line of sex—the group of men being married to the group of women. Progress would then take place in keeping with this idea;

they would do the very best they could with organization resting on sex before abandoning this basis for something else. Note, further, that the communal band is a simple uniform body of men, with no higher, no lower, classes.

The first step in advance would be in a union of two or more of these bands; this would be in full keeping with the first law of development. Division would not be a step in advance. Division was a perfectly natural process, but it resulted only in the formation of other communal bands. What forces were at work to bring about a union of two or more bands? The same force which has always proved a most potent factor in bringing about political unions—fear of surrounding enemies. A state of war must have been the normal relation between the different bands. A band located along the banks of a river swarming with fish could have held together as a much larger band than one located in the interior, where such natural supplies of food were lacking. Such a favored band would as surely be the bully of all the region. But two bands which were individually incapable of coping with this stronger one might unite their forces against their common enemy. Such an arrangement, at first temporary, tends inevitably to become permanent.

But such a union or combination needs to be marked in some definite way. These primitive bands were quite incapable of conceiving of a treaty or alliance, as a permanent arrangement, without by some means impressing the fact on their daily life. Mankind, the world over, seems to have cemented treaties of alliance and friendship by marriage between members of their respective royal houses. To this day the majority of the royal marriages

in Europe are made with this end in view, and a century ago this remark would have possessed greater force than now. Pages of history afford innumerable examples of the working of this principle. The men of the two uniting bands had no royal families to cement, by a marriage of their members, the new alliance. The only marriage they knew anything about was group marriage. They could do this, however: they could exchange their wives and agree to change the order of group marriage in the future.

Let us examine this theory closely. Is it unreasonable? We think not. An arrangement similar to the Australian class divisions was found to underlie the Indo-American system of relationships; consequently, it must have prevailed over a wide scope of country. We must, therefore, in some way account for its development out of the communal band. Powell[1] asserts that a union of bands as here claimed is the only way a tribe could have originated. Spencer[2] insists that progress only takes place by primary combinations. We observe further that the law of development is fully obeyed. Progress is from the simple to the compound; from the uniform to the diverse. It is further an advance along the line of the only idea of division that primitive men had—that was the division on the basis of sex. In view of all these facts, we feel justified in presenting it to the reader, and ask that it be borne in mind with other theories in this connection.

We are now fairly introduced to the Australian class system. Mankind had taken a very important step in their career of progress. A few moments' reflection will

[1] "Annual Report of Bureau of Ethnology," 1881–82, p. xvi.

[2] "Principles of Sociology," Part II.

show us the importance of this step. The older form, coming in with the infancy of the human race, had doubtless held its sway for many thousand years. Advance under its workings was very limited. The new arrangement broke up the old family arrangement. Own brothers and sisters were now excluded from the marriage relation. We all know that this was a most beneficial arrangement. The descendants of people with this new form of the family, in the course of a few generations, would certainly possess a marked degree of superiority over those still adhering to the old plan. This would bring into play the principles of natural selection, and so in course of time the class divisions would come to be the universal custom. Let us examine the subject to some extent and see what evidence we possess of its diffusion, and in this connection we do not refer to the theoretical evidence derived from systems of relationship.

In Australia, a large section of country is known to possess the class divisions. In Northern Australia, Mr. Bridgeman states, on the authority of his servant, who had traveled over nearly all of Australia, that the class divisions were substantially the same over the entire continent. Other correspondents sustain this statement.[1] Similar information comes from a great many sections in South Australia. We have authentic information of the existence of the class division among the inhabitants of the Salomon Islands, and thence, presumptively, among the Papuans generally. In Melanesia, the occurrence of the class divisions in the various islands of the New Hebrides group is vouched for.[2] It is stated that New, Burton and Du Chaillu mention the existence

[1] "Kamilaroi and Kurnai," p. 31. [2] Ibid., p. 32.

of the classes among various African tribes.[1] It will be noticed that we have been confined in the above observation to tribes belonging to the black races. It is very difficult to gather precise information on this somewhat difficult subject. Should future investigation show a more extensive prevalence of this class system in the direction here indicated, it will prove of great significance.

We have described the division into two classes. This is, perhaps, the more common form. But, along with this, it is known that a great many tribes exist which are subdivided into four classes. This is simply a further advance on the division into two groups. Certain peculiarity in regard to the class divisions of the children may, perhaps, give us a clew how this organization arose. Let us give it some examination. A Queensland tribe shows us the following four divisions:

| *Male.* | *Female.* |
|---|---|
| 1. Gurgela | Gurgelan. |
| 2. Wungo | Wungoan. |
| 3. Burbia | Burbian. |
| 4. Kuberu | Kuberuan. |

To explain the marriage and descent, let us suppose that two tribes lived near each other, one of which had the classes Gurgela and Wungo, the other tribe having the classes Burbia and Kuberu. Under the strict rules of class descent Gurgela marries Wungoan, and the children are Wungo and Wungoan. The marriages and descents in the other division, and in the divisions of the other tribe, need not be here followed out.

Supposing that for some reason these tribes conclude

[1] Ibid. I have not been able to verify this important statement.

to unite their forces. To mark the fact of this union, it is extremely likely they would exchange wives and change the order of future group marriages. But the group Gurgela had been used from time immemorial to having their children called Wungo and Wungoan. Savages are always very conservative, never changing established customs if possible. They might, then, have left the descent unchanged. The following table will illustrate the whole matter:

| | CLASSES. | | MARRIAGES. | | CHILDREN. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | First Tribe. | | First Tribe. | | First Tribe. | |
| No. | *Male.* | *Female.* | *Male.* | *Female.* | *Male.* | *Female.* |
| 1. | Gurgela. | Gurgelan. | Gurgela. | Wungoan. | Wungo. | Wungoan. |
| 2. | Wungo. | Wungoan. | Wungo. | Gurgelan. | Gurgela. | Gurgelan. |
| | Second Tribe. | | Second Tribe. | | Second Tribe. | |
| 1. | Burbia. | Burbian. | Burbia. | Kuberuan. | Kuberu. | Kuberuan. |
| 2. | Kuberu. | Kuberuan. | Kuberu. | Burbian. | Burbia. | Burbian. |
| | United Tribe. | | United Tribe. | | United Tribe. | |
| 1. | Gurgela. | Gurgelan. | Gurgela. | Kuberuan. | Wungo. | Wungoan. |
| 2. | Wungo. | Wungoan. | Wungo. | Burbian. | Gurgela. | Gurgelan. |
| 3. | Burbia. | Burbian. | Burbia. | Wungoan. | Kuberu. | Kuberuan. |
| 4. | Kuberu. | Kuberuan. | Kuberu. | Gurgelan. | Burbia. | Burbian. |

This is exactly the result that appears among the Kamilaroi tribes and others that have the four divisions instead of two.

This introduced us to the most complex form of organization on the basis of sex that we are acquainted with. We have seen it develop from the communal band, first into the tribe with two class divisions, and lastly into the tribe with four divisions—a peculiar arrangement as

regards descent, as we have just seen. Speaking of it in its last complex form, Mr. Morgan observes: "The more closely this organization upon sex is scrutinized, the more remarkable it seems as the work of savages. When once established, and after that transmitted through a few generations, it would hold society with such power as to become difficult of displacement. It would require a similar and higher system and centuries of time to accomplish this result, particularly if the range of the conjugal system would thereby be abridged."[1] Still, we submit that it was a natural growth from the first simple form, obeying the laws of development from the simple to the compound, from the uniform to the diverse.

The importance of the subject justifies us in spending a little more time in considering this organization. It has been fully admitted that political society was everywhere preceded by tribal society. Probably few were aware that tribal society itself was preceded by organization on the basis of sex. It seems to us that we have abundant reasons for asserting such to have been the case. In addition to the evidence we have already presented, a great host of strange customs observable among savage people finds ready explanation when once we refer to this ancient organization. This explains, as nothing else can, the prevalence of female descent. It is well known that many rude tribes still reckon descent through the mother. The children are of the same gens as the mother. This was the case among our Indian tribes almost universally. The office of chief did not descend from father to son. The children inherited nothing from the father, because they were not of the same gens. This is the rule among many African tribes to-day. Callie,

[1] "Ancient Society," p. 55.

speaking of tribes near Sierra Leone, observes: "The sovereignty remains always in the same family, but the son never succeeds his father. They choose, in preference, a son of the king's sister, conceiving that by this method the sovereign power is more sure to be transmitted to one of the blood royal."[1] An examination of the group marriages among the Australians shows us the reason underlying this custom. It points back to a time when paternity might have been a matter of doubt, but maternity was always sure. Hence the general rule among savage people.

There is another custom widely extended, which is certainly a very curious one; that is, the avoidance of all social intercourse between a woman and her son-in-law. This is known to have been the rule, universally, among our Indians. It was considered extremely improper for a woman to speak to her son-in-law, or even to look at him.[2] "In Asia, among the Mongols and Kalmucks, a woman must not speak to her father-in-law, nor sit down in his presence."[3] "In China, the father-in-law, after the wedding day, never sees the face of his daughter-in-law again. He never visits her, and if they chance to meet he hides himself."[4] In Australia, Mr. Fison once saw a man "full of the utmost distress and disgust because his mother-in-law's shadow had fallen across his legs. He had been lying at the foot of an enormous gum tree, which hid him from the old lady's view as she approached, and so the catastrophe occurred."[5] Among other Australians, if absolutely necessary to address each other, they stand back to back and yell at the top of their voice, pretending to be far apart.[6]

[1] "Travels," etc., London, 1830, Vol. I, p. 153.
[2] Lubbock: "Primitive Man," p. 7. [3] Ibid., 8. [4] Ibid., 9.
[5] "Kamilaroi and Kurnai," p. 103. [6] Ibid.

It is the same in Africa. Callie observes, of the Haussa tribes, that when the arrangements for a marriage are completed, "from this moment the lover is not to see the father and mother of his future bride. He takes the greatest care to avoid them; and if by chance they perceive him, they cover their faces as if all the ties of friendship were broken."[1] "When a Kafir woman meets her son-in-law in the path, she squats behind a bush, while he hides his face behind his shield and passes by."[2] The prohibition of look and speech between a man and his mother-in-law is known to prevail extensively among the tribes of equatorial Africa.[3] Here, then, we have a custom which is almost universal among the lower races.

In explanation of this, Mr. Tyler remarks "that it is hard even to guess what state of things can have brought this custom into existence," and declares that he has "met with no interpretation which can be put forward with confidence." Sir John Lubbock thinks that it is "a natural consequence of marriage by capture. When the capture was a reality, the indignation of the parents would also be real; when it became a symbol, the parental anger would be symbolized also."[4] Yet, we think, Mr. Fison suggests the true reason. The class laws are very strict. There is the utmost liberty within the classes, but public wrath was visited on the man who went outside the class limits. Taking a tribe divided into two classes, a moment's reflection shows us "that a man's mother-in-law is a woman of the same class name as his wife; that is, she is one of a class of women who are his wives, but she herself is forbidden to him, and must, therefore, keep out of his way, as he must keep out of hers. The slightest

[1] "Travels," etc., Vol. I, p. 94. [2] "Kamilaroi and Kurnai," p. 103.
[3] Tyler: "Early History of Mankind," p. 290. [4] "Primitive Man," p. 84.

familiarity between them would be indecent; nay, more, it would be pollution. Hence the ludicrous shifts to which these relatives resort." [1]

Another custom finds its explanation in this old class division. To this day there are whole tribes in Australia which have individual marriage, but the couple must always elope. It is no use to try and get the parents' consent. It is the same among some of the hill tribes of India. "Among the Soligas," says McLennan, "when a girl consents to marry, the man runs away with her to some neighboring village." Some time must elapse before it is deemed proper to return.[2] He also describes similar customs among the Turkmans. Among the Kurnais of South Australia, "if the runaways were caught, the man had to stand as a target for the spears, boomerangs, and kullucks of her near kinsmen, while the poor girl was speared or beaten within an inch of her life." [3] We think there must be some reason for this strange custom. Can it not be that it is a tacit recognition of old communal rights? Does not the Australian custom point back to the time when the couple were considered as offenders against the common rights of the tribe?

This leads to a consideration of a great number of customs at which we can only glance. Sir John Lubbock briefly states the principal to be this: "Special marriage was an infringement of these communal rights, for which some compensation was due." [4] Perhaps the foregoing custom may be an instance in point. At any rate instances are numerous where this right revives among the Australians.[5] Perhaps in this way we are to under-

[1] "Kamilaroi and Kurnai," p. 104.
[2] "Studies in Ancient History," p. 318. [3] "Kamilaroi and Kurnai," p. 301.
[4] "Primitive Man," p. 87.
[5] "Kamilaroi and Kurnai," p. 202, note, 281, 286, 310, 317, 326.

stand the customs attendant on the worship of Venus, among the Babylonians, and, indeed, amongst most of the people of antiquity.[1] In their case, the old customs had become almost obsolete, yet they still survived, and were required as a religious observance. We are not to regard this as an evidence of gross licentiousness, but a tribute to an old custom, the origin of which has long been forgotten. This charitable explanation we would extend to the numerous descriptions of Saturnalian scenes given by travelers generally of savages in the most widely separated parts of the world. It is quite customary to talk about the licentiousness of savages. Much of it can be explained as a tacit recognition of old communal rights.[2]

Primitive man had but few ideas, as compared with civilized man. It is hard to fully understand the force of this remark; yet, the more we reflect on it, the more readily we appreciate its bearings. It is difficult, perhaps impossible, for us to rightly conceive the motives that would influence primitive man to change any of his established customs. We are not at all sure that he would proceed as we would, for that is to endow him with the experience gained in the long years preceding civilization. Events have been such that organization of society on the basis of sex took its rise. Once started in this direction, they made the most they could of this foundation. We are not acquainted with any people, in which the class divisions are at all apparent, having more than four classes. This arrangement was sufficiently complex. It must have taxed to the utmost their intellect to so arrange the classes that the blood of the tribe should circulate in all.

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[1] "Primitive Man," p. 87.

[2] See paper on this subject by C. S. Wake, in "Anthropologia," p. 156. His conclusions differ, however, from these here stated.

To still further increase the number of classes which would follow the union of three tribes, making at least six classes, and still keep the blood of the tribes circulating in all the classes, would require a complicated arrangement quite beyond the power of primitive man to make. It could only be done by having some alternating arrangements either in the names of the classes or in the class marriage—in either case difficult to manage without some system of records. Hence, we may suppose that a long period ensued with but little advance in tribal organization, long enough for tribes with class divisions to spread over the world—perhaps long enough for the yellow races to become divergent from the black races. But the defects of class organization are apparent to all. Great advance was impossible until it had been overthrown. How conservative primitive man would be in this matter becomes apparent when we reflect that throughout the entire continent of Australia, though the tribes had been separated long enough for their languages to become entirely distinct, and the class names entirely different, yet they still recognize the fact that the different classes are equivalents of each other.

A member of one class, for instance, visiting a tribe widely separated from his, had no difficulty in determining to which of their classes he belonged. This shows the great influence of the class system, and gives us an idea of the forces that would be arrayed against any proposed reduction of the same. Yet, as time passed on, the class system disappeared over most of the world. Even the Australians, when first discovered, possessed institutions that were encroaching on privileges of the classes. Whether we can successfully trace the steps leading to the formation of gentile society is a question.

Any attempt to do this must be considered in the light of a theory which will hold its ground only as it successfully accounts for ascertained facts. Growth, as we have thus far discussed it, begins by a process of combinations: two communal bands uniting to form the tribe with two classes; two of these latter, to form the tribe with four classes. Further combination seems to be improbable. The primary idea going along with this union—that is, intermarriage—must, therefore, be overthrown, and the idea must be formed, in the minds of primitive man, of political union, not carrying with it intermarriage rights.

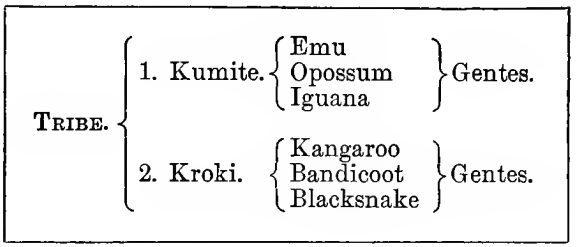
All savages and partially civilized people are fond of tracing descent back to some imaginary ancestor. By what process of reasoning it is that they satisfy themselves, we need not here stop to consider; but the fact is, amongst the lower tribes, this ancestor is generally an animal. The probabilities are that all of the class in Australia had such a fictitious ancestral animal. This animal we now call the totem of the class.[1] In some cases this totem in not known; we know only the name of the class. The tribe increases in number, the classes spread farther and farther; one band takes as its possession a certain river valley, another is located among a definite range of hills, while still a third takes possession of a lake and its islands. The tendency is for each of these bands to assume a definite name—not the name of the locality, but the name of some animal, which straightway becomes the totem of the band, and is soon regarded as the ancestor of the same.[2]

Let us notice what follows from this step. We will

[1] Vol. I, p. 486, note.

[2] Some of the South Australian tribes, as the Kurnai, name their bands according to their locality, or after some prominent individual. In such a case, however, descent has passed out of the female line.

suppose that a band of Kumite men chose as their hunting-ground a lake, with its shores and islands. Their wives are all Krokigor. In this locality a great many kangaroos are found; accordingly, they adopt as their totem the kangaroo. The children are all Kroki and Krokigor, but further distinguished as belonging to the Kangaroo gens. As these children belong to the same class, they, of course, can not intermarry; here we reach the first rule of the ancient gens—its members can not intermarry. But what has happened to this band has happened to other bands of the Kumite class. The same, also, has happened to bands of the Kroki class. Instead, therefore, of two large classes, we will, for instance, have the following arrangement:




However temporary such an arrangement may have been at first, it certainly would tend to become permanent. We will here remark that the outline sketched above is the typical organization of a people in a tribal state of society;[1] the classes are seen to be the phratries; the gentes, subdivisions of the same. We can see at a glance why it is that originally the gentes of the same phratry could not intermarry. Let us note what this organization would be in its incipient form, and what it inevitably tends to become as time passed on. Among

[1] Vol. I, p. 486, note.

the Australians, the classes have remained the most prominent part of the organization. We are expressly told in some cases that the totems did not interfere with the old rule of marriage.[1]

But, in general, this tendency would certainly appear: the classes would tend to lose their importance; the gens become more and more important. With that self-conceit common to humanity, the Emu men would care less and less for the fact that they were Kumite, but they glory in being Emu men. Of course, on grand occasions, the gentes would arrange themselves in their class order. But, in general, the gens would become a new unit of classification. The old class rule forbidding intermarriage within the gens seems always to have been observed. The like rule compelling a member of a gens to seek his wife from one of the gentes of the other phratry would lose its hold, just in proportion as the classes lost their importance. Some Australian tribes no longer observe it, and we find it losing its hold among others.

Having now reached the tribal state of society having descent in the female line, we can not do better than to examine that form of government at some length, even though we have, in the previous volume, devoted some space to it.[2] Our Indians, when the Europeans first came among them, possessed this social organization. It is a striking illustration of the statement that passing travelers are incapable of giving definite information on this point, when we reflect that it is only lately that we have learned the details of this organization. The like holds true in regard to the Aztecs and the Incas of Peru. The early Spanish conquerors and explorers tried to make the

[1] The Mount Gambier tribe. ("Kamilaroi and Kurnia," p. 42.)
[2] Vol. I, p. 677.

facts fit a preconceived theory. They generously bestowed on these countries a model government. A full assortment of the different orders of nobility was made out—emperor, princes of the blood royal, noble lords, royal governors, generals of the army, etc., etc. The first English colonies started with the same laudable end in view. *King* Powhatan in Virginia and *King* Phillip in Massachusetts illustrate the tendency. The English explorers soon perceived the incongruities of such a designation, and the simpler title of chief, or sachem, took its place.

We will take one of the Iroquois tribes to illustrate the organization of tribal society, using the same outline we did in the previous volume:[1]

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Seneca Tribe. | First Phratry or Brotherhood. | Bear, Wolf, Beaver, Turtle | Gentes. |
| | Second Phratry or Brotherhood. | Deer, Snipe, Heron, Hawk | Gentes. |

The above outline, which was the exact division of the Seneca-Iroquois tribe, is a typical one for all of our Indian tribes, at least before the advent of the whites. We notice, first of all, the tribe. It is not an easy matter to define a tribe; yet it is a clearly marked division. It has been found by investigation that it possesses certain qualities and rights, which we will use to define it.

All the members of a tribe speak the same dialect.

[1] Vol. I, p. 486, note.

A growing and prosperous tribe holds together as one organization as long as they speak the same dialect; but languages tend rapidly to diverge among all savage people. A few years' separation is quite sufficient to originate a new dialect, and consequently to mark the formation of a new tribe. The cases are extremely rare of an Indian tribe the members of which spoke different dialects. In some cases, however, a weaker tribe, speaking a closely related dialect, becomes absorbed in a larger tribe.[1] But, in general, however numerous an Indian tribe became, it remained one in organization as long as the dialects of its bands remained the same.

This body of people possessed a certain area that they regarded as their own, over which they alone had the right to hunt. This area they would defend against neighboring tribes. The boundaries of this area were not well defined, but a general knowledge of the same was had. This body of people further gave to themselves a certain name, which was determined by some peculiarity of their character or settlement, such as "sea-side people" (Mohegans) or "camp-movers" (Ogalallas). The name which they called themselves was not always the name by which they were known among the surrounding people. We must further remark that a tribe generally is the highest form of organization possessed by people in a tribal state of society. In a few cases only had a confederacy, or the union of several tribes, originated in America. In the Old World we know of several cases of the formation of a confederacy, which afterwards, by the still closer coalescing of its individual tribes, formed a nation. A tribe in general, then, is an independent, self-governing body of people. In quite a number of cases

[1] "Ancient Society," p. 103.

they were under tribute to a stronger tribe, but they were still free as regards self-government.

Turning now to the internal organization of a tribe, we see that the first division is into phratries. This word is from a Greek word meaning "brotherhood." According to the theory we are upholding, these phratries were originally the class divisions of the tribe. But, of course, when the organization of people in tribal form became the ruling form, phratries might be formed without passing through the class stage. We have already remarked the significant fact that as the classes lost their importance they would tend to disappear. Hence it is that the phratries are not a necessary part of the tribal organization. It was lacking in some of the Indian tribes, though most of the tribes had it; but in all it plays a subordinate part—just what we we would naturally expect. In a number of cases, the original rule was that a member of one phratry must seek a wife from one of the opposite phratries. The reason is quite plain; it is the old class rule forbidding marriage in the classes.

As showing that the influence of the phratries had long been on the decline, it is significant that about the only way it betrayed itself was in ceremonial and religious matters. It is well known that customs pertaining to such matters tend to change very slowly.[1] Among the Grecian tribes, the phratry looked after "the observance of special religious rites, the condonation or revenge of the murder of a phrator, and the purification of a murderer, after he had escaped the penalty of his crime, preparatory to his restoration to society."[2] Among the Iroquois, "the

[1] "As illustrated in the use of the flint knife for circumcision, religious usages are those which remain longest unchanged." (Spencer: "Principles of Sociology," p. 279.)

[2] "Ancient Society," p. 89.

phratry," we are told, "was partly for social and partly for religious purposes."[1] It showed itself in ceremonial matters. "At a council of the tribe, the sachems and chiefs in each phratry usually seated themselves on opposite sides of an imaginary council fire, and the speakers addressed the two opposite bodies as the representative of the phratries."[2] The phratric organization showed itself in ceremonial games and in religious matters, as in the holding of a medicine lodge, each phratry holding such a lodge, which was their highest religious act. Among the Incas, we have seen, the phratry displayed itself almost solely in ceremonial games.[3] The bearings of these remarks, as showing that the phratry had declined from a former more important position, should be observed.[4]

The unit of organization in a tribe is the gens. This is from a Latin word, the significance being that of kin. The members of a gens are all considered related to each other. They all trace their descent back to some common ancestor. Anciently the descent was always in the female line. The children belonged to the gens of the mother. This is a survival of the old class rule, and for the same reason. Marriage between members of the same gens was always prohibited. The ancient rule was that a wife must be sought from some gens of the opposite phratry, but this, in a great many cases, had become obsolete. It will be seen that a gens only included a part of the descendants of this supposed common ancestor. A man

[1] Ibid., 95. [2] Ibid. [3] Vol. I, p. 783.

[4] Those who are acquainted with the writings of Mr. Morgan will, at first glance, think that the position here assumed is greatly opposed to his. This opposition is, in reality, in appearance only. He derives the phratry from the subdivision of a former gens. We derive it from the subdivision of a class. The difference is simply one of names, since Mr. Morgan gives to the gens, in its archaic form, the same qualities we give to the class. As to which word is the better term to use, we leave to the judgment of the reader.

and his sister both belonged to the same gens. The man must seek a wife from some other gens, but his children will belong to the gens of their mother, therefore his descendants are not included in the original gens. Only the descendants of the female members of the gens continue in it. Many of the rights and duties of the gentes, we will not discuss here.

Our main object has been to trace social organization, but we have seen how in early times it was necessary to consider the marriage customs. It has probably occurred to some that communal marriage has disappeared. As the class divisions become dim, their marriage customs would tend to change also. The inevitable tendency is to break up old communal rights, which would only revive on special occasions; and, as a species of religious rite, we catch a glimpse of them among quite advanced people, illustrating in a most forcible manner the conservatism of religions. But as the communal family disappears, what takes its place? Why, polygamy for the more influential men of the tribe, individual marriage for the masses of the people, and then, in special cases, polyandry. In the case of individual marriage, is it not evident that at first the marriage will be a temporary one only? Refer to the customs of the Andaman Islanders, where this is still the rule. But the tendency is for this relation to become more and more permanent. Still divorce would remain at the pleasure of the parties, which is exactly the facts of the case among all the lower races.

In fact, the family, among people still in the tribal state of society, with descent in the female line, is called by Mr. Morgan the syndiasmian family. This was the pairing family; but observe: "The relation continued during the pleasure of the parties, and no longer. The hus-

band could put away his wife at pleasure, and take another without offense, and the woman enjoyed the equal right of leaving her husband and accepting another, in which the usages of her tribe and gens were not infringed. When alienation arose between a married pair, and their separation became imminent, the gentile kindred of each attempted a reconciliation of the parties, in which they were often successful; but if they were unable to remove the difficulty, their separation was approved." Such a family possessed too little coherence to face alone the hardships of life; hence "several of them were usually found in one house forming a communal household."[1] This family was a great advance over the communal family, but still below the monogamian.

The organization we have now briefly sketched out is that of tribal society in general. We have made the statement that descent was in the female line. The children belonging to the gens and phratry of the mother, they were considered as belonging solely to her. In case of a separation, she kept the children. The family, as we understand it, had not yet made its appearance. In all probability female descent was the ancient rule; but we shall soon see that quite early the custom changed in a number of tribes, descent passing over to the male side, the children belonging to the gens of their father. Change of descent did not, however, change tribal organization. Let us, before passing on, speak of this wide-spread tribal society. It was the one form of society in the New World at the time of the conquest. Variations in details were, of course, numerous. The phratric organization was wanting in some tribes; but it is not too much to say that from Cape Horn to the Arctic Ocean the numerous Indian

[1] Morgan's "Ancient Society," p. 453, *et seq.*; also, Vol. I, this series, p. 491.

tribes all had substantially the same organization, though in a few instances confederacies of tribes had been formed.

We will not take into account the Aryan tribes at present, but will simply remark that they possessed this full organization. Among the Chinese, the tribe and the phratry have both disappeared, but the gens still survives. Mr. Robert Hart, a high official at Canton, thus wrote: "As regards 'division into tribes,' I am not aware that the Chinese . . . recognize at this day any . . . tribal distinctions. . . . The Chinese expression, however, for the people is *pih-sing*, which means the 'hundred family names.' . . . At the present day there are about four hundred family names in this country, amongst which I find some that have reference to animals, fruits, metals, natural objects, etc., and which may be translated as horse, sheep, ox, . . . plum, flower, leaf, . . . etc., etc. In some parts of the country there are large villages, in each of which there exists but one family name. Thus, in one district will be found say three villages, each containing two or three thousand people, the one of the 'horse,' the second of the 'sheep,' and the third of the 'ox' family name, and two of the three will, in all probability, have a kind of a reciprocity treaty, offensive and defensive, and be continually at feud with the third. . . . Husband and wife are always of different families. . . . Custom and law alike prohibit intermarriage on the part of people having the same family surname."[1]

Speaking of the Nepaul tribe, known as the Magyars, Latham remarks: "A trace of a tribal division is to be found. There are twelve 'thums.' All individuals belong-

[1] Letter to Mr. Morgan. ("Systems of Consanguinity," etc., p. 424.)

ing to the same thum are supposed to be descended from the same . . . ancestor; . . . husband and wife must belong to different thums. Within one and the same there is no marriage."[1] The existence among the Karens of the gens is evident. "They reckon themselves by families. . . . Each family occupies but one house, . . . large enough to contain three or four hundred individuals." This family is the gens. Intermarriage is prohibited, because "cousins marry, but not brothers and sisters." The same is true of other Indian tribes. Col. Dalton tells us that the "Hos, Moondahs, and Oraons are divided into classes, or keelis, and may not take to wife a girl of the same keeli."[2] Of the tribes in Mongolia we read: "In no part of the world is the tribal system more developed than in Mongolia. . . . The connection between the members of a tribe is that of blood. . . . The tribe is a large division falling into many banners." Intermarriage between these "banners" is doubtless prohibited, for Latham remarks that the Kalmucks have the same "social constitution,"[3] and we read that these latter "are divided into hordes, and no man can marry a woman of the same horde."

The Siberian tribes subdivide into clans. "When a Jakut wishes to marry, he must choose a girl from another clan. No one is permitted to marry a woman from his own clan." "The Ostiaks consider it a crime to marry a woman of the same family, or even of the same name." Klaproth gives us the divisions of the Russian Samoyeds, and further remarks: "This division of the kinsmanships is so rigidly observed that no Samoyed takes a wife

[1] "Descriptive Ethnology," Vol. I, p. 80.
[2] Lubbock: "Primitive Man," p. 95.
[3] "Descriptive Ethnology," Vol. I, p. 328.

from the kinsmanship to which he himself belongs."[1] The subdivisions of the Afghan tribes is very plainly marked. The divisions are called *kheils*. The rule of marriage is not given, though we read that "one of the commoner causes of war between tribe and tribe arises out of the abduction of a woman from one ulus to another, . . . abduction being common."[2] This shows the working of an exogamous rule.

In Africa the usual tribal divisions appear in full force. One of the Fulla tribe comes before us as divided into fourteen gentes reunited in four phratries.[3] The customs in reference to marriage and descent are not well known, but Du Chaillu observes: "Each tribe is divided into clans; the children in most of the tribes belong to the clan of the mother, and these can not by any possible law marry among themselves, however removed in degree they may have been connected."[4]

We have thus found the tribal state of society in the most widely separated parts of the world. We have reserved the Semitic and the Aryan tribes for a special discussion. We have found everywhere divisions of the tribe itself. We are not at all surprised that the phratry is, in many cases, wanting. The gens is always found, and, in the great majority of cases, the old rule prohibiting marriage within the gens is still observed. It is instructive to notice the course of development. The progress has been, on the one hand, towards the individual. The communal band, as it first appeared, knew nothing of the individual. The first step resulted in the class divisions. Division appears within the tribe. When the gens arose this division was carried still further. We

[1] "Descriptive Ethnology," Vol. I, p. 475. [2] Ibid., Vol. II, p. 215.
[3] Ibid., p. 119. [4] "Primitive Man," p. 95.

will notice a steady reduction of conjugal rights. In the first place, this right was as extensive as the tribe. The first step in advance reduced this right to a part only of the tribe, while the organization of the gentes tended to overthrow it altogether. The constant tendency has been to bring the individual and individual rights more and more to the front.

Let us now take notice of a change that would naturally take place in the gens; this is, the change of descent. The reason generally given to account for female descent is the one we give. That is, that as long as the family was communal maternity only would be sure; paternity might be doubtful. But as soon as the gens was firmly established as the unit of organization, communal marriage was largely overthrown. The pairing family, in a feeble state, makes its appearance, and we have stated that the tendency would be for this family to become more and more permanent. The reason, then, for female descent loses its hold. Hence, we are not at all surprised to learn that a large number of tribes, yet low in the scale of enlightenment, had descent in the male line.

Thus all the Aryan tribes, originally having descent in the female line, at an early day changed their descent to the male line. Judging from the fact that Abraham married his half-sister,[1] Nahor his niece,[2] and Amram his aunt,[3] we conclude that, anciently, descent was in the female line among the Semitic Hebrews, since in such a case all these relations would be of different gentes. This ancient rule had certainly become modified when the Book of Numbers was written, and descent was in the male line. Amongst our Northern Indian tribes, descent, in the majority of cases, was in the female line; but

[1] Genesis xi, 29. [2] Genesis xx, 12. [3] Exodus vi, 20.

numerous exceptions occur. Missionary influence is known in some places to have changed the ancient rule. The partially civilized tribes of Mexico and Central America had descent in the male line.[1] The majority of the South American Indian tribes had descent in the female line. The Incas of Peru seem to have had male descent. We find the two systems of descent side by side throughout Africa, Asia, and Australia. Two facts stand out clearly. A people reckoning descent in the female line often changes to descent in the male line, such a change generally following increase in culture. We know of no exceptions to the above rule—no instance of change going the other way. If a list were to be had of all people, both ancient and modern, who reckoned descent in the male line, and also a list of such people as still reckon descent in the female line, there is little doubt that the first list would be greatly the superior of the second in point of culture.

Mr. Tyler, discussing this subject, remarks: "In practice, the races of the world . . . have had to elect which of the two lines, male or female, they will keep up by the family name or sign."[2] We may be quite sure that if there were any "election" about this matter there never would have been any female descent known. Quite a number of theories have been put forth in explanation of the change from the female to the male line. It seems to us easy of explanation. When the gentes, with their rights and privileges, were fairly established, we have seen that the syndiasmian family came into existence. Why not agree with Sir John Lubbock,

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[1] Bandelier: "Peabody Museum Reports," Vol. II, p. 429. Morgan: "Ancient Society," p. 184.

[2] "Early History of Mankind," p. 285.

that "gradually and from force of circumstances, aided by the impulse of natural affections," parental responsibility would spring up? Then, as this form of the family gained in permanence, and advance in culture continues to be made, the idea of personal property comes into existence. There would exist, also, a natural desire on the part of the father to transmit his inheritance to his children; or, if he held the office of chief, he would desire his son to succeed him; or, yet again, we might say that along with the growth of parental responsibility and affection there would be a natural desire on the part of the father to consider the children as belonging to him. All these considerations tend to the overthrow of female descent. In a great many instances they succeeded in bringing about the change. Still, they had to contend with customs established from time immemorial, sanctioned by such religious ideas as they possessed; so it is not strange that the old plan held its own generally among the less civilized races. This change of descent did not overthrow the gentile system—it worked no change in that direction. Still, this change is regarded as a most important one for primitive man, as we will learn in the sequel.

It is interesting to note the tribal organization of the Hebrews. This can be gathered from the historic books of the Old Testament. The names of the collective tribes are not territorial, but personal. They are the "Children of Israel." In Afghanistan we find the same principle active to-day, where, by the "Children of Joseph," is understood a reference in a collective sense to eight independent tribes.[1] Each of the Hebrew tribes was independent in its own affairs. In the presence of great danger, they confederated together under one leader, such as Moses,

[1] Latham: "Descriptive Ethnology," Vol. II, p. 212.

Joshua, and the several judges. But most of the time they were disunited, and occasionally at enmity with each other.[1] The official head of each tribe was called *nasi*, meaning "prince," or "exalted one."[2] This chief was commander of the tribal forces in the time of war.[3]

Each of these tribes further possessed the phratric organization. The name of this division was *bethaboth*, meaning "house of the fathers." But one of the meanings of "house" is kindred,[4] so we can call it "father's kindred."[5] The official head of the phratry was *reshebeth*, meaning "head of the house," or we might express it "chief of the kindred."[6] In battle the forces of the phratry formed a division by themselves.[7] These phratries finally subdivided into gentes called *mishpachah*, the meaning of this word being exactly that of our own gens or clan. Our translators use for this the word *family;* not a good word to use, since we at once apply to it the meaning of our word family, whereas it meant a number of our families. The chief of the gens was called *reshob*, a term signifying "head father."[8]

The law of inheritance[9] plainly shows that descent at this time was in the male line. Of the laws of marriage we know but little; but notice that one of the last questions coming before Moses for settlement was in regard to the marriage of heiresses. And as a result of special legislation the daughters of Zelophehad married into their own gens; *i. e.*, their "father's brother's sons." Obviously, then, the ancient rule forbade this marriage.

[1] Judges xx. [2] Numbers i, 16.

[3] Compare the names of the captains of the hosts in Numbers ii with the princes in Numbers i. [4] Gesenius.

[5] Notice the numbering of the people by the "house of their fathers." (Numbers i.)

[6] Numbers iii, 24. [7] Numbers ii, 2.

[8] Numbers xxxvi, 1. [9] Numbers xxvii.

The organization of the tribe of Levi is given in full; we will give an outline of it:[1]

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Tribe of Levi. | Phratries. | Gershon. | Libni, Shimei | Gentes. |
| | | Kohath. | Amram, Izehar, Hebron, Uzziel | |
| | | Merari. | Mahli, Mushi | |

It remains to discuss the conditions of ancient society among the Aryans—the people who have had most to do with advancing civilization, and with whom history is most concerned. We must clear the way to an understanding by a few preliminary remarks. We are in the position of those who would decipher some palimpsest old and rare; only traces of the original writing can be made out—they are but faint and indistinct. The story of modern life and times, written in strong, clear characters, renders it most difficult to read what few traces of the older writing escaped the efforts of the eraser. All the great Aryan nations long ago passed from ancient to modern society. Their laws, their customs, their institutions, have conformed themselves to the new mould. We

[1] Mr. Morgan (in "Ancient Society," pp. 369, 370, and 545) concludes that "house of the fathers" is the gens, and that "families" is the phratry. We are at a loss to see the grounds of this conclusion. In Numbers iii, 14–27, we read: "And the Lord spake unto Moses, . . . saying, Number the children of Levi after the house of their fathers, by their families. . . . And these were the sons of Levi by their names, Gershon, Kohath, and Merari. . . . Of Gershon was the family of the Libnites, and the family of the Shimites: these are the families of the Gershonites. . . . And the chief of the 'house of the fathers' of the Gershonites," etc. This seems to show conclusively that the phrase *betha-both*, or "house of the fathers," denotes the first division of the tribe, and that *mishpachah*, or "family," denotes the second.

can, then, but see how difficult it must be to detect or interpret what few and faint traces yet remain of an older state. Nor can the pages of ancient history be of any great help to us. The ancient historians were Greeks and Romans. They wrote at a time when their own people had lost most of the vestiges of a tribal state. They would, therefore, explain ancient customs among their own people, or the customs they observed among the yet barbarian tribes around them, by the means of language which did not exactly fit the case. They, in short, made exactly the same error as the early explorers did in the New World. When the Spaniards called Montezuma the king or emperor of Mexico, instead of using the native title "tlaca-tecuhtli," or translating it by the phrase "chief-of-man," and explaining his powers, they made the same mistake Tacitus did when he speaks of the kings and generals of the German tribes, instead of using the native title *ealderman* for the civil chief of the tribe, and *heretoga* for the war-chief[1]—a mistake which we, at the present day, still make when we talk about some African or Australian "king."

"It is often said that it takes two or three years before a governor-general [of India] learns that the vast Indian population is an aggregate of natural groups, and not the mixed multitude he left at home."[2] If this be true of the present day, we may feel at ease in criticising Cæsar's description of the political society in Gaul. He tells us substantially that there were three orders of people. He calls them *Equites*, *Druids*, and *Plebeians*.[3] Cæsar describes them in a natural way for a Roman acquainted with

[1] Freeman: "Comparative Politics," p. 118.
[2] Maine: "Early History of Institutions," New York, 1875, p. 30.
[3] Book VI, chap. xiii.

Roman society. With fuller light, we at the present day understand the Equites, or knights, to be simply the numerous chiefs; the Plebeians, the people generally of the various tribes. In short, we reject his classes or orders; the only natural division of the people was the tribe and its subdivision. As Maine expresses it, his mistake was the effect of "mental distance."

Though the difficulties be great, we need not despair of still gaining light on the early state of society amongst our own race. We need only examine carefully the writings of older historians and examine a multitude of curious customs to learn the facts in the case. There is, indeed, a short cut we might take, which seems perfectly legitimate. If all the Aryan people are descendants of some common tribe, then if we can show this state of society to be true of any considerable body of Aryan people it would follow that all were once in that state. We prefer, however, to pass in review of the principal Aryan people.

It is necessary, however, to explain two divisions of people in ancient society still further. We have mentioned the tribe, phratry, and gens. In the former volume we spoke of confederacies. We examined the league of the Iroquois and Aztec confederacy. Let us briefly mention wherein a nation differs from a confederacy. In the presence of a great danger, tribes speaking dialects of the same stock language confederate together for mutual protection. Such a union tends to become permanent. When that point in advancing civilization is reached at which the union is not only permanent, but the individuality of the separate tribes is losing itself in the life of the greater aggregate, we may say these tribes have coalesced into a nation. Tacitus shows us a Germany of many scattered

tribes; a hundred years later we read of the Saxons, Burgundians, and Lombards.[1] The tribes had coalesced into nations.

Another division we wish to speak of is more important still. We refer to divisions taking place in the gens itself. We will call it the joint-family. Most writers speak of it as the patriarchal family; that, however, is only one form of its development. We have referred to and explained the syndiasmian family. In its archaic form all the members of a gens are brothers and sisters to each other, yet even then it must have tended to break up into groups living together for mutual help and protection. Advancing civilization would tend to consolidate and individualize these groups. The growth in strength of the family ties, the change from pastoral to agricultural life, the change in descent from the female to the male line, would all work to this end. The result was the formation of a new social unit. The gens was no longer the unit, but each gens is itself composed of a number of family groups. Each joint-family consisted, in the main, but not wholly, of the descendants of some common ancestor; each group has at its head a chief, who represents it in council and in other respects.[2] This office is generally, in theory at least, elective; practically, it generally passes by inheritance.

Let us explain a little in regard to this last statement about inheritance. In the archaic form of the gens, when descent was in the female line, and before the family ties had gained strength, all the various grades of chiefs, all tribal offices, were filled by election. The gens, in council assembled, elected its own officers. The same was true

[1] Freeman: "Comparative Politics," p. 122.
[2] Gomme: "Primitive Folk-moots," p. 16.

of the phratry, where the phratric organization was well developed. Finally, the various gentes of the tribe elected the tribal officers. If you reflect on the rule of marriage, you see that a chief's sons could not succeed him in office simply because they belonged to different gentes. There could be no inheritance in office, then, further than this: some one gens in the phratry had the right to furnish phratric officers; so, also, some one gens in some one phratry had the right to furnish tribal officers.

The change of descent from the female to the male line, thereby making it possible for sons to succeed their father in office, wrought a great change. It not only tended to build up the joint-family, but it tended to the formation of privileged classes within the gens. The head of some one joint-family becomes, by election, the chief of the gens. On his death the son becomes eligible for office; if unobjectionable, he is probably elected. This process, repeated for a few generations, tends steadily to establish an hereditary right of succession. The same process is repeated with all the offices of the tribe. At an early stage, the election of tribal chief became fixed in a certain gens; at a later stage, this election is confined to a certain joint-family of that gens, and finally it passes by inheritance. We are now fairly started on the formation of different orders of nobility. Processes are discovered at work which will inevitably tend to break up the old system. It is, therefore, not strange to discover various stages of the above process. Some tribes have clung tenaciously to the right of election, at least for some of their officers; others exercise the right of election within certain limits; others, still, have allowed all right of election to lapse.

Tacitus observed that the Germans chose their *ealder-*

*man—i. e.*, their civil chief—according to nobility; that is, election from a limited number of eligible personages. But their *heretoga—i. e.*, their war chief—they chose for his valor.[1] As this latter chief was the more important one for them, being almost constantly at war, they had not allowed this office to pass by inheritance. Similarly among the Scandinavians, at a far later day; when the Scandinavians invaded Northumberland, there fell in one battle five kings and seven earls. "We are told that the kings were young; we hear nothing of the age of the earls. Surely this is another form of the distinction drawn long before by Tacitus. The kings were chosen for their birth; they might, therefore, well be young. The earls, we may well believe, were still chosen for their personal strength and valor."[2]

As all we have to guide us are traces only of a vanished state of society, we need not hesitate to examine still another element of change. We refer to the change which takes place when the transition is made from a pastoral to an agricultural stage of living. We think the mere fact of settling down upon some definite expanse of territory tends to overthrow the very foundation of tribal society. As Sir Henry Maine observes: "The land begins to be the basis of society in the place of kinship. The change is extremely gradual, and in some particulars it has not even now been fully accomplished; but it has been going on through the whole course of history; . . . for all groups of men larger than the family, the land on which they live tends to become the bond of union between them, at the expense of kinship, ever more and more vaguely conceived."[3] We must constantly bear this judicious

[1] Tacitus: "Manners of the Germans," Oxford translation, Vol. II, p. 295.

[2] Freeman: "Comparative Politics," New York, 1874, p. 173.

[3] "Early History of Institutions," p. 72.

observation in mind, since in many cases the gens of ancient society will exist simply as an agricultural community. We will now pass in review some of the principal Aryan people.

Let us first look at the state of ancient society among the Aryans of Asia. The ancient Persians were an important branch of the Aryans. An inscription of Shalmaneser II, about the middle of the ninth century B. C., notices the Persians as independent tribes, having no single head over all, but under the government of numerous petty chieftains, each ruling in a small section of country.[1] Later inscriptions, about 650 B. C., show that these tribes had, at that time, coalesced into a nation. Herodotus tells that there were ten tribes of the Persians. Of these, one tribe, the Parsagadæ, held the first position. They were the ruling tribe in fact. They gave their name to the capitol of the new nation, and from them probably comes the word Persian. We know, further, that this tribe consisted of seven gentes. In one of these gentes, the Achæmenidæ, the kingly office passed by inheritance.

The chiefs of these seven gentes formed the king's council. They had the privilege of free communication at any and all times with the king, unless he was in his harem.[2] The king could select legitimate wives only from the ruling families of these gentes.[3] In the Bible the chiefs appear as the "seven princes"[4] or the "seven councilors."[5] They sat next to the king on festive occasions.[6] Their advice was asked and given on important points. We know of at least one instance in which they

[1] Rawlinson: "Seven Great Monarchies," Vol. II, p. 430.
[2] Rawlinson: "Herodotus," Vol. II, p. 478.
[3] Ibid. [4] Esther i, 14. [5] Ezra vii, 14.
[6] Notice their position at Ahasuerus' feast. (Esther i, 14.)

exercised the right, probably at all times inherent in them, of deposing the reigning king, and electing one in his stead.[1] Perhaps it would not be too venturesome to suggest that the phratry also makes it appearance. It is apparent, from the account of Herodotus, that the gens of which the house of Otanes was the ruling one at the election of Darius enjoyed powers and privileges second only to those of the kingly clan of the Achæmenidæ. They had, doubtless, enjoyed such privileges from an early time.[2] To our notion, the easiest explanation is that these two gentes were the leading ones in the phratries of the Parsagadæ tribe of the Persians. The Zend-avesta, or sacred books of the Persians, mentions, in an incidental sort of way, four classes or stages of social organization. They are translated as houses, kins, villages, and provinces. We submit that, in view of what is known of tribal society in general, we can translate these four divisions better by the words *joint-families*, *gentes*, *phratries*, and *tribes*.[3]

In India we find Aryan-speaking people, and here we must remember we are dealing with a greatly mixed people; but throughout the whole mass, from the purer Aryan people to the aboriginal tribes, we detect the tribal organization. We learn that there are thirty-six so-called pure Aryan tribes. Most of them, not all, are divided into phratries, called *sachas*, and these sachas are subdivided into many gentes,[4] called *gotras*. In Bengal we are dealing with a mixed population, but we learn that the four castes are first subdivided into classes. Each class is in turn divided into smaller bodies, the exact

[1] The pseudo-Smerdis was deposed, and Darius elected in his stead.

[2] See Rawlinson's note: "Herodotus," Vol. II, p. 477.

[3] Hearne: "Aryan Household," Melbourne, 1879, p. 169.

[4] Ibid., p. 115.

analogue of a gens.[1] In the Sanscrit, four degrees in the social scale are mentioned, corresponding exactly to the four divisions of the Persians.[2] Each of these divisions appears as a regularly organized body, with a chief at its head.

India has been greatly overrun by conquerors, and for over one hundred years has been a part of the British Empire. Their ancient institutions have become greatly changed; still, at the present day, two of these divisions stand out plainly. These are the joint-family and the gens. This makes it necessary to explain about the village community of India. Scattered all over India are found small villages, each of which is self-governing, and their laws are simply the immemorial customs of the village. They claim a right of possession in the land surrounding their village. The government varies; sometimes it is a village council, sometimes an elected headsman, sometimes an hereditary chief.[3] Anciently the land was subdivided at stated periods among the households entitled to share. From neglecting the ancient customs of making new subdivisions, these separate lots now pass by inheritance.[4]

We must notice that these villages contain in their midst all that is necessary for their isolated, independent existence. "Besides their headsman or council, they contain a village police. . . . They include several families of hereditary traders—the blacksmith, the harness-maker, the shoe-maker; . . . but the person practicing any one of these hereditary employments is a servant of the community."[5] He also possesses a share

[1] Letter from Rev. G. Mundy, a native Bengalese, to Mr. Morgan: "Ancient Society," p. 363. [2] "Aryan Household," p. 289.
[3] Maine: "Village Communities," p. 122.
[4] Ibid., p. 112. [5] Ibid., p. 126.

in the common land, which he holds at a very low rent.[1] The price of his wares or services is fixed by custom, not by competition. We must notice that some callings, such, for instance, as the grain-dealer, who was not needed in primitive times, do not appear as hereditary ones in the community.

This village community is simply the ancient gens. There are the clearest signs of an original equality between all the households composing the gens; but in quite a number of instances the office of chief, or headsman, has become hereditary, at least in certain families. We also notice the trades becoming hereditary; this all works a change in the gens. One great cause tending to break up the gens entirely is that the plots of land have now become hereditary; under English laws they can be taken for debts. Whether the ancient rule of marriage within the gens is still enforced, I can not say; but in almost all accounts of marriage ceremonies in India we notice the bride and groom are from different villages.

We must also notice the joint-family, or subdivisions of the gens. In a Bengal village each joint-family occupies what we might call a homestead. It consists of generally four huts, arranged around the four sides of a slightly elevated platform.[2] The number of members of a joint-family varies according to circumstances. They include the descendants, both natural and adopted, of a common ancestor; also, servants and dependents. The richer the family may be in land or trade, the longer it can hold together. Instances occur in Calcutta of families numbering as high as four hundred individuals.[3] In the

[1] Phear: "Aryan Village," London, 1880, p. 60.
[2] Ibid., p. 7. [3] Ibid., p. 79.

great majority of cases but two generations live together, because the limited amount of land belonging to the family can not support them. The younger members must give up or sell their portion, and seek a living as best they can; but as long as the family coheres, it is under the rule of the family chief, who is usually the eldest individual of the eldest branch. This chief represents the family in all public affairs; he manages the joint property. Some writers represent his rule as being a despotic one,[1] but others tell us that he is "theoretically responsible, in a certain vague way, to the entire body of joint co-sharers." Probably his power varies in different sections.

Turning to Europe, we will be compelled to pass rapidly along. The Celts were probably the first division of the Aryan race to arrive in Europe. They have had consequently to withstand the pressure of invasion from the other stocks. The Irish, Scotch Highlanders, and Welsh are the most important remnants of this once numerous people. The ancient laws of Ireland, fragments of which still remain to us, give us an insight into the social organization of the people some five hundred years ago. The larger division—the tribe proper—was called the *fine;* this same word is, however, applicable to all of the subdivisions.[2] At the head of the tribe was a chief, whom the traditions style a king. This tribe was further subdivided into branches; at the head of each was also a chief.[3] The unit of division finally appears as the *sept.* This last division—the sept—corresponds quite closely with the village community of India.[4] The lands

[1] Maine: "Village Communities," p. 113.
[2] Maine: "Early History of Institutions," p. 90.
[3] Laveleye: "Primitive Property," p. 122—Mariott's translation.
[4] Maine: "Early History of Institutions," p. 122.

of the sept were divided among the households of which it was composed. This occupation was, however, only temporary.[1] The individual did not have the power of disposing of his land. The sept is, in fact, a gens, consisting of a number of related households, governed by a chief, responsible for the acts of one of its numbers or demanding redress for any injury done to one.[2] The joint-family among the ancient Irish appears in a curiously complicated shape. It consisted of seventeen male members divided into four classes. Each class had a separate name. When the classes were all full, the birth of another male descendant pushed out the oldest member of the first group.

The Scottish Highlanders long retained the tribal system. The following description was written of the Highlanders about 1730: "The Highlanders are divided into tribes or clans, under chiefs or chieftains, and each clan again divided into branches from the main stock, who have chieftains over them. These are subdivided into smaller branches of fifty or sixty men, who deduce their original from their particular chieftains, and rely upon them as their more immediate protectors and defenders."[3] Mr. Skene's researches show that there were originally six great Highland tribes, containing eighteen great clans (phratries), and that five of these latter were again divided into seventeen small clans (gentes.)[4] At the head of each of these divisions was a chief. The smaller clans or gentes

[1] "Primitive Property," p. 125.

[2] Laveleye ("Primitive Property," p. 122) decides that the first division of the tribe given above is the gens. It seems to us that everything we know about it is equally true of the phratric division. This same writer also decides that the sept is the equivalent of the "joint undivided family" of the Hindoos. Maine qualifies this statement, as we have shown. We think the sept is the gens.

[3] Skene: "Highlanders of Scotland," London, 1837, Vol. I, p. 156.

[4] Ibid., Vol. II, p. 305.

formed village communities. The lands were divided among the families which composed the gens. A new division was made at stated intervals.[1]

Passing now to the Germanic nations of Aryan descent, we can do but little more than glance at the wide field; still, among all the modern nations of old Germanic stock, we trace the elements of the tribal government. In the first century, Tacitus wrote a treatise on the manners and customs of the Germans, and from this we gather much information. At an earlier date still, Cæsar had noted many of their peculiarities. Both of these Romans, however, wrote at a time when their own people had long passed from the tribal stage; hence, in their accounts we have to make due allowance for "mental distance." They describe to us a country inhabited by many independent tribes. In some cases confederacies, or the union of several tribes forming nations, governed by what they called a king, had arisen; still, this was not the universal rule.[2]

In Cæsar[3] we see the principle on which this confederation was brought about: "When a state either repels war waged against it or wages it against another, magistrates are chosen to preside over that war with such authority that they have the power of life and death. In peace there is no common magistrate, but the chiefs of provinces and cantons administer justice and determine controversies among their own people."

Tacitus was struck with the large share that the people still retained of original liberty: "On affairs of smaller moment the chiefs consult; on those of greater

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[1] "Early History of Institutions," p. 101.

[2] Tacitus: "Germania," §§ 25, 43. Freeman: "Growth of the English Constitution," p. 30.

[3] "Gallic War," Book VI, p. 23.

importance the whole community. . . . They assemble, unless on some sudden emergency, on stated days. . . . An inconvenience produced by their liberty is that they do not all assemble at a stated time, as if it were in obedience to a command, but two or three days are lost in the delays of convening. When they all think fit they sit down. . . . Then the king or chief, and such others as are conspicuous for age, birth, military renown, or eloquence are heard, and gain attention rather from their ability to persuade than their authority to command."[1] We detect but slight references to the smaller divisions of the tribe. Reference is made to cantons and subdivisions. Of their armies we read: "Their squadrons and battalions are not formed by men fortuitously collected, but by the assemblage of families and clans."[2] In a religious observance by one tribe, we read that "at a stated time all the people of the same lineage assemble by their delegates in a wood."[3] This seems to refer to the phratry. Of their agricultural habits, Cæsar observes: "Nor has any one a fixed quantity of land or his own individual limits, but the magistrates and the leading men each year apportion to the gens and families living in communities as much land as, and in the place in which, they think proper, and in the year after compel them to remove elsewhere."[4]

Of late years many writers have been investigating the traces of tribal society among the modern nations of Europe. In this connection we must remember that settled agricultural habits tend to make the land the basis of kinship instead of personal relations. Hence it is that most of the old tribal divisions appear as the names

[1] "Germania," § 11. [2] Ibid., § 7.
[3] Ibid, § 39. [4] "Gallic War," Book VI, p. 22.

of certain territorial expanses. The tribe proper, and the land which it held, were called the *pagus*, or, more commonly, the *gau;* in ancient England the *shire.*[1] This was the territory of an independent people. At its head was the *ealderman*, or civil chief; its forces in war were under the management of the *heretoga*, who might or might not be the same as the *ealderman.* In some cases the *gau-graf* has descended to modern times as a title of nobility —the count.[2] We might remark that England is full of places which, by their name, indicate that they once were the place of meeting of the shire court.[3] The first division of the gau was the *hundreds*, "a name to be found in one shape or another in most lands into which the Teutonic race has spread itself."[4] Each hundred had also its chief.[5] In full keeping with the fact that the phratric organization generally tends to fall to pieces at an early date is an interesting observation by Mr. Gomme: "Among modern institutions, the hundred has always had a tendency to decay. . . . This tendency began early. . . . The hundred was never called upon, as the shire has been, to take part in the movements of modern political necessities."[6] In general we know much less about the hundreds than we do about the gau.[7] The "districts" and "townships" divisions of the German cantons (corresponding to the gau) were hundreds.[8]

The gens finally appears under several names, as the *mark*, the *gemeinde*, the *commune*, or the *parish.* It is an agricultural community exactly like the village communi-

[1] Freeman: "Comparative Politics," p. 118.
[2] Laveleye: "Primitive Property," p. 119.
[3] Gomme: "Primitive Folk-moots," London, 1880, pp. 208, 214.
[4] "Comparative Politics," p. 117.
[5] Ibid., p. 118.
[6] "Primitive Folk-moots," p. 104.
[7] "Comparative Politics," p. 412.
[8] Tacitus: "Germania," §§ 12, 26.

ties of India. Traces of the mark are found in all Germanic countries. The territory of the mark was divided among the joint-families of the gens. This partition was at first temporary only. In some portions of Germany these farming communities still exist, and in others only recently has the practice of periodical partitions been lost.[1] The *allmends* of Switzerland at present are simply the old German marks, but slightly modified. Each mark was under the rule of its elected chief. All through England we come on traces of the old mark system,[2] but, unhappily, the people have allowed their rights to lapse, and thus the lands have accumulated in the hands of a privileged class.

The joint-family among the Germanic nations can also be detected. Cæsar noticed families "living in association." It is needless to remark that each of the households was represented in council and public assemblies by its chief or leader; he it is who drew by lot the portion of land the family was entitled to.[3] The power of this house-father was very great, extending in some cases to the power of life and death;[4] but the children were released from the control of the house-father when the tribe took them as its members.[5] We thus find among the Germanic nations clear traces of all the divisions of ancient society: the tribe, the phratry, the gens, and joint-family. We also notice confederacies and nations. Descent was in the male line, and many offices passed by inheritance, thus steadily tending to break up the ancient system.

Turning now to the Slavonians, we will stop to notice

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[1] Laveleye: "Primitive Property, p. 112.
[2] Nasse: "Agricultural Communities."
[3] "Primitive Property," p. 116.
[4] Hearne: "Aryan Household," pp. 92, 93.
[5] Tacitus: "Germania," § 13.

only two survivals of tribal society. The first is the gens. Tribe and phratry appear to have both disappeared; or, at any rate, the investigation necessary to bring them to light has not yet been made. The gens appears as an agricultural community called the *mir*. It is a complete, independent, and self-governing body, still in active existence. The heads of the joint-families assemble in council, elect their chief or mayor, and discuss and regulate all the affairs of the commune.[1] As, in most of the agricultural communities formed from the old form of the gens, the land is not held in individual ownership, the Russians have resisted the tendency to allow the land to pass by inheritance. Anciently, the land was divided every three years, "and in some parts this ancient custom is still maintained. The period of partition varies at the present day in the different districts. In certain localities partition takes place every six years; in others, every twelve or fifteen years. Every nine years is the most usual period."[2]

As we might expect, we find in Russia also the joint-family as an existing institution. We read: "Family ties have maintained a force among the Russians . . . which they have lost elsewhere. The family is a sort of perpetual corporation; it is governed by a chief called 'the ancient,' with almost absolute authority. All property is common. There is usually neither succession nor partition. The house, the garden, the agricultural implements, the stock, the produce, movables of every description, remain the collective property of all the members of the family; no one thinks of claiming a separate share. On the death of the father of a family, his authority and administration devolves on the eldest member of the

[1] "Primitive Property," p. 9. [2] Ibid., p. 10.

house; in some districts, on the eldest son; in others, on the eldest brother of the deceased, provided he lives under the same roof. In some parts, too, the members themselves elect the new chief. If all the survivors are under age, a relative establishes himself with them and becomes a co-proprietor."[1]

Amongst some people, all the divisions of tribal society have disappeared except the joint-family, but this has shown considerable vitality. This is the case among all the Balkan states of Europe, the inhabitants of which are essentially Slavonian.[2] In these states the joint-family exists at the present day. It includes, generally, three generations, and comprises from ten to twenty persons; in exceptional cases, as many as fifty or sixty are noted. The amount of land belonging to the family consists of from forty to fifty acres. The dwellings consist of one principal house, the residence of the family chief, containing the large room where the common meals are eaten, and where the family gathers for social purposes; around this are grouped the other dwelling houses. Such a joint-family is called a *zadruga*, the word meaning an association. The chief is called the *gospodar* or *starchina*, the latter word meaning the "older." It is instructive to notice his powers, as they are not at all despotic.

He is elected by the members of the family. He may be removed from office if his rule is distasteful. He generally resigns when he gets too old to manage the business as it should be done. He is the general manager of the family, buying and selling as occasion requires, and regu-

[1] "Primitive Property," p. 17.

[2] The states are Slavonia, Cretia, Servia, Bosnia, Bulgaria, Dalmatia, Herzegovina, and Montenegro.

lates the work to be done. But in all this he acts in accordance with the wishes of the family members, and is careful to consult with them on all matters of moment. A matron is also elected to superintend the domestic economy. She is not necessarily the wife of the *gospodar*, but such is the general rule. She directs the education of the young, and is to be consulted in regard to all marriages. The *gospodar* submits from time to time, to the assembled family, a report of his management. Such is the joint-family to-day among the Southern Slavs.

We think, furthermore, that if all the facts were known the rule of the house-father among the Germanic tribes was much less arbitrary than some writers state. They have been too much influenced by what is known of his power among the Romans. At any rate, joint-families exactly on the same plan as the *zadruga* are known to have existed universally throughout France until well into the eighteenth century. A writer as late as 1788, describing one, says: "All the members of the community assemble; a chief is elected by the majority of voices, who takes the title of 'master.' . . . The master, in his character of chief, receives the moneys, sells and buys, ordains reparation, allots to each his tasks, regulates all that concerns the houses, the vintage, and the herds; . . . but . . . having only a deputed authority intrusted to him, he is responsible to those of whom he holds it, and can lose it in the same way as he received it. . . . The internal domestic details are intrusted to a woman. . . . She bears the title of 'mistress;' she directs the women as the 'master' does the men; like him, she is chosen by the majority of votes, and like him may be deposed." At least one such joint-family was described in 1840, and indeed at the present day in Brittany, and in the depart-

ment of Jura, traces still exist. We learn that in Northern Italy substantially similar families are found to-day. "These associations are usually composed of four or five couples living in common in a large farmstead. They recognize the authority of a chief and of a housewife," whose duties are the same as those above described.[1]

We will now turn our attention to the ancient Greeks and Romans, and we must preface our remarks by a few words of explanation. A host of eminent scholars have written on the history of these two people. As far as the mere recording of events is concerned they leave little to be desired, but when they undertake to tell us about the social institutions they are not always correct. In regard to Greece, we must reflect that its history was not written until after the political institutions of Cleisthenes (B. C. 509) had become fully established. "Even before the Peloponnesian war, the Greek constitution had ceased to be a development of the ancient institutions. The ancient basis had consumed itself."[2] History is said to commence with the Olympic games celebrated in the year 776 B. C., but our knowledge of events in Athens before the time of Solon (B. C. 683) is almost a blank.[3] Lying back of that time is a long lapse of years, how many we will never know, and our knowledge of the ancient institutions has to be deduced solely from legends and myths which the ancient poets embalmed in verse. It is surely not presumption to ask for a review of their descriptions, and to read their accounts with the fuller knowledge we have now obtained of ancient society.[4]

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[1] The facts in regard to the Slavs and others are gathered from Laveleye's valuable work, "Primitive Property," pp. 180–214.

[2] Niebuhr: "Ancient History," Philadelphia, 1852, Vol. II, p. 394.

[3] Greene: "History of Greece," New York, 1855, p. 88.

[4] This has been well done by Mr. Morgan, in "Ancient Society."

As is well known, the Greeks are a branch of the great Aryan stream. Even the earliest historical gleams show us two principal races of the Greeks—the Dorians and the Ionians.[1] Of the Ionians, the Athenians will be taken as typical; of the Dorians, the Spartans. As far back as we can trace the Athenians, they appear as a nation composed of four tribes. There are traditions of the time when this coalescence took place, which is said to have been caused by the influence of Theseus; but the time at which it occurred long precedes historical records.[2]

The Ionian tribes first made their appearance in Attica as invaders. The same is true of the Dorians in Peloponnesus. Like all successful invaders, they held the original inhabitants in a state of subjection. At least some of the subject tribes were practically independent, and in course of time they began to urge their claim for a share in the government, and the history of this conflict may be traced in the social revolutions of the ancient cities.

Let us first consider the probable government in the first or heroic age—the age lying beyond the light of history. They were probably in much the same state of life as the Germanic tribes in the time of Tacitus. At the head of the tribe, or confederacy, was a *basileus*. This word is generally translated *king*, but his powers were entirely different from what we generally understand by the powers of a king. Often at least two of these personages appear,[3] as among the Spartans. We think the probabilities are that, in the majority of cases, two officers were chosen—one the civil head, the other

[1] Herodotus i, 56.

[2] Greene: "History of Greece," p. 88.

[3] Thirlwall: "History of Greece," New York, 1851, Vol. I, p. 133.

the war chief.[1] The basileus was elected, though the office was doubtless hereditary at first in a certain gens, subsequently in a certain family, and finally it tends to pass by succession from father to son. Though birth might give the son a presumptive right to the office of basileus, it was still necessary for him to be elected.[2] If therefor unsuited, by reason of age or bodily infirmities, or if personal character was such as not to command respect, the office went to another person.[3] The office was for life, but subsequently acquired infirmities of mind or body, by reason of age or accident, necessitated its relinquishment.[4]

The basileus is often described as ruling just as he saw fit. Thus, Greene says: "The authority of the king was not limited by any laws, . . . for the exercise of it he was responsible only to Jove. . . . He had the sole command of his people in war. . . . He was general, judge, and priest."[5] To the same effect writes Curtius.[6] There are excellent reasons, however, for denying that the basileus possessed such powers as are here set forth. Thirlwall observes: "It is evident that the kings took no measures and transacted no affairs in their official capacity without the assistance and sanction of the chiefs and people."[7] In fact it is easy to discover the limited power of the basileus. He appears as directly subordinate to the council.[8] As their general, he possessed great power in times of war; also, as priest, he

[1] Vol. I, this series, p. 786, note 3.
[2] Mitford: "Greece," Vol. I, p. 127.
[3] Thirlwall: "History of Greece," London, 1835, Vol. I, pp. 168, 169.
[4] Grote: "History of Greece," New York, 1854, Vol. II, p. 64.
[5] "History of Greece," p. 25.
[6] "History of Greece," Ward's translation, London, 1868, Vol. I, p. 139.
[7] "History of Greece," London, 1835, Vol. I, p. 166.
[8] Gillie's "History of Ancient Greece," Philadelphia, 1831, p. 27.

was a very influential and respected person.[1] Mitford[2] makes such a judicious observation that we quote it entire. Speaking of the basileus in ancient times, he observes: "In all civil concerns their authority appears very limited. Everything that remains, concerning government, in the oldest Grecian poets and historians, tends to demonstrate that the general spirit of it among the early Greeks was nearly the same as among our Teutonic ancestors. The ordinary business of the community was directed by the chiefs. Concerning extraordinary matters and more essential interests, the multitude claimed a right to be consulted, and it was commonly found expedient to consult them." In short, we see in the basileus the official head of the confederacy or nation. The same title exactly was used for the tribal chief. He was an elected officer, the first among equals.

Let us now treat of the tribes composing the confederacy or nation. Each appears as a fully organized body, composed of phratries subdivided into gentes. Each gens had its chief, who generally bore the title of *archon*.[3] It had its common feast days and its assemblies, where it passed laws binding on all of its members.[4] The gentes were reunited in phratries, and we notice that the phratries, in some cases, had disappeared. Although it existed in full vitality among the Doric tribes at Sparta, yet it was not found among the Dorians generally.[5] Among the Spartans this division was called an *obe*. Among the Athenians our word *phratry* makes its appearance. Each phratry had its chief, or *phratriarch*. It had its assemblies and tribunals, and could pass decrees.[6] Each tribe

[1] Coulanges: "The Ancient City," Small's translation, pp. 231, 239.
[2] "History of Greece," Vol. I, p. 126. [3] Coulanges: L. C., p. 137. [4] Ibid.
[5] Müller: "Dorians," Tufnall and Lewis's translation, Vol. II, p. 81.
[6] Coulanges: "The Ancient City," p. 156.

had at its head a *tribe-basileus*. It bore a name significant of descent from some supposed common ancestor. When tribes coalesced to form a nation, they naturally lost their individuality, but we can detect many references to them.

Almost all writers on Grecian history speak of the tribes and their subdivisions; but not being acquainted with the tribe, phratry, and gens among partially civilized tribes, they have failed to clearly understand and describe them. To still further complicate the question, we must remember that the ancient institutions were early broken down. Back in legendary times the powers in both Sparta and Athens had to break in on the ancient order and make concessions to some of their subject tribes, so that from this time on the divisions appear as modified by legislative enactments. We have seen that each of the divisions and subdivisions of the Grecian tribes were headed by chiefs. It is not necessary to recount how these offices, originally filled by election, tend to become hereditary and descend from father to son. In the accounts of heroic times these chiefs generally appear as the "nobles;" and so early Greece is plentifully provided with "kings" and "noble lords." The accounts given by some writers, thoroughly imbued with European ideas of royalty and nobility, of the charming simplicity of the Greeks of the heroic age are really amusing.

Even kings and nobles, it is said, did not consider it derogatory to acquire skill in the manual arts. "We find it related that Achilles cooked the dinner for the ambassadors who were sent by Agamemnon to visit him in his tent. Ulysses carved and ornamented his bedstead for his bridal chamber; and Nausicaa went to her

father when sitting in the council of his chiefs to ask that she might go down to the river with her handmaids to wash the linen of her household."[1] We have to observe, on this pleasant state of affairs, that in early times any assumption of superiority on the part of the chief or his family would probably have led to his overthrow.

At some unknown time in the past the Dorians invaded the Peloponnesus. In the course of time they acquired the mastery of the greater portion of the peninsula. They were mainly in three tribes—Hylleis, Dymanes and Pamphyli.[2] These three tribes seem to have coalesced into a nation before the invasion, because each of the invading bands appear to have contained portions of these three tribes, and hence they are found generally in the Dorian cities.[3] They found the country already inhabited. Some tribes appear to have been completely subject to them, as the Helots in Sparta; others obtained better terms, as the Periæci of the same state, and in some cases they seemed to have forced an alliance with their Doric conquerors, and even at Sparta we detect traces of such alliance. Subsequently, Sparta, by her military prowess, obtained the supremacy in the peninsula. Sparta was always very conservative in her form of government, clinging to the traditions of the past; consequently, it will well repay close examination.

We note first the signficant fact that the confederation or nation had two official heads—two "kings." The probabilities are that, especially at an early day, one represented the civil power and one the military power, though in process of time they appear as equals. The office passed by succession. It is instructive to notice the

[1] Frost: "Greece," Philadelphia, 1842, p. 23.
[2] Müller's "Dorians," Vol. II. [3] Ibid., p. 77.

powers of these "kings." In time of war their power was certainly very great; when they had passed the boundaries of Sparta they had no superior. They were also national priests. As such they interpreted the oracles and presided over the sacrifices. As judges they presided in those cases where the general government was concerned. In civil affairs their power was nothing more than any other phratric chief. They formed part of the council, but their vote counted no more than any other individual. Their power and its limitation is most significant when we consider that it was probably similar to the royal power of the heroic age.[1]

The tribes composing the nation retained to a late day a considerable degree of individuality or power. It is generally stated that there were three tribes at Sparta; the fact is, we do not know the exact number.[2] We think there are good reasons for concluding that there were five tribes; this because five superior officers, representing the civil power, known as *ephors*, make their appearance. It is generally stated that one was chosen from each of the divisions of the city. But if we only reflect on the power they exercised, we see that they must have each represented a tribe or a division of a tribe; furthermore, the divisions of the city of Sparta can only represent the tribes composing it.[3] In short, the easiest way is to conclude that the five ephors represent the five chiefs of the five Spartan tribes.[4]

These ephors certainly represent the whole collected

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[1] Müller: L. C., Vol. II, p. 100.

[2] Thirlwall: "History of Greece," New York, 1851, p. 131; also, appendix to same. [3] Müller; L. C., p. 48.

[4] Grote ("Greece," Vol. II, p. 362, note 1) shows that we have no certain knowledge of the number of tribes at Sparta, but states that Barthelemy makes this number five.

body of the Spartan nation. Their powers are generally spoken of as gradually encroaching on those of the kings. We think they always had more power in civil affairs. They transacted business with foreign embassadors. They, as representatives of the people, signed treaties of peace. Once every month they required from the kings an oath by which they bound themselves to rule according to law, and in return for this they promised, in the name of the people, to uphold their authority. They gave instructions relative to carrying on war. They remained seated when the kings passed by, but the kings were bound to rise in honor of them. The kings were liable to be called before them for trial, and punishment was inflicted on them if found guilty. They even suspended the kings from office if they thought the gods were displeased with them.[1] In fact, the Spartan kings appear simply as hereditary generals and priests.

We are not to suppose, however, that the ephors possessed arbitrary authority. They were simply executive officers, each probably representing a tribe. The old council of chiefs remained as a most essential part of the government. Here, however, it is not the chiefs of the gentes that form the main part of the council, but the chiefs of the phratries, or the *obes*. This council was known as the *gerusia* or "assembly of elders." It is generally stated to have consisted of thirty members;[2] but Grote shows that there is no real authority for this conclusion.[3] Originally, it is not probable that each tribe would contain the same number of phratries, but by legislative enactments this might have been brought about.

[1] Smith: "Dictionary of Antiquities," article on Ephors; also, Müller's "Dorians," Vol. II, p. 122.

[2] Müller: L. C., p. 80; Greene's "Greece," p. 65.

[3] "History of Greece," Vol. I, p. 361.

To this assembly the kings, as representing the nation, belonged and presided over its sessions. It is not stated anywhere that the ephors sat in this council, yet they probably did. Müller observes: "They must, in early times, have had the privilege of proposing laws." This could only have been to the gerusia; besides, when the gerusia sat as a court to try noted offenders, as a king, the ephors sat with them.[1] The conservatism of Sparta appears in that they did not allow this office of chief of the phratries to become hereditary; it was always elective. This council prepared laws to be laid before the assembly. It also exercised judicial authority.

Still, a law passed in due form by the gerusia had to meet the approval of the popular assembly before it was duly enacted. This assembly was composed of all citizens above the age of thirty. They did not originate measures; their power was to vote on measures submitted to them by the gerusia. The only ones who could address them were the ephors and members of the gerusia. Yet this assembly was supreme. It only could declare war, or make a binding treaty of peace. All affairs of great moment had to be settled by its vote. The time of meeting was at each full moon, but on occasions of emergency it could be called at any time.

We have now discussed the most strongly marked characteristics of the Spartans that betray the organization of ancient society. We do not know what part the gentes, as such, took in the government. They undoubtedly were in existence. It is supposed that there were thirty in each *obe*, or phratry. They must have been fully organized, each with its own chief. We know that the army was marshaled according to tribes, phratries, and

[1] Müller: L. C., pp. 123–125.

gentes.[1] It is probable, though we have no authority for the statement, that when a general assembly convened the people assembled by gentes. Neither do we know very much about the joint-family. Indeed, at Sparta, the authority of the state overrode family ties. Yet the custom in relation to holding land gives us considerable light on the point.

When the Dorians possessed themselves of Peloponnesus, the territory was divided among the tribes; and thus Sparta had a communal domain of great extent. But when history throws a light on the scene, the only owners of property seem to have been the gentes.[2] Land seems to have been divided by the officers of the gentes among the families composing them. Plutarch tells us that when a child was born the elders of the tribe assigned it a lot. But the officers he here speaks of were probably officers of the gens.[3] On the death of the head of the family there was no partition. All the children remained grouped around the common hearth. One of the brothers, the most capable, and, as a rule, the oldest, by reason of the sacred privileges of his birth, regulated the community, and was called the "lord of the hearth."[4]

If Sparta shows us the conservative element in Grecian history, Athens shows us the progressive element; and hence a review of her institutions and history will show us the conflict between ancient society and the forces of advancing civilization, before which the organization of ancient times gave way for those of modern society. When the Ionians entered Attica is unknown; as there is so much doubt and uncertainty and clashing of opinion on the part of those who are entitled to express an opinion,

[1] Müller: L. C., Vol. II, p. 244. [2] Laveleye: "Primitive Property," p. 159.
[3] Müller: L. C., p. 209. [4] Laveleye: L. C.

we can only make general reference. There seems to have been once a time when there were twelve independent tribes in what is now Attica. They were, however, probably loosely confederated under the head of the Cecropidæ at Athens. Thucydides thus describes this period: "People . . . lived in cities having their own prytaneums and archons, and when not in fear of danger did not consult their basileus, but governed their own affairs separately, according to their own councils."[1] In this description we are to recognize the *prytaneums* as the tribal chiefs and archons as the gens chiefs. In times of danger we notice they confederate under a common basileus, or war chief.

Time passed on, and four tribes in the immediate vicinity of Athens seem to have acquired a closer union, and, perhaps, gained a supremacy over the remaining tribes. The four coalescing tribes were the *Geleontes*, *Hopletes*, *Argades*, and *Ægicores*. They coalesced into one people, having a common basileus; yet each tribe was fully organized, having a tribe basileus, and having both phratries and gentes with appropriate officers. We are not for a moment to suppose that the common basileus had the powers of a king. But all historical knowledge of these early times was long ago lost. The neighboring tribes (perhaps they were not fully organized tribes) were closely related to these four. Whatever degree of subjection, if any, there was between them tended to wear away in time. They were continually pressing for a share in the government. Finally, when that legendary personage Theseus was basileus, he made the first concessions to them. The four tribes, the ruling class, were set aside by themselves as a class known as *Eupatrides;* the

[1] Laveleye: Book II, chap. xv.

surrounding tribes, or portions of tribes, formed two other classes, known as *Geomori* and *Demirugi.* They were probably given some share in the government, but the great part of power still lay in the four tribes first set forth.[1]

From the time of Theseus to Solon is an unknown period, probably extending over several centuries. During all this time we know but very little of the society or government at Athens. We know of some changes taking place, and we will probably not be in error if we ascribe these changes to the growing influence of the mass of the people, and especially of those without the pale of the four dominant or Eupatride tribes, who were continually pressing for the overthrow of the old established order of things. We notice a change in the title of the basileus; he was called the *archon.* As far as we can make out, this was simply a change of name, and not of authority;[2] but we may imagine that the people generally had something to do with this change. This office was still hereditary and for life, but we see plainly that it was of limited power only. A further change was in limiting its duration to a period of ten

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[1] This is saying a good deal. However, this view seems consistent with all accounts obtainable. Remember, this was all before the dawn of history. For authority for rejecting the generally received story of Ionian invasion, see Coulanges' "The Ancient City," p. 172, note p. 173. For authority that the first four tribes formed the Eupatride class, and had nothing to do with the other two classes, see Malden's "History of Rome," p. 140. This view will explain the six legislative archons at the time of Solon. See Smith's "Dictionary," article on Tribes. This explains the opposition to Theseus on the part of the Eupatrides; they were no longer the sole power in the government. This will clear away the difficulty arising from the fact that the four tribe-basileuses were all Eupatrides. See Thirlwall, "Greece," Vol. II, p. 10. The two classes Geomori and Demirugi may have largely consisted of individuals, families, and gentes not connected with any tribe. See Morgan's "Ancient Society," pp. 26, 657; Grote's "Greece," Vol. III, p. 65.

[2] Coulanges: "Ancient City," p. 322.

years. The right seems still to have remained hereditary in a certain gens. At length we come to a great change in the government which we can only explain as the result of the continued agitation on the part of the mass of the people not connected with the four Eupatride tribes for a share in the government.

The office of archon was limited to one year's time; but the office was thrown open to the mass of the people generally, and, further, nine archons were chosen in the place of one. We must examine this number of archons; they certainly had some good reason for taking that number. We may be very sure that each tribe would demand an equal representation in this executive board. We gain an insight into the facts of the case when we learn the names and titles of the archons. Three of them represented the nation in its collective capacity, and divided between them the powers of the old basileus. The first was called, by way of preëminence, *the* archon; the year was named after him; he represented the civil power. The second one represented the priestly power of the king; he was called the *archon-basileus;* he was the high priest. The third one represented the war chief; he was the commander-in-chief; his title was the *polemarch.* The remaining six archons bore the significant title of *thesmothetes*, literally meaning "legislators." Now these are the ones that must have represented divisions of the Athenian people. In other words, they must each have represented a tribe.[1] We see in this revolution

[1] Herodotus, relating an insurrection supposed to have taken place B. C. 620, says that Athens was then under the direction of the "prytanes of the naucraries." The naucraries were political divisions analogous to the gentes, so that this expression means "tribal chiefs." Thucydides, in describing the same event, states that Athens was under the control of the archons. Much effort has been made to reconcile these statements. In our opinion both are right. The six archons represented tribes; each was a "prytane of the naucraries."

simply the admission to equal political rights, along with the old Eupatride tribes of the two classes of Theseus, the Geomori and the Demirugi. They had at length achieved political recognition.

But these two classes, who had finally forced their way into a share of the government, compelling an unwilling recognition from the four Eupatride tribes, were probably composed, to some extent, of unrelated individuals, families, and gentes. They were unacquainted with any form of organization except that of tribes, phratries, and gentes; they were, therefore, organized on substantially the same basis. But a new set of names make their appearance; the *naucrary* is used for gens, and *trittyarch* for a tribe. Whether these names took the place of the older divisions in the Eupatride tribes we can not say. In these two organizations were contained the germs of the township and county. They were in a sense territorial divisions. This institution is generally accredited to Solon, but we know that these divisions long precede his time.[1] We would prefer to trace it, at least, as far back as the substitution of nine archons in place of one.

This executive board of archons possessed no arbitrary power. Our knowledge of these far-away times is so very limited that we can not speak with assurance on this subject. However, we detect in the dim past a council or court of Ephetæ. Its number is generally stated to have been fifty-one, but this is probably true only of the latter stages. We have but little doubt that at its origin it was a council of chiefs of phratries. When the commonalty had succeeded in their efforts to share in the government, this old court continued to exist, but with dimin-

[1] Smith's "Dictionary," article on Naucrary.

ished functions. It seems quite evident that for a time the government of the four Eupatride tribes would continue to exist side by side with the new government, though always with decreasing influence; such, at any rate, was the fate of this old council. But when the government of the six tribes came into existence, it also required some such a select council. From its place of meeting, it was called the "Council of the Areopagus." It also must have represented tribal divisions. In addition to this select council, corresponding to the gerusia of Sparta, we have traces of another larger council, composed of probably three hundred members.[1] These members could only have represented divisions of the tribes. If we are correct in supposing six tribes, there must have been fifty to the tribe.

When we finally emerge into the light of history, the first figure that strikes us is that of Solon. When he became archon the social evils in Attica had become almost unbearable. He attempted a reformation. The laws he produced, bearing on the internal affairs, we need not here discuss; but if we interpret his laws in reference to government, it seems to have been a step backward. He seems to have left, for most purposes, the old organization in tribes as he found it. He made a division of the people into four classes, founded upon wealth in land. Now, if we will reflect on ancient customs in regard to holding land—how in most cases alienation was impossible, and how in Greece the "Roman idea of absolute property was always foreign;"[2] how property descended from family to family, not to individuals; how the gens is the absolute owner and divides up the land among the

[1] Thirlwall's "Greece," Vol. II, p. 41.

[2] Laveleye: "Primitive Property," p. 158.

families composing it—we will probably be ready to admit with Niebuhr[1] that the first effect of his division was to remove from a share in the government those members in the existing tribes who had become poor.

These classes were simply different grades of the people in regard to eligibility of office. From the first class only could be elected the archons and highest magistrates. We do not know wherein the second class surpassed the third in privileges, but it probably did surpass them.[2] The fourth class was excluded from all offices, but they were permitted to take part in the public assemblies and in some forms of judicial proceedings. There is certainly no advance in political life here set forth. But we can go further: he composed his senate of four hundred members, taking one hundred from each of the four Eupatride tribes. This was certainly a backward step. He formed, however, the popular assembly in which all the citizens met to discuss and determine public matters. This assembly did not originate new measures; only discussed and modified, if deemed advisable, those submitted to them from the senate. All classes of citizens were by this law given a share in the government. We must also notice the court of the Areopagus, composed of the ex-archons (probably not wholly so), who exercised not only criminal jurisdiction, but exercised a sort of superintendency over public morals.

On the whole, the legislation of Solon was a strange mixture of progressive and antiquated ideas; that is, in reference to their political effect; his fame chiefly rests on his laws concerning internal economy. Like most compromises, it failed of pleasing either party, and his

[1] "History of Rome," Vol. II, p. 307.

[2] Niebuhr: L. C., Vol. I, note 1017.

laws had scarcely gone into effect before trouble commenced. The same results occurred in Athens that had taken place in so many other Grecian states. The masses of the people, dissatisfied with the existing government, combined with an ambitious member of one of the elder tribes and made him their *tyrant*, who answers very nearly to what we understand by a king. Almost all the ancient tyrannies originated in this way. They were the results of efforts of individuals, families, gentes, possibly tribes, for a participation in the government, which the elder tribes, who had first coalesced to form the city, were unwilling to grant. Peisistratus became tyrant of Athens. We must not understand by this some harsh ruler, for this was not the case. For fifty years he and his family held this power. Their rule was in the main just. They upheld the laws of Solon, and Athens flourished. Sparta at length interfered, and the family of Peisistratus was banished.

Cleisthenes, who now came to the head of affairs, succeeded in making the change from tribal society to modern political society. He dispensed with the old tribal divisions altogether. He divided Attica into ten tribes, the tribes being subdivided into *demes*. These resembled the old tribes and gentes. Like the old gens, each deme was fully organized. It elected its *demarch* and other magistrates. It even had its own worship, its priest and its temple. But, and in this consists the great innovation, in the first place, all the freemen of Athens, whether they had formerly been connected with a tribe and gens or not, belonged to some deme; and secondly, men were distributed in these demes, not according to birth or property, but according to locality.

Ten of these demes made up a local tribe, in a large

measure an independent body, electing its tribal officers; but here, also, it was locality which determined the tribe to which a person belonged. Thus, after some centuries of almost steady progress towards this end, the old government, resting on personal relations, was overthrown. Whatever organization of the old tribes that still remained grew fainter and fainter. Of course survivals of old times meet us far down in history, but the new order of things was firmly established. This event is supposed to have occurred about 509 B. C., and marks a most important event in the history of Greece. Athens rose rapidly into influence and distinction under the new political system.

For the purpose of illustrating the former general prevalence of tribal society and the gradual growth of modern political society, no people would serve for a better example than the Romans. We can not do better, then, than to give a brief outline of as much of their history as will serve this purpose; at the same time, only the most general outline can be given. An entire volume would not suffice for all the details. From a very early time, Italy was doubtless thickly settled. The light of history only penetrates a few centuries before Christ with any clearness of detail. We speedily come to the debatable ground between history and fable, and finally perceive that almost all the elements of true history have vanished. We are not lacking so-called histories going back to the supposed foundation of Rome, placed about the middle of the eighth century B. C. It is now generally admitted that the accounts given by Livy and others of those early times rest on nothing but traditions, and are not to be understood as true accounts. We are at perfect liberty to review these traditions and see how they fall in with our present knowledge.

The first inhabitants of Italy, with the possible exception of the Etruscans, of which we have any definite knowledge, were off-shoots of the great Aryan stream. Like all the members of this family, their primary divisions were the tribe, phratry, and gens. They were agricultural and grazing people, and hence their organization shows itself in their customs in reference to the holding of land. The gens appears as a village community laying claim to a definite expanse of surrounding territory. The gens was a fully organized body, having its elective chief, who was also its high priest. The land of the gens was divided among the joint-families composing it.[1] A small amount only was private property. It comprised the space necessary for a house, court-yard, and garden. This is stated to have been two *jugura* (about one and a quarter acres) in extent. The remainder of the gens land was held in joint ownership.[2]

The joint-family of which we have just spoken, doubtless much like the joint-families we have already described, underwent some modifications among the Romans. The household chief came to have more and more despotic power. We are told that he was supreme in his household. "He was amenable to no earthly tribunal; no authority, either public or private, could stay his hand or punish his severity. He might divorce his wife or kill his son, and no person could question his conduct."[3] And such is the general conclusion of writers on this subject, and yet we think this gives a wrong impression. We find clear traces of a family council, and, beyond a doubt, the house chief was expected to act by its advice.[4] In

[1] Laveleye: "Primitive Property," p. 164.
[2] Mommsen: "History of Rome," New York, 1861, Vol. I, p. 63.
[3] Hearne: "Aryan Household," p. 97. [4] Ibid.

Roman law a son was never free from the authority of his father while his father's life continued. The daughter passed, by marriage, from the authority of her father to that of her husband. We know very little indeed in regard to the law of property. In early ages the head of the family was simply steward of the family property. He could not dispose of the land. The land and the family remained together. Only at a subsequent day was family property permitted to be divided among several sons.[1]

A number of gentes were reunited as a phratry. In the majority of cases we have no knowledge whatever of the phratry. Remember that it is a constant tendency of this organization to disappear. It revives, however, as we shall soon see, in the case of the three tribes at Rome, and probably it was a constant phenomena among all the tribes in ancient Italy;[2] but the tribes appear as composed of a number of these village communities having a common stronghold. The government was that which we have already fully discussed. At its head was an elected chief, governing not by any arbitrary right, but by the assistance of a council of the chiefs of the gentes, and back of this still lay the assembly of warriors.[3] This was an exact picture of the state of affairs discovered by Tacitus some centuries afterwards among the Germans, and it is illustrative of the great advance made by the Romans at his time that he failed to understand the organization of the Germans, which had once been that of his own people. Each of these tribes was independent, save that it might have been subject to tribute to some

[1] Coulanges: "Ancient City," p. 91.
[2] See on this point Niebuhr: "Rome," London, 1851, p. 26.
[3] Mommsen: Op. cit., Vol. I, p. 66.

stronger tribe. Confederacies, or the union of several tribes under a common head, were not unknown. We have a tradition of such a confederacy, of which, however, we possess almost no historical knowledge, in the confederacy of thirty Latin tribes under the leadership of the tribe at Alba.

Turning our attention more particularly to Rome, we conclude, from all accounts attainable, that at a time long preceding the dawn of authentic history a Latin tribe, which afterwards was called *Ramnes* (what its name was in the earlier stages we perhaps do not know with certainty), had its stronghold on the Palatine hill. The gentes composing this tribe must have had their locations along the left bank of the Tiber towards the sea, for in that direction only did her territory extend.[1] This was a fully organized independent tribe. How many gentes composed it at first we do not know; afterwards, when it had assumed a more or less artificial form, it consisted of one hundred gentes, reunited in ten phratries called *curies*. At its head was the tribal chief, called *rex*, who was the leader of its forces in war, its high priest, and executive officer.

Its senate, consisting of one hundred members, was composed of the chiefs of the gentes. Its general assembly was called the *meeting of the curies*. The votes were taken by curies; probably those having the right to vote were simply the heads or chiefs of the joint households. This assembly did not discuss measures, but simply voted on them after their purport had been explained by the rex. Yet it was the supreme body, and no important step would be taken by the council until it had been consulted.

Far back in the ages, we find evidence that the Sabines,

[1] Niebuhr: Op. cit., Vol. I, p. 289.

a people closely related to the Latins, appeared as an invading and conquering host. A tribe of these people, the *Tities*, took possession of a hill adjoining that on which the Ramnes had settled. It, too, was a completely organized independent tribe, divided into gentes and curies, under the leadership of a rex. For a time, we may suppose, the strongholds of these two people defiantly faced each other—one on the Palatine, the other on the Quirinal, hill; but, judging from traditions, they soon confederated together. This confederacy was at first a loose one, each remaining independent in government, each under the leadership of its own rex. But soon the union grew stronger. The senates of the two tribes form one united body of two hundred members; a common rex is chosen to command the common forces. A third tribe also appears in the traditions—the *Luceres*. But we know but very little about this tribe, or when it joined the confederacy, or what elements composed it. The first two tribes seem to have considered themselves the superiors of the third.

By legislative enactments these three tribes—the Ramnes, Tities, and Luceres—who long before the dawn of history had thus coalesced into one nation, were divided each into one hundred gentes, reunited in each tribe into ten curies. Each tribe had its appropriate officers, but as the tribal union became more complete, they tend to disappear, but even to a late day we recognize them in the names and titles of the military leaders.[1] The executive officer appears in traditions as the *king*. It is generally supposed that but one of these officers was elected at a time. We question, however, if the traditions do not show the existence of at least two of these officials—one to represent the civil and priestly power, and one to command the

[1] Ihne's "Rome," London, 1871, p. 114.

forces. Dr. Ihne thinks it probable that a general was appointed by the priest-king to command the army.[1] It is far from likely that such an important officer would be appointed by the king; more probably he was elected by the senate or the general assembly. It is well known that the city warden, in the absence of the king, exercised almost exactly his powers.[2] This officer was probably the same as the first senator. Ten of the senators of the Ramnes were known as the "Ten First;" they were probably the chiefs of the ten curies, and the first one among them was the *first senator*. He was the president of the senate. On the death of the king, the government at once devolved on him, but at the end of five days another of the ten took his place. He was probably one of the tribal chiefs, in early days probably chief of the Ramnes.[3] We shall probably not err if we conclude that he was really a second executive officer.[4] The legislative power appears in the senate composed of three hundred members, in which we at once recognize the chiefs of the gentes composing the three tribes, one hundred in each tribe. The supreme authority finally appears in the *comitia curiata*, or general assembly of the three tribes, where they met and voted by curies. They did not discuss measures decreed by the senate, but simply voted to accept or reject the same.

The three tribes organized as above set forth formed the nucleus of the Roman power. They were the *Patrician* class, like the four Eupatride tribes at Athens. They were the only privileged class in ancient Rome. From

[1] "Early Rome," New York, 1875, p. 106.

[2] Mommsen: "History of Rome," Vol. I, p. 98.

[3] Niebuhr: "Rome," Vol. I, p. 331.

[4] He was *Tribunus-Celeram*, and *Celeres* was but another name for the three tribes in a military sense. (Niebuhr.)

their strong, easily defended positions on the hills of Rome they commenced to send out their marauding bands, with the object of reducing the surrounding country to subjection. The petty tribes inhabiting the immediate vicinity were either driven off or subjected. Their ancient organization was largely broken up; their land was largely confiscated for use of the Patrician tribes. Such of the inhabitants as remained were allowed to hold a small portion of land and cultivate other portions for the benefit of the Patricians. In some cases, prisoners taken in war were also settled on these lands. This subject population was known as the *Plebeians;* some of the Plebeians, as a special mark of favor, perhaps, were allowed to attach themselves to Patrician households, in which case they were known as *Clients.*[1]

We are now presented with a state of things almost exactly similar to what prevailed in Athens, and events took almost exactly the same course of development. A struggle commences between the ruling and subject classes; between the Patricians and the Plebeians a struggle extending over an unknown period of time, ending in the final triumph of the people; and, in the course of that struggle, ancient society gave way to modern political society.

Unfortunately we have only the faintest historical light to aid us to a clear understanding of the gradual progress of this struggle. A very great advance was made towards the close of the kingly period, yet before the dawn of history. This advance was effected by means of a reorganization of the army. The Plebes had been called upon to serve in the army. They no doubt were the means of winning many substantial victories for Rome.

[1] Ihne's "History of Rome," Vol. I, p. 109.

But the only ones to profit by the same were the Patricians. The confiscated lands were tilled for their benefit; the tribute wrung from subject tribes went to increase their comfort and wealth. We may well suppose the Plebes were not pleased with this arrangement. But what could they do? The only organized government was in the hands of the Patricians. The army was largely composed of Patricians.

Several writers have supposed that the kings were anxious to increase their power by attaching the Plebes to their cause. In Grecian states we have seen how tyrannies arose in this way. One writer passes in review the traditional history of the kings to show that in general the kings sided with the Plebes, and consequently acquired the enmity of the Patricians.[1] We can easily understand the motives which influenced them. "The ambition of the kings was to cut loose from the old principle of government, which limited the exercise of their power. The ambition of the Plebeians was to break the ancient barriers which excluded them from the religious and political associations." Hence the tacit alliance.

The king who appears in traditions as the special ally of the Plebeians was Servius Tullius. A number of important changes are connected with his reign. We know, perhaps, nothing positively about this king or his reign, but the following account is consistent with all attainable traditions: He gained possession of the throne by stratagem. The senate appears never to have recognized his rule. He proceeded to make friends with the Plebeians, at that time the most numerous class. He proceeded to organize this commonalty as local tribes. He formed thirty local tribes, each being territorial and having known boundaries. Twenty-six of these tribes

[1] Coulanges: "The Ancient City," pp. 324, 327.

were country tribes; four were from the city. These local tribes did not contain any of the old Patrician tribes; they still retained their ancient organization. Here was the germ of modern political society, but it failed in several respects. It did not break up the old tribes and include their members in the ranks of the local tribes. The government still remained in the hands of the Patricians. They still had the senate, and all offices of the general government were filled by Patricians.

Still another step was taken by this king which subsequently proved of great assistance to the Plebeians. He reorganized the army. Remember that in early times the army and the people are the same thing. He arranged all the people into five classes, on the basis of wealth. To these five classes must be added the Equestrian order. The military duties of the people, their position in the army, was now made dependent on wealth. In the army, then, the Patricians and Plebeians now fought side by side. They obeyed a common officer, belonged to the same division, were arranged under the same banner. A most important change went along with this reorganization. The army, as reorganized, formed the new general assembly, to which was confided the final decisions of all important questions.

We are here presented with an anomalous government. The three Patrician tribes, strictly organized on the basis of ancient society, were really the ruling class; they still held the senate and all general offices. The commonalty was organized in territorial tribes, but as such they had no share in the government. The military organization was the only arrangement which gave the Plebeians a share in the government; and here the equality was largely in appearance only, for the Patricians

belonged almost wholly to the wealthier classes. The Plebeians, doubtless, were almost confined to the four lower classes,[1] and these four classes together did not probably have more votes than the first class.[2] Still, a great advance had been won by the common people.

We have suggested that the kings were largely concerned in advancing the interests of the Plebeians. The Patricians, therefore, detested the kings. It is not surprising, consequently, to read of a change in the government occurring soon after the changes above set forth. Exactly the same change takes place as did at Athens. The kings for life are replaced by year kings; that is, with the exception of the priest-king, who was still chosen for life. The civil and military powers of the king (or kings, as the case may be) were confided to two consuls, who held office for one year at a time.

It is not necessary to carry this investigation further. The whole history would simply show the growing importance and power of the Plebeians; they gradually force a share in the government. Tribunes are appointed to represent them, as the consuls do the Patricians. The Patricians are always jealous of their rights and privileges, but one after another they have to be shared with the Plebeians. The senate and highest offices of the state are at length thrown open to them. They obtain equal rights in the eyes of the law, and at length force a recognition of equal social privileges; but their organization, we must remember, was territorial, and not personal, and so their triumph meant the overthrow of ancient society among the Romans.[3]

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[1] Ihne's "Rome," Vol. I, p. 140. [2] Ibid., p. 68, note 1.

[3] In this brief sketch we have given an outline which we think consistent with all the traditions of early Rome. The student should consult Niebuhr's

Our object in this chapter has been to trace the gradual evolution of social organization for governmental purposes. We have found that three different systems have been employed. At first society was organized on the basis of sex. Manifesty this was suited only for tribes in a very low scale of development. That form of society has mainly disappeared, though plain traces of it still exist in the class divisions of the Australian system. Judging from the system of relationship, it was once of very wide, probably universal, extent. It was succeeded by tribal society, based on kin; that is, personal relations. This latter system has in part given way to modern political society, based on territory, which change can be clearly traced among all the Aryan nations.

Each of these changes represents a great advance—a conquest achieved by man. Going along with advance in the direction here pointed out, we may be quite sure, was a corresponding advance in culture. Improved weapons and tools, the domestication of animals, and a knowledge of agriculture, were a part of the achievements keeping company with this advance in social organization. We may be sure that advance, as here designated, was not the result of spasmodic effort, nor the fruit of a few years' exertion. Slowly, almost imperceptibly, advancing intelligence called into being new wants, new aspirations; suggested modification of previous customs; demanded new measures. As the night grows into the day, so did the darkness of barbarism grow into the light of civilization.

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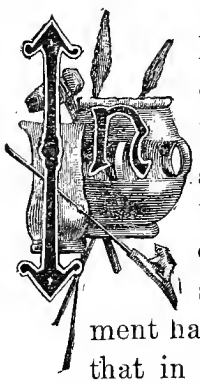
"History of Rome;" Ihne's "History of Rome;" also, by same author, "Early Rome;" and Schwegler's "Römische Geschichte." These authors all represent modern ideas in regard to Rome. Dyer's "History of the Kings of Rome" presents the other side. Mommsen's "History of Rome" is valuable, but we can not agree with his sketch of the kingly office and power.

# CHAPTER III.

## PRIMITIVE CULTURE

Introduction—Study of the Past—The Patriarchal form of Government—First Authority Personal—Evolution of the Gens Chief--Evolution of Tribal Chief—The Tribal Council—Change from election to hereditary descent—The power of ancient kings—The development of ancient law—The chiefs the first judges—Individual rights and wrongs unknown—Power of the House-father—The status of the joint family--Individual property at first unknown--Origin of law codes--Influence of property in developing civilization--Origin of property in land—Influence of property in developing law--Development of the useful arts--Indian picture writing--The symbolical stage--Indian hieratic writing—Development of Chinese writing—Peculiarities of Chinese writing—Egyptian writing—Hieroglyphic writing--Cuneiform writing—Development from picture writing—Origin of the alphabet--General conclusions.



PREPARING the way for a clear knowledge of ancient life and times, it seems necessary to pass in review the gradual growth in culture of people in prehistoric times. In this connection only the briefest outline can be given. Such a review will show that certain great laws of development have always been at work, and will also show that in general a race does not make advance in any given direction, without a corresponding advance in all directions. If improvement takes place in social organization, we straightway notice a corresponding improvement in the art of government, in law, and in religious conceptions. What further conclusions follow from this statement, we will discuss further on.

We seem to have clearly established the fact that the

progress of human life on the globe has been continued throughout a long period of time. We are not to picture to ourselves a series of great and sudden changes during this past time, or imagine that natural laws, or the course of nature were different from what they have been during the historic period. The older school of geologists imagined the change from one geological age to another to be due to some sudden and awful cataclysm. Their disciples to-day know of nothing but slow acting causes. There are volcanoes and earthquakes to-day, and there always have been these agents of destruction, carrying desolation to a large area of country; but, after all, the effect they produce is not for a moment to be compared to the majestic uplift of continents continued throughout unknown thousands of years.

Distance lends enchantment to the view and this is true of distance in time, or culture as well as in space. We must not picture to ourselves any imposing movement of people in prehistoric times. There were to be sure immigrations, invasions and conquests, but these movements were slow and deliberate, and conquests were not the foundations of empires but the conquered tribes were simply driven away or exterminated, it was only when a comparatively high stage of culture had been reached that they were allowed to keep possession of their ancient homes, on condition of paying tribute to their conquerors. The movement which carried the Aryans from Asia to Europe was doubtless spread over many centuries of time, much slower than that subsequent migration which, within the last few centuries, has so largely peopled the new world with their descendants.

The picture we would form of the past has nothing in it that is strange or phenomenal. We can but dimly pic-

ture to ourselves the slow spread of the black races over the eastern world. We notice their low development, their scanty culture, their stationary life. We picture to ourselves the ages come and go while they were the only ones to enjoy this fair world of ours. When the yellow races appear, they seem to every where have pushed the black races before them. An advance in culture is at once noticed. Improved tools announce that the Neolithic age is at hand. The yellow races spread themselves over the world. Later still the white races appear on the scene. When they commenced to spread, they found themselves confronted everywhere by the yellow races. They carried to successful termination, the art of working metals. Thus a great progressive career is made possible. Letters are invented, coins are struck; the light of civilization begins to glow here and there, in many cases only to expire in night, but finally the conquest is made permanent.

It may be well to see what results follow from an investigation of the evolution of the different departments of government. By the word government we understand the several departments of the State, as the Legislative, Executive, Judicial, etc. If we have never had occasion to think over the question, it probably strikes us at first that all these departments are perfectly natural, and that men would make provisions for them as soon as they felt the necessity for any government at all. This, however, is far from the facts of the case. Men had to feel their way cautiously and slowly to all the departments of governmental activity.

Our ideas in this respect vary somewhat, according to our views in regard to social organization, as set forth in the previous chapter. Some, probably the most, of the old writers started with the assumption that the family

(in our modern sense) was the starting point of all society; and, as the family developed into the gens, and the gens into the tribe, there was always an official head to this growing and developing society. They assumed further that this "head" simply exercised in a larger sphere the powers of a house-father among the Romans. That is to say that he possessed arbitrary, despotic power governing all under him according to his own will and pleasure. As the father governed his family, so did the chief govern his clan, and the king his people; with no one to review his actions.[1]

This was called the patriarchal form of government, and was supposed to be the natural one, the most ancient in point of time, the one from whence all others were derived. But if we are not mistaken in the conclusions set forth in the preceding chapter, the patriarchal is but one form of the joint family, which did not come into existence until a comparatively recent time.[2]

Nor has society taken this form of development in all cases. We can not therefore acquiesce in these views. Whether we can indicate the probable lines of advance, or the order in which the various departments of government made their appearance as something distinct from the general mass is perhaps doubtful. We will, however, attempt it, keeping constantly in mind the social organization as already mapped out, though we must be very brief in this matter.

It is only when considerable relative advance had been gained that we detect the beginning of government. At first, authority is only personal and temporary. It is ac-

1 See Quarterly Review, January, 1886.

2 In addition to authorities quoted in previous chapter consult "The Patriarchal Theory" by McLennan, London, 1885.

quired by reason of age, strength, or sagacity. Within the communal band, already treated of, this could have been the only form of authority known. It to-day characterizes a number of races who are low in development. It is true of Bushmen, Fuegians, Andaman Islanders, Veddahs, most Australian tribes, Tasmanians, New Guinea tribes, some tribes in Northern Asia (Kamtschadales) Eskimos, and some of our Indian tribes.[1]

Some of these tribes have made considerable advance in social organization, yet government proper has not arisen. When threatened by some sudden danger, the band consults, and a temporary authority is vested in one of their number, conspicuous by reason of age, bodily strength, or sagacity. We have an illustration in an Australian tribe where the king's authority seems to rest on such things as his ability to tell just where in a hollow tree to cut for an opossum.[2] We read that among the Greenlanders it was noticed that when several families lived together all winter, one weatherwise, old fisherman, would have the north end of the snow house for his place, and be appointed to look after the inmates, taking care about their keeping the snow walls in repair, and going in together, so as not to waste heat.[3]

It is instructive thus to notice that people, who have well developed forms of tribal organization, have yet nothing like a regular official head, and none of the departments of government can be said to exist apart from the general mass. When that stage of advancement is reached, where the various gentes of a tribe feel the need of some

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1 See "Descriptive Sociology" parts 3, 4, 5 and 6, and authorities there quoted.

2 Mitchell "Australia" Vol. I., p. 203.

3 Tylor "Anthropology," N. Y., 1886, p. 429. Such is primitive royalty.

official head to represent them, there is simply an extension of the authority of this temporary headsman. The office remains after the danger, or emergency has passed away, and the chief continues to represent his gens, as long as he maintains his reputation for the possession of superior bodily and mental qulities. When these fail, he is quietly set aside for some else. This stage of organization was in existence among a number of our Indian tribes and among some Asiatic pople. It appears in the description of the Nomadic Arabs, the Dyaks and some of the mixed tribes of Hindoostan, such as the Todas, Karens, and Nagas.[1]

Now from this stage advance takes place in several directions. We have seen that the gens did not feel the need for an official head until considerable advance had been attained. So, also, it was only at an advanced stage that a need was felt for an official head of the tribe. The same stages exactly are passed through, as in evolving the office of gens chief. In time of war or danger, the command of the forces of the different gentes was entrusted to the most renowned chief among them. His authority tends to become more and more permanent. These people are apt to loose sight of their early history, and hence it is that in so many descriptions of tribes, we find that, though some chief is recognizable as the head one, yet his authority is in reality not greater than that of his subjects.[2] The

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[1] See tables in work already quoted. See Spencer "Elements of Sociology," p. 571, table. If we make a list of tribes having no regular official head, and compare it with a list of those having such heads even of an unstable nature, we will at once notice that the latter list contains the more advanced people.

[2] Here are some people to whom this last statement applies Tasmanians, New Caledonians, American (hunting) Indians, New Guineans, Damaras, Nomadic Arabs, Khonds, Naga's (Descriptive Sociology.)

office of head chief existed in a number of our Indian tribes, but his authority was always very limited.[1] Of course we see that it was largely personal, and therefore one head chief might exercise more authority than another. This is the form of organization amongst most of the Asiatic tribes and also among the African tribes, though confederacies are also very frequent. We must notice two important results following from the rise of the head chief. The first is the tribal council composed of chiefs of gentes. In the great majority of cases, this is the superior of the tribe chief. In a great many instances where we are informed that the king or the chief rules by arbitrary or despotic right, closer reading reveals the presence of this council.

Another change is still in progress. As we have remarked, these offices tend to become hereditary. When descent is in the male line it tends to go, without election, or but formal one, to the son. Where descent is in the female line, to the nephew. But here the election would be more of a reality. Still we can see that this hereditary chief might not be a good warrior. Hence in all affairs relating to the handling of troops, the tendency is to separate the war chief from the civil. We here see one reason why it is that the tendency is that the military department of government, as separate from the civil does not arise until the tribes have attained a considerable degree of enlightenment.[2]

We have now briefly outlined the origin of the executive legislative and military department of government. Not considering the judicial at present, let us notice further

1 Morgan's "Ancient Society," p. 119.

2 It is not among people like Fuegians, Andaman Islanders and Australians, that the military as separate from the civil exists, but among people such as Nomadic Arabs, Karens and higher races.

change. Confederacies, under the head of one tribe, or the mutual share in government by several tribes show us exactly the same stages. At first a temporary union only, which tends to become permanent, and gradually requiring an official head, at first elective coming to pass by inheritance. A common war-chief also is elected, and we can see how it is that when the civil chief took possession of his office by inheritance, the war chief would still be elected as among the Germans. This war chief was probably the official who finally developed into the king, at least among the Germanic tribes.[1] As long as tribes remained simply united in a confederacy, not much change would take place in the council. But the union grows stronger and a nation is formed. The tribal council in each tribe exists as the national council, the germ of our senate or upper house. The general assembly reappears in several ways, the germ of our congress or lower house.

Before leaving this part of our subject, let us speak once more about the real power of so-called kings in ancient times and at present among partially civilized people. This has been in both cases exaggerated. There is of course a great deal of cruelty and unreasonable rule among partially civilized people. But the chief is everywhere hedged in by customs which he dare not disobey, and in the majority of cases he must rule according to his council. We learn that the theoretically absolute chief of the Kaffirs is obliged to consider "what effect his command will have on his followers." In Ashanti we read that the king is a despot, yet there is a superior council of four, and a house of "Captains" and they claim to be heard on all important questions. The absolute chief of the Bechuanas is liable to be severely criticized in his

[1] Freeman "Comparative Politics."

parliament by one of his chiefs, and "an able speaker will some times turn the scale even against the king."[1]

The quotations could be extended to almost any length. Liberty, equality and fraternity were cardinal principles among all people when first organized in society. Despotism only came in when a comparatively high degree of enlightenment had been reached. Many writers holding wrong theories as to the starting point of government (that is the family) are bound to see despotism where nothing of the kind exists. That partially civilized people are cruel in executing their laws is admitted, but this is not despotism. Madam De Stael is right when she observes that "Liberty is ancient, despotism is modern."

The legislative and judicial departments of government are inseparably connected with the subject of ancient law, at the development of which, we will now glance. This will, of course, partake of the same general unfolding as the organization of society. As long as society rested on sex as a basis, about all of law that could have existed was a few customs in regard to the relation of the sexes. With only temporary chiefs in times of emergency, no one was particularly concerned with seeing that customs were followed. This duty rested on the whole tribe. Any one knowing of a disregard of these rules could kill offenders without thereby committing a crime.[2]

When society organized on the basis of kin, or tribal society arose, anything like a system of laws was still far in the future. Laws were nothing but immemorial customs. We can only discover a few general principles. The gens

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1 "Descriptive Ethnology" and authorities there quoted.

2 For example of such a summary justice see "Kamilaroi and Kurnai." We would seriously err were we to suppose that customs were not enforced. Public opinion exercises as great a force in uncivilized states of society as in the most enlightened.

was the unit of political life. The individual was never considered. Hence to wrong a person was to wrong the entire gens, and further, a wrong committed by a person was committed by the whole gens to which he belonged. A few moments reflection will show us how very meager must have been the subjects of customary law. Individual property had not yet come into existence. Consequently, the innumerable sources of actions arising therefrom, which comprise so large a part of modern law, were unknown. Individual rights and individual wrongs were unknown.[1]

When we arrive at that stage of organization, when chiefs for the gens and tribes make their appearance, then we can first detect something like order. The chief always appears as judge in primitive society, but he is as much bound up by precedents as the modern judge. In his case precedents are simply the customs of his clan. All the men of the gens participate in the trial which is presided over by the chief, and the question of guilt or innocence is decided by votes of those present. When the office of head chief of the tribes exists, whenever two different gentes are involved in a quarrel, the case is generally brought before the tribal council consisting of the chiefs of the gentes, but nothing like a regular right of appeal can exist among the majority of savage tribes.[2]

Let us pass at once from the consideration of the partially civilized people to the early Aryans, and see how in their case these customs grow into law; and finally something like the modern system appears. We of course cannot enter into the minutiæ of this subject. We need only to point out how the influence of the older state of

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[1] It seems perfectly natural to primitive men that one individual should suffer for the wrong doings of another. See "Kamilaroi and Kurnai."

[2] The customs of the Mexicans in this respect exactly illustrate this matter. See Vol. I., p. 690-1.

affairs continued to mold the laws, and even after the overthrow of tribal society, its powers continued, for law like religion is conservative, and clings to the traditions of the past. We must recall what was written of the gradual evolution of political society at Athens and Rome. We can see at once that as long as power remained strictly in the hands of the ruling tribes, (that is, Eupatrides at Athens, the Patricians at Rome) law would remain just about in the stage last disclosed, the exception arises from the growing individuality of the family.

This family, as we have seen, takes its rise within the gens as soon as descent passes into the male line. We have found it well developed among all the Aryan people. It becomes, in a sense the unit of society. In the older form of tribal organization the gens, as we have seen, settled all disputes arising between its own members. When the joint family becomes well developed, it also takes upon itself to settle all disputes and cause of action arising between its members. Public law does not concern itself with the family individuals. The family chief or the housefather represents the family on all the important occasions.[1] He has the power of judge concerning all affairs arising within his family. But beyond a doubt in all important cases he only voices the decisions of the family council.

Let us understand the anomalous position of the joint family in the eye of law. It occupies the same position as the gens of more archaic society. As each gens was an independent self-governing body, so was each joint family composing a gens. This family was not the same amongst all the Aryan people. Among the Romans it seems to

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1 see Gommes "Primitive Folk Motes."

have long survived, and held its own against advancing civilization, and explains much that is strange in their laws. Being self-governing, as far as concerns its own affairs, and the house-father acting the part of judge and executive officer, it is not at all singular that he appears as a despotic ruler. It was his province to pronounce sentence of death if the occasion called for it, even against his own son, and the State was powerless to interfere, any more than in an earlier stage the tribe could interfere in the judgment of a gens chief, concerning a member of his gens. Only we must understand that judgment in important cases was in accordance with the decree of the family council.

We cannot understand the peculiar status of the joint family unless we keep constantly in mind the whole frame work of ancient society. Each tribe recognized no superior power as far as governing its members was concerned. They might pay tribute to a stronger tribe, but in internal government they were independent. In an early day no tribe claimed or exercised the right of interfering in the affairs of the gentes composing it. Similarly no gens claimed or exercised the right of interfering in the affairs of the joint families of which it was composed. Hence it is that among Aryan people, of whatever nationality, (all developed some form of the joint family) the house or home had such a peculiar sanctity in law.

At the present day, we constantly repeat the old maxim that "every man's house is his castle." No one has the right to enter it without the owner's permission unless armed with authority by law. Late in the eleventh century it was enacted of households that "no person shall rashly inquire after those that are set therein. If any fugitive shall have entered the inclosure he shall abide

therein in security."[1] In Sparta it was a maxim that "without, (the house) all owned the authority of the State; within, the master of the house ruled as lord on his own ground."[2] In Rome it was the same. The house-father was supreme in his own home. "He was responsible for the conduct of all persons who were within his gates. No other person, whether official or non-official, could exercise any form of process within his jurisdiction."[3]

The official head of this independent self-governing family, the one who speaks in its name, represents it in the gens' council, manages its property, is its high-priest and judge; is the house-father. Among many ancient people, and especially among the Romans, he is represented as ruling with despotic authority. Whatever might have been the facts of the case among the Romans, we think we are much nearer the truth when we assume that he was simply its executive officer, hedged in by custom, and in all important cases advised by his family council.

As this is an important point, and is, almost without exception, represented by writers entirely different we will quote Prof. Hearn. "It seems, however, that the house-father, in the exercise of his authority, was expected to act in a juidicial capacity. He was not to follow his own caprice, but he was the administrator of the customs of his clan. He usually acted with the advice and consent of a family council. Even when he proceeded in a summary manner, as in the case of offending slaves, the severer punishments .... were not capriciously inflicted, but sentence was pronounced and executed after a semi-judicial investigation. In the case of any serious offense

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1 Hearn "Aryan Household," p. 358.
2 Müller "Dorians" Vol. II., p. 296.
3 Hearn op. cit., p. 357.

by the wife or by the children, the house-father acted with the aid of his family council. We know little of the council and less of its procedure." [1]

Let us here pause to observe how true it is that the whole process of civilization has been to bring to the front more and more plainly individuals and individual rights. The progress is clearly seen, when we consider the communal band of the first stage, and tribal society resting ultimately on a number of equal, independent joint families, of the stage reached by the Romans and Greeks just before the advent of political society. Each of these ultimate unites bears a strong likeness to the original body. In this connection we of course do not refer to the relalations between the sexes for that had long been regulated, nor do we refer to the custom of savage and barbarous people, these had disappeared before advancing intelligence. But this likeness is plainly apparent in a legal aspect.

If we examine any ancient code of laws, such for instance as the various Teutonic codes, and the fragmentary codes of Greece and Rome, we will discover that they are almost wholly concerned with criminal law.[2] This is doubtless the meaning of the traditions that cluster around the sanguinary code of Draco. It is said that they were written in blood. They probably were almost wholly taken up with criminal law. In general it may be said that the older a code of laws is the more it is concerned with criminal legislation to the exclusion of civil affairs. It will not do to explain this fact by laying it to the lawlessness of early times. We must rather explain it as due to the fact

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1 Yet, strange to say, Prof Hearn constantly writes of the house-father as if he were a very despot—ruling according to his own pleasure.

2 Maine "Ancient Law," New York, 1864, p. 355.

that the ruling powers had nothing else, or but a trifling amount, to legislate about.

Let us see the truth of this statement. Individual property was a thing of slow growth. The property of the individual belonged to the family. An individual could not contract with another individual. One family might enter into contract relations with another family but this was a wery ceremonious formal affair. When we talk about the cumbersome legal method in use now, we should bear in mind that law has been simplifying itself from the very earliest times. An individual, not owning property, had nothing to dispose of after death, therefore the idea of a will never occurred to the primitive Aryan. His property simply remained in the family of which he was a member, and was managed by the new family chief. If a family died out, the gens to which he belonged took possession of its property.

Now the great conflict of advancing civilization was to change the foregoing. It exerted itself to break up this family, and with such success that, at the present day, the relation of husband and wife is the only one not regarded as a contract. We all know that is a *status*. The relation of parent and child is supposed to be a contract one. This was not the case in ancient Rome. Civilization also gradually evolved the right of personal, private property. It also called into being the new law of contract, and gradually clothed a person with the power to direct by a will the disposal of his property after his death.

We have spoken of codes of laws, let us examine the causes at work to produce codes. Some have entertained the strange idea that certain noted men, such as Draco, Solon, Lycurgus and Moses were law-givers, and gave to the people what they had not before posessed.

Ancient laws were never produced that way. Ancient codes, from whatever source obtained, were simply expressions in writing of immemorial customs and habits. They were reduced to writing and given out for public inspection, because there was a demand for them. A few moments reflection on the state of affairs at Athens and Rome when codes made their appearance will enable us to understand the nature of this demand in many cases at least.

We refer to these two countries because, in a certain sense, what is true of their history is true of nearly all the European communities. We must recall the fact that in each of these countries there was, in the first place, a confederacy of tribes, coalescing into a nation, which thereupon subjugated the surrounding people. The history of these early times shows us a conflict in progress between these subject tribes and the ruling class. The former constantly acquiring more and more power. But considerable advance had been made before any participation in law-making power, was given to the Plebeians. One reason being that law and religion were so intimately united[1] and, as we shall see further on, religion, as understood by the early Aryans, could not be said to exist unless there was a full tribal organization. The gods were tribal gods, having no care for those who were not members of the tribe.

One of the strongest arguments that the ruling class had, wherewith to answer the claims of the commonalty for a share in the government, was that, as they did not have a share in the religion, they could not expect to share in the government or partake of the benefit of the laws. Yet a time came when this answer would not suffice. The Ple-

1 Coulanges "Ancient City," p. 250.

beians had become too strong to be denied. The laws had to be revealed to them. They were no longer to be left the exclusive and secret knowledge of the ruling class. To meet this demand, codes were produced, which are simply the orderly arrangements in writing of the customs and usages of the tribes. When this step was taken, law and religion were separated. The Aryan Hindoos who invaded India, at an early day relinquished their claim to government but remained in possession of religion and law. In consequence, these two departments were never separated, and so the code of Menu combines both religion and law. The same result occurred among the Hebrews, but from the working of a different cause. They had no subject tribes at all. It was a part of their policy to exterminate or drive off subject people, so when (probably at a comparatively late date) [1] a code of laws made its appearance among the Hebrews, it quite naturally, was largely a mixture of religion and law.[2]

It is difficult to overestimate the influence that property has exerted in furthering civilization, and this makes it necessary to glance at the rise and progress of ideas in relation to property, ideas which constantly reacted on the laws, and customs of the people. In order to render the acquisition of wealth more easy and certain, colonies were started off for distant lands, navigation became a science, researches of all kinds were instituted, and thus knowledge and civilization advanced. We can, at most, only give an outline, reserving the minor topics for other pages.

The ideas in reference to property must follow the line of development we have already found true in regard to government and law. In the infancy of the human race, or

1 See "Descriptive Ethnology."

2 On this point consult Maine "Ancient Law," p. 13, 14. Coulange "Ancient City," p. 402. Prichard and Nasmith "Hist. of Roman Law," London, 1871, p. 96-98.

better speaking, as long as mankind remained in the primitive, undeveloped, infantile stage, the idea of property can scarcely be said to have existed. Just in proportion as individual rights broke down communal rights, advance took place in regard to property; and, on the other hand, the acquisition of property was one of the most efficient agents, in bringing about a reduction of communal rights. Our first object is to show the truth of this statement.

As no example of a communal band is known to exist, we can only speak theoretically of their ideas of property. Yet we may feel considerable confidence in this respect. They of course had no ideas of property in land, such an idea was still far in the future. Of personal property, only the faintest conception existed. The articles composing their scanty wearing apparel, some simple weapons and tools, must have included all. One individual could not become rich another poor. All stood on the same level. Even game killed by a fortunate hunter was not his exclusive property, custom compelled him to divide with the other members of his band.[1] That the above represents the substantial facts of the case, we have no doubt for it is true of people in a much more advanced stage. When the gentes supervened upon the classes, mankind had still only the most feeble conceptions of property. This might be illustrated by the conditions of affairs among our Indian tribes at the discovery of America, or by the present condition of many of the lower races who have not advanced to the pastoral or agricultural stage of life.

The line separating barbarism and civilization is a very poorly defined one, but one distinguishing feature is the predominance of the passion for the possession of property over

1 See examples of this in "Kamilaroi and Kurnai," Melbourne, 1880.

all other human possessions.[1] This could not take place until advancing civilization had shown wherein the possession of property was desirable, which occurred only at a comparatively late date in that long lapse of years that intervened between the origin of man and of civilization. Hence it is that the growth of the idea of property was so slow during the period of savagery and far into the period of barbarism. When the discovery was made by Asiatic tribes that many of the animals pursued for game could be successfully tamed, and, when kept in herds and flocks, become a permanent means of subsistance, we can see at a glance that the tribes making use of this discovery, took a very great step in the line of human progress.

Let us trace the influence of this discovery in property. The possession of flocks and herds was a source of power. A tribe having these could hold together as a much larger body than one destitute of them. The warriors being well clothed and fed would be more formidable, and thus in all ways, would such a tribe be prosperous. Here then was an object to excite human cupidity. Now would all ideas in reference to property become more clear and corresponding advance be taken. Custom, which is but another word for law, would change to suit the new ideas. The divisions of the tribe would become more sharply marked off, and, as this was a step in the direction of individual rights, it was an important result.

A moment's reflection shows the truth of this statement. Ownership was not in the individual, but in a group. At this stage, the family, even in the archaic form, had not appeared. But the other tribal divisions were undoubtedly fully developed. There were both phratries and gentes. The right of property was in the

[1] Morgan "Ancient Society," p. 6.

gens. There is no difficulty in showing this fact. This is one of the oldest rules of inheritance. When property in land appears, it is the gens that owns the *mark, gemeinde, or commune,*[1] that is subdivided among its joint families. The laws of both Solon and Moses contain regulations for the marriage of heiresses, so as to keep the property in the gens. The property-owning gens requires officers to conduct its business. And thus the office of civil chief arises, as we have seen a few pages back, in treating of government, and this illustrates one of the many points wherein the idea of property advances civilization.

We can also see how the desire for wealth would tend to subdivide the gens into smaller groups consisting of several syndiasmian families,[2] the germ of the future joint family. Such bodies were at first formed for convenience, as for the erection of a common joint tenemant house, or to unite their forces to battle with the hardships of life. This exactly expresses the facts of the case among our Indian tribes at the time of their discovery. The reason why these smaller groups had not become more closely organized, with some official head, and composed mainly of descendants of a common ancestor, may be traced almost directly to the absence of property.

Let us inquire into this. We have in the preceding chapter shown the wide prevalence of female descent and have seen that such was universally the ancient rule; we have further observed that, as soon as any considerable degree of advancement took place, descent changed to the male line.[3] Now the possession of property tends most powerfully to break up this old rule of descent. In the first instance, the children were of the same gens as their mother, consequently they could inherit none of their father's

1 Page 173. 2 Page 150. 3 Page 155.

wealth. That must remain in the gens of the father. As long as property was virtually nothing no inconvenience followed from this rule; but, when the objects of ownership became of value, all sorts of shifts were made to evade it. This could be illustrated among our Indian tribes, within the last few years. Somtimes the father divided his effects among his children before his death, which gifts they could keep. Sometimes a favorite son was formally adopted into his father's gens.[1] Finally, to settle this matter, the more advanced tribes abandoned the old rule of descent altogether, and placed the children in the gens of the father.

We ought to see clearly that this advance was largely brought about by the increasing value of property. Along with this change of descent, arises the joint family, which is simply the several syndiasmian families of the former stage, which now consists mainly of the descendants of a common ancestor. The organization is closer. A family chief appears to manage the common property. A great many of the races of men have not yet been able to reach this stage. Perhaps the first to pass it were some of the white races, though on this point we cannot speak with confidence, only as they were the first to achieve civilization proper, they probably were also the first to reach this point.

Property in flocks and herds must have preceded property in land. Of course we can see that even among the very lowest savages, the tribe claims, and exercises the right to a particular tract of land, such as a river valley, as their hunting ground. But no idea of individual right existed. Such could not arise until considerable advance had been made in other directions. For nothing occurred to make land an object of value. We have already treated

1 See instances of both cases in "Ancient Society," p. 163, 170.

of the domestication of animals. In general such knowledge preceded a knowledge of agriculture though there are exceptions to this rule. Let us observe, however, that flocks and herds at once invest land with a new value. It is now used for grazing purposes. Among wandering pastoral tribes, this pasturage is carefully divided and their rights jealously guarded.

A greater advance took place when agriculture arose. This knowledge did not long lag behind the possession of domestic animals. In the new world there were no animals capable of domestication, and so the various tribes had to learn the art of agriculture, independent of the possession of domestic animals. Perhaps this is one explanation why advance in the Eastern world was relatively greater than in the Western. Be that as it may, all tribes in the possession of a knowledge of agriculture, at once attach an increased value to land, and now the progressive force of civilization, always tending to bring the individual to the front, begins at once that conflict which in most cases has now resulted in procuring for individuals the right of private ownership in the soil. A right unknown in the earlier ages of the world's history.

The advance made by all people before arriving at a knowledge of agriculture, was sufficient to give them the full tribal subdivisions, phratries and gentes. The gentes, being really the unit of organization, always appear in the first instance as the body having the right of ownership. It will be sufficient to notice the development among the Aryans alone. They reached the knowledge of agriculture before their separation, with the possible exception of the Celts. When, therefore, the tribes commenced their migrations from their primitive home, spreading throughout Europe, and Western Asia, they carried this knowledge

with them, and along with it their idea of landed property. And so it is, that when we investigate Aryan customs no matter in what country, we speedily come upon the gens under various names, as the land-holding body.

We need not doubt that originally all the members of the gens stood on equal footing in regard to this land. The chief had no more or better land than other members of his gens. Land being a very important kind of property customs in regard to it would change slowly. So it is that we find among many people arrangements for periodical redistributions. That is the land was in the first place divided among the individual (male) members of the gens, but every few years, a fresh division was made. That is of tillable land as a large part of the gens' possession was reserved for common purposes. There is plain evidence that this was the custom among all the primitive Aryans. Tacitus discovered it among the Germanic tribes of his day.[1] It is still the theoretical rule of the Russian commune though it is fast passing into neglect.[2] The rise of the joint family tends to break up this arrangement, because such a family becomes the new unit of society. We have seen this true of government and law. It became a property-holding group, and consequently the land of the gens was divided among its joint families.

But this family ownership is still a long ways from being individual ownership. The family was in the nature of a corporation. Its chief managed the common property, in which all its members were interested only just as this family has been broken down has this right passed into individual rights. We have now considered the origin of property, both personal and real, down

1 Germania, 26.
2 Laveleye "Primitive Property," p. 10.

to the rise of the joint family. Consider how different was this ownership from our idea of ownership. It was not an individual owning and holding property, but a close corporation with an elected or hereditary chief as manager. If a member by any means acquired property, it was covered into the general treasury. Wills were unknown because no one had any property he could thus control.

This joint family is no sooner established than it becomes in turn the point of attack of advancing intelligence. Individuals are released from the control of the family. We have referred some pages back to the curious form of the ancient Irish family. It was full when there were seventeen male members, and thereafter the birth of another male, liberated the oldest member (not the chief, probably) who passed out of the family control.[1] Among the Germanic tribes the son was liberated from the control of the family when he became a warrior.[2] The Greeks liberated the son when he reached his majority. The Romans liberated the son only on the death of the father. These liberated sons were capable of forming families of their own. Ideas of property also slowly underwent a change. We have stated the older rule that whatever an individual acquired, simply went to swell the family property. This seems to have been the first point of attack. What an individual gained by his own exertion became his individual property. We find this principle early inculcated among the Hindoos.[3] In Rome what a son gained in the service of the State became his private property. And thus one people after another devise some way to break in upon the old rule. So between

1 Hearn "Aryan Household."
2 Tacitus "Germania," 13.
3 Hearn "Aryan Household," p 236.

both of these causes, on the one hand breaking down the joint family, and on the other, destroying its property, we at last arrive at the stage of individual property, gained first in regard to chattels, finally allowed in reference to land, which is thus seen to be only the last step in a long line of development, and not yet accepted by many people.

We have now seen how much the passion for property has had to do in influencing and advancing civilization. At the present day the victories of peace are of more importance than those of war. It has always been so. Commence, trade and navigation have done more to advance mankind, than all the wars put together. We will become convinced of the truth of this statement, if we stop and consider the course of events. To-day the inventor wrestles with scientific problems in the hope that some fortunate combination of materials, or new arrangement of appliances will put into his possession some secret, by means of which he may gather a great store of wealth. Scholars are delving into all fields of research, in the majority of cases, with the same object in view. Continents are spanned with railroads, cables traverse the beds of the oceans, but the inciting motive in all these arrangements is gain. It is quite outside the main question that civilization in general is greatly advanced by the researches of the inventors and scholars, or yet again that in many cases, the love of knowledge alone has proved a sufficient incentive.

This, which is true of social advance now, always has been true. It was the commercial spirit which sent out the first colonies; which organized the first trading expedition, ultimately developing into the caravans of the East, which again was the first means of diffusing information. Long before the dawn of history in Europe, there was quite

a developed commerce. Amber from the Baltic found its way to the higher civilized countries of the South. Bronze was brought into Europe from Asia Minor, and some of the old trade routes have been brought to light by the researches of archæologists.[1] Commerce sent the first ship coasting along the shore, which was the first step in the formation of that merchant marine which whitens every sea.

A great commercial city like Rome desire to attract to its borders merchants from all lands. This could only be accomplished by treating them justly, and hence the necessity for breaking down the old ideas of justice and equity, and recognizing the principle that individuals not belonging to one's own tribe or nation were still entitled to be treated with justice. This lesson the Romans had to learn even in historic times. All ancient people emphatically believed that "they were the people." Their gods were the only true and powerful ones. All outside people were barbarians, entitled to no rights or privileges. Commerce first broke down this spirit, and, in the case of Rome, we find equity, or the "jus gentium," or in effect, the "law for foreigners," attacking many of the customs of Roman law. We have since lost this distinction, though there is still a fluctuating and illy defined line between equity and law.[2] We could extend this part of our subject to great length, but enough has now been set forth for our present purpose. We have seen, on the one hand, the great influence that the desire for wealth exerts in advancing civilization, and, on the other, how true it is that the evolution of property follows the same line of development that we have already found to be true in so many other respects; and have had occasion to observe once more that the process of civiliza-

1 Dawkins "Early man in Britain," London, 1880, p. 412.

2 Maine "Ancient Law," p. 55-58.

tion is one that constantly tends to separate out the individual from the mass.

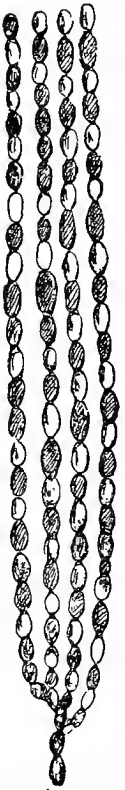
Let us now consider some of the useful arts. We cannot make an exhaustive study, but only illustrate the general truth that our present knowledge is the result of a gradual growth. The individual must first creep before he can walk; so primitive man had to make a slow and painful progress, where we, his descendants, profiting by the experience of the past, move forward more rapidly. If we were asked to name an art contributing greatly to our advancement, we would name printing, and point out how greatly general intelligence is advanced by the same. When it came into practical use, a new era in civilization was inaugerated. We can quite clearly trace the steps leading up to this great invention.

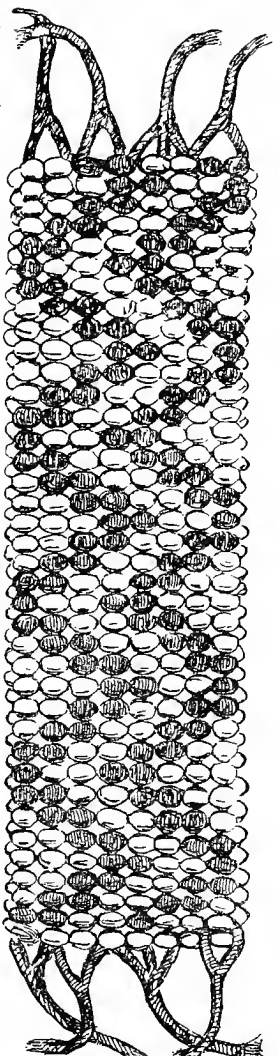
In devices to assist the memory, we find the first starting point of this art. We have seen that the Peruvians used for this purpose the quippos.[1] This was not peculiar to the Peruvians however, for we find that rude tribes in widely distant localities made use of it. The Ostyaks, a tribe in Northern Asia, use it. Erman observes of them, "Knots on a cord or thong of leather serve to mark numbers and conventionally things also."[2] The Chinese legends assert that in ancient times, their people "used little cords marked by different knots, which by their number and distances, served them instead of writing;"[3] and Bastian also observes its use in Africa. Herodotus relates that Darius took a thong and tied it in sixty knots and gave it to his allies, with instructions to untie one each day; and, if he had not returned when all were untied, they might go their way.[4] This was a quippos, and these several examples show how

1 See illustration p. 820, Vol. 1.
2 "Travels in Siberia," London, 1848, Vol. 1, p. 492.
3 Tylor "Early History of Mankind," New York, 1878, p. 154.
4 Bk. IV; 98.

perfectly natural is such a method. The rosary used at the present day, is also a quippos.

Several writers have recorded examples of the quippos among the North American Indians,[1] but among the Eastern Indians the strings of wampum took its place. These illustrations show the tasty way in which wampum was arranged. They are composed of pieces of variously colored shells, cut to a nearly uniform size, smoothed and polished and strung together. The colors were significant, red pertaining to war; white to peace and friendship. The length and breadth of these girdles, and the arrangement of the differently colored strings were all significant.[2] But at most, these were simply aids to the memory, and required some explanation, in order to be understood.





Indian Wampum.

Such strings of wampum were of great use among the Indians. They formed the archives of the tribes. When a messenger from one tribe had an important announcement to make to another, at the conclusion of his address he presented a string of wampum for a memorial.

[1] Charlevoix Vol. VI., p. 151. Long's Exp. Vol. I., p 235. [2] See Wuttke "Entstehung der Schrift." Leipsie, 1872, p. 150.

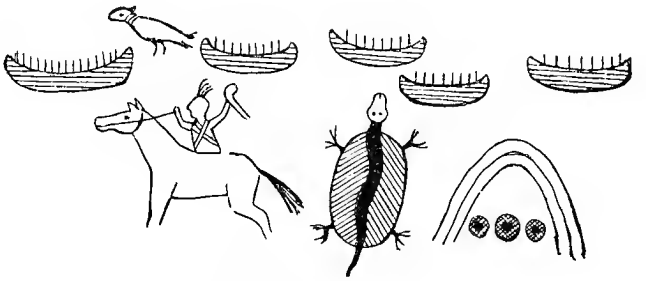
By its form and composition such a string was significant of the address, but its main office was to recall to memory his sayings. On some occasions, the orators would take the wampum strings and explain to the assembly what each was significant of. "A good reader," says the missionary Heckwelder," is able to point out the part in a girdle to which each of his sentences refer, just the same as we could in a book," [1] but still it remains that this was simply an exercise of memory.

While rude tribes were thus finding aids to memory, they also made use of pictures, and this seems to be a perfectly natural method of conveying information. Primitive people everywhere have employed it. Refering to our own Indian tribes, we find that this art had reached quite a degree of development. Let us examine this matter, as from picture writing has come our alphabet. A picture may express, besides the meaning we would naturally give to it, a symbolical meaning also. A picture of a lynx may represent not only the animal, but a magician as well. It is just at this point where pictures cease to be pure pictures that they become a species of writing.[2]

Our Indians, in order to convey information, drew on rocks and on pieces of bark a succession of symbolical figures, though the symbolism was of a very simple sort. A band, for instance, expresses the number of individuals composing it, by a succession of rude figures standing for men, the gens to which they belong may be shown by the figure of their totem. Or the business of the band may be shown, whether engaged in war or peace. Footsteps may show the number of days of their journey. Headless bodies may show how many of the enemy they have slain.

1 Abid. 152.
2 Ibid. 153.

Color also is significant; enemies being painted red, friends white; a red hand expressing wounds, a black hand death.[1]



Picture Writing.

In this cut we have a portion of such a picture record. It records the passage of a war party over Lake Superior headed by a chief who was also a famous medicine-man. He is on horse back and flourishes a magical drum stick in his hand. The party of the fifty-one men were in five canoes. In the first canoe was his principal sub-chief, "king fisher." It took three days to accomplish this expedition, shown by the over-arching sky and three suns. The Tortoise seems to show the reaching of dry land.[2] We must notice the combination of pure pictures and symbolical representations; the bird for the chief, the tortoise for the dry land, etc. We observe the same kind of writing on some of the grave posts.

The following cut is that of the grave post of a famous chief, who died about 1793, on the southern shore of Lake Superior. His totem appears at the top, its reversed position signifying death. The marks to the left denote the number of war parties he led. The right hand

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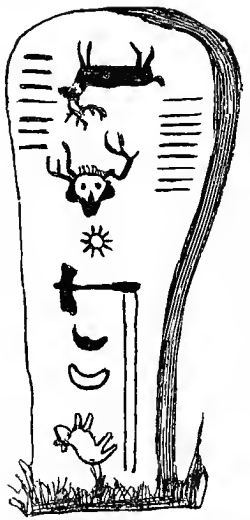
1 Wuttke Op. cit., p. 159.

2 See Schoolcraft "Archives, etc." Vol. I., p. 406. Plate 57. Also Wuttke p. 158.



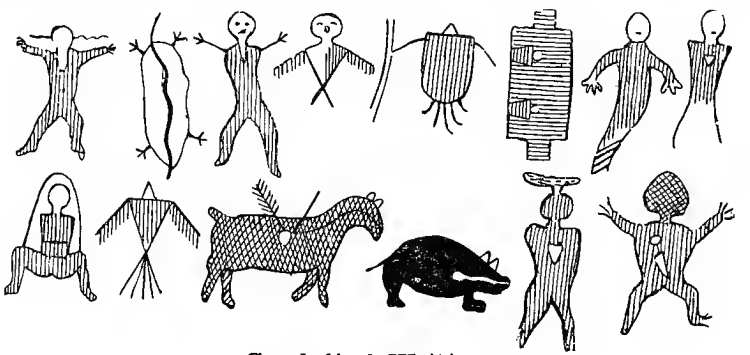
Indian Grave Post.

lines show how many times he was wounded in battle. The moose head relates to a conflict with that animal. The symbols below represent his influence in war and peace.

Such are some of the more common picture writings of the North American Indians. They represent a low stage of the art. It was practiced almost universally from Florida to the Hudson Bay. In common Indian speech such writings were known as *Kekeewin*.

But to show how picure writing develops still further, it will be necessary to show the influence of the priesthood, and the purposes, to which they applied this art.

It is necessary to remark that partially civilized people generally believe in a multiplicity of supernatural spiritual beings, whose influence is most potent in all affairs of life. Such

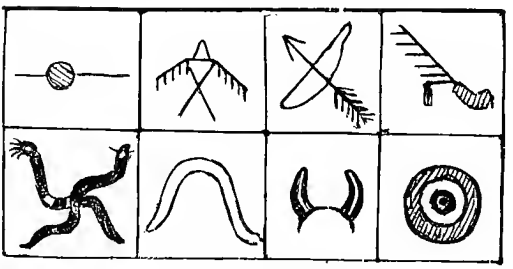


Symbolical Writing.

powers are to be propitiated, coerced or restrained by means, amongst other things, of set words and songs. To assist the memory in these songs, symbolic pictures were drawn, each picture calling to mind a few words of the song. To

illustrate this, we introduce the preceding cut; only we must understand that each figure there shown was painted in some bright color.[1] The fifth sign, for instance, represents a human body with wings for arms, holding an arrow. To the singer this stood for the following line; "I fly at will, and if I see an animal, I can shoot him."

These songs were not generally known to the majority of the people. They were imparted only by the priests to deserving individuals, and for a valuable consideration. Now if we reflect that the words of the song or charm must be in nowise altered, they must be repeated exactly as handed down by the priest, and further that the songs and the magic pictures must both be employed to get the full force of the magical influence;[2] we can see at a glance that such pictures would tend to become more and more symbolical, they would loose more and more their resemblance to the original objects, tend more and more to become such hieroglyphics as confront the traveler on the forrests of Yucatan.[3]



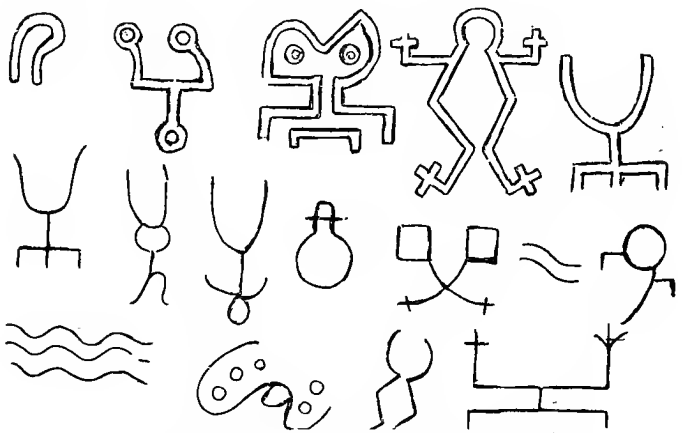
Hieratic Writing.

In proof of this last statement, let us glance at some of the symbols of Indian hieratic writing. Number 1, is the symbol of attention, a head with waving lines from each ear. 2, the outline figures of a man with an arrow-point

1 See Schoolcraft "Archives, Etc." Vol. I., p. 53.
2 See Wuttke "Entstehung der Schrift," p. 166-7.
3 This Series, Vol. I., p. 754.

for a head, and wings for the arms, symbol of a spirit. 3 is the symbol of war, and 4, that of peace. 5, two serpents crossed, is significant of wariness. 6 is the sky. 7, a head surmounted with horns, denotes power. 8 is a symbol of time.[1]

The development of the art among the northern tribes was stopped at this point by the arrival of the whites. We can see that the tendency would be for such figures to become more and more meaningless in outline. In this cut we have a specimen of picture writing of the South Ameri-



South American Picture Writing.

can tribes. The tribes at the present day, however, know nothing of its meaning; and when the traveler Schomburgh attempted to remove a portion of the rock containing it, his Indian guides looked on with terror, expecting each minute to see fire from heaven destroy him.[2]

That this stage of picture writing is of very common use among the rude tribes is well known. In this cut we

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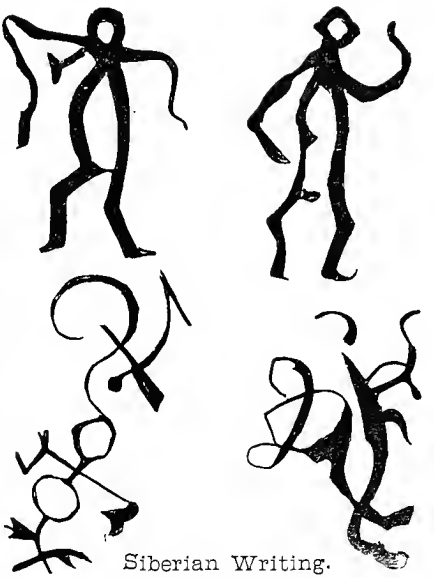
1 See Schoolcraft, Op., cit., p. 58-9.

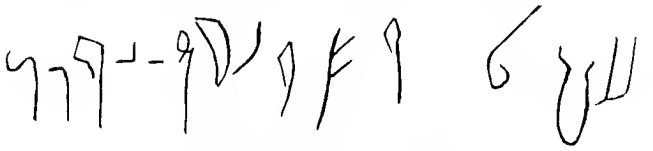
2 Wuttke Op. cit., p. 177.

have a portion of a picture record painted on the rocks of the Irtish River; utterly unmeaning to us, we do not doubt it conveyed a meaning once. In the next cut is still another illustration taken from the deserts of Arabia.



Siberian Writing.

Turning now to the Old World, we find three systems of writing at which we must glance, the Chinese, Egyptian and Chaldean. These will all illustrate the general truth that mankind has passed through the same stages of thought. Let us consider the Chinese first. Amongst other means, the Chinese, at an early date, made extensive use of the quippos.[1] Their scholars assert that they brought this art to quite a high



Hieroglyphics from Asia.

point. They even give the name of the inventor,[2] this illustrates the tendency among all people to ascribe important results to individuals. On the borders of China, the quippos is still in active use. In regard to the origin of

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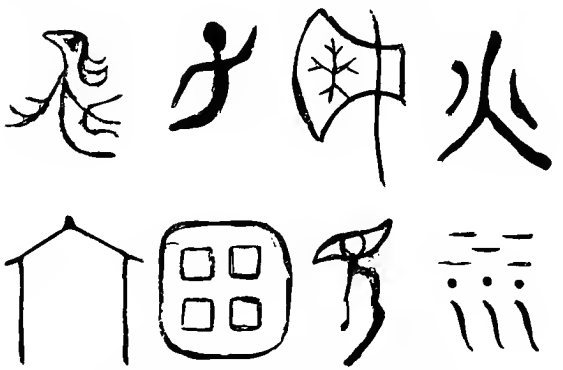
1 But see J. R. A. S. for 1885. La Couperie "Beginning of Writing around Thibet."

2 Wuttke Op. cit., p. 243.

their written characters, they record how in ancient times *Tsangkie* observed the foot-prints of the birds on the ground, and the markings on the shell of the tortoise, and imitated them in his signs.

It is the universal tendency of the human mind, in the lower stages of culture, to explain what is to them strange by myths like the foregoing.[1] We can now show by comparison of the earlier forms with those of the later stage, that the starting point of the Chinese writing was pictured representation of the subject, [2] that these developed with the development of the Chinese language and general intelligence.

We introduce some cuts to illustrate the first stage.



Primitive Chinese Characters.

Some of these pictures are quite plain. We have (1) a flying bird, (2) a child, (3) a hatchet, (4) flame, (5) house, (6) palace, (7) "sight" or "seeing" and (8) rain. A subsequent step is easy to take. In this we have to give a symbolical meaning to each little picture; thus "above," — "below," — "middle," ▽ "union."

This last stage would naturally develop more and more. Two limbs would stand for "going," a man with

1 Tylor "Early History of Mankind."
2 Wuttke Op cit., p. 251.

a stick, would signify "father." A plant growing out of the ground would be understood as "growing" or "increase." A sun pictured above a tree means "clear weather;" under a tree, "darkness." If waving lines represent water we can see why the same inclosed in a circle would signify "deep water," or placed under an arch should mean "rain." We can appreciate their feelings that connecting the signs for a field and children would express thereby "happiness" or "good fortune;" or by joining the picture of the sun and moon would express "brilliancy," "magnificence;" or that pictured sorrow by the two figures for knife and heart.

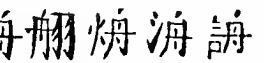
The characters, or pictures, we have thus far represented all belong to ancient writing. We know that the inevitable tendency is to change and alter the outlines until they come to have but little resemblance to the original. We illustrate that change in the following cut: the first line is the ancient representation of the various subjects there named; the second line is the modern way.

Ancient and Modern Characters.

To understand the significance of another change we must refer to a peculiarity of the Chinese language. A large number of Chinese words have several meanings. In ordinary conversation this meaning is made clear by the tone of voice in which it is pronounced. For instance the sound *Fu* signifies either the word "*father*" or "*man*" or "*woman*," in talking no confusion arises, simply because the tone of voice indicates which meaning is meant. In the first stage of picture writing each of these meanings of *Fu* had a separate picture. In a later stage of their art, the Chinese hit on the expedient

of making compound characters, pictures and sounds combined. One character simply designated the sound wanted, but a second character gives us the meaning.

Thus the sound *chow* has several meanings, such as ship, fluff, flickering, basin, loquacity. In the following cut the first figure is *chow* meaning ship. We notice this repeated with an additional character to designate the other meanings. Two feathers added to it make it *fluff*.[1] The sign of fire prefixed shows that, in the third case, the sound chow means *flickering*. The sign of water in the fourth, and of speech in the fifth, similarly modify the meaning of chow.[2]


Sounds of Chow.

Turning our attention to Egypt, we find a most interesting field of research. However, we can not make a close study at this point. From the very earliest times, the Egyptians resorted to hieroglyphic writing, and we can but imperfectly trace the steps leading up to this invention. We need not doubt that it went through all the stages of development. The priests, who doubtless developed this art, chose as objects to represent the tones of the voice, simple materials—different parts of the body, plants, different mathematical figures and some of those simple figures which naturally occur to people at all times and places, such as a circle for the sun, the well-known figure of a star, a waving line for water, etc.

That Egyptian writing had the same origin, that is symbolical picture writing, is only what we would

[1] In general the character expressing meaning is placed to the left. Wuttke, p. 259.

[2] Tylor "Anthropology," p. 171. It seems, however, that a number of scholars come to another conclusion in regard to Chinese writing, regarding it as originating amongst the Turanian tribes that developed the culture of ancient Chaldea. See "Yellow Races."

expect. But in the case of these people, or rather as far back as we can trace their writing, we observe that they had largely turned their attention to some means of expressing sound, not the thought or meaning. This method carries with it a most important train of consequences, as we will soon see. We all know that the elementary sounds of a word may be divided into two great classes, the consonants and the vowels. The Egyptians were aware of this fact. In the first stage of their writing no attention was paid to the vowels, they only represented the consonants, and this was the way they set about it. They painted some well-known object which contained the consonants of the word they desired to express. It follows that the same hieroglyphic could express several different words.

To illustrate this, the hieroglyphic of the finger, for instance which was called *tep*, gave the consonants *t-p*, consequently it could be used to express the word *taipe*, meaning "reservoir;" or *tpa* meaning "ten thousand." So the hieroglyphic of a palm tree which furnished the consonants *p-t* could be used to express "division of time," "month" or "year." Or just the reverse can be said, and we can see how several different hieroglyphics could be used indifferently for the same word.

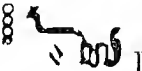
We can see that such signs could be greatly increased. The serpent "hope" gives as the consonants *h-p* and thus might express, amongst other words, "*hepi*," meaning "depth." The obelisk "*maen*" gives us *m-n*, and consequently might stand for the name of the god *Amun*. Such signs would be increased as general knowledge would increase. When they became acquainted with the use of papyrus, the papyrus roll takes its place as an important hieroglyphic.

But to avoid confusion, it was necessary in some places to indicate the vowel. They painted some well-known object in the name of which occurred the wished for vowel. Thus for instance, a palm leaf "*asch*," could be used to signify the vowel *a*, if necessary, as well as the consonants *s-c-h*. It is to be noticed that the vowel sign was placed to the left of the consonant sign no matter what the natural order was. It might be wanted in the beginning, middle or end of a word, yet it was always placed at the left of the consonant hieroglyphics.

The hieroglyphics we have thus far spoken of, we see indicate syllables, and such remained true of the larger number of Egyptian hieroglyphics. Causes were at work, however, in some cases to change this syllable writing to alphabet writing. Suppose they wished to express a two-syllable word containing three consonants. Two hieroglyphics were necessary. But of these two, one hieroglyphic would be used for but one of its consonant signs, the other was lost sight of. In still other cases the like would happen, since many words of but one syllable require only one consonant. The Egyptian word corresponding to our conjunction "and" was "ke." Amongst other means of expressing this word they used the hieroglyphic of a basket, *kote*, but in this case all it stood for was the consonant k. Similar cases must have been quite numerous and yet this failed to result in an alphabet.[1]

We must now consider one means employed by the Egyptians to avoid confusion. It was the use of one hieroglyphic to make plain the meaning of another, much the same way as the Chinese used one picture to explain another. To show that a hieroglyphic was to be used as a

1 See on this point Wuttke "Entstehung der Schrift," p. 502.

syllable they sometimes placed after it this sign the hieroglpyhic of hill, the word for which "*to*" stood for "many" or "several." Sometimes to give the same meaning they repeated the hieroglyphic. Sometimes after spelling out a word it was deemed best to add still another hieroglyphic to give the meaning. If, for instance, it was desired to represent a crocodile, (Sukhi) they made these two hieroglyphics which would give us the consonants *s-p-k*. Now in order to remove doubt they drew paint after the two hieroglphics above given the picture of a crocodile. Or, instead of painting a picture of the object itself, they painted another well-known hieroglyphic, which repeated the consonants wanted. To illustrate this method look at this series of pictures, the meaning of which is "*hepi*," house.  We have first a chain "*hoite*," second the serpent "*op*," and under it a track or street "*isch*." Now here we have the elements of our work *h-t-p-i* or *h-t-p-s-c-h*, but the last hieroglphic throws a new light on the subject, it gives us *h-p*, and shows us that "*isch*" is a vowel, and gives us "*hepi*."

The Egyptians were never able to do away with these determinative signs. Almost all grammatical properties, person, number, gender and case, were expressed by such means. As time passed we can see how the tendency would be to shorten these signs as much as possible. Here, for instance, are three representations of a garden. It does not need an expert to tell which is the oldest form used. The head of an animal would do service for the entire animal, only the merest outline would suffice. Finally when writing on paper was introduced, this change went forward rapidly, everything obstructing speed was thrown away. In this cut we give some of the older forms on one side, and the forms result-

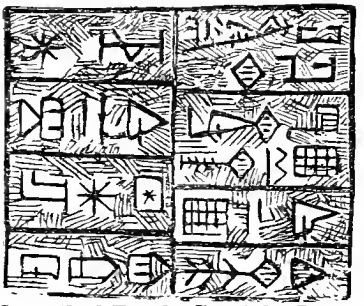
Hieroglyphic Development.

ing therefrom, on the other. These few last pages show us that the Egyptians started from a stage of picture-writing. We need not doubt that lying beyond the first stage known to us was still a ruder, more barbaric stage, much like that through which the Indians were passing. Nor need we doubt that had the Egyptians themselves been allowed time to continue the development it would have resulted in an alphabet. As it is, not a few think that our alphabet is a lineal descendant of the Egyptian hieroglyphics, modified by the skill of the Phœnicians.

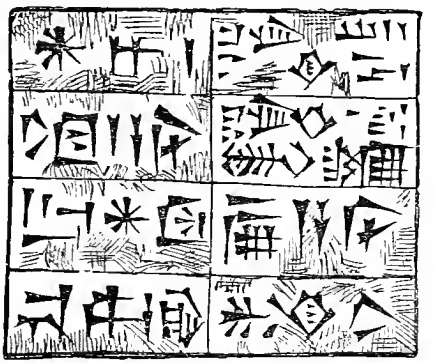
Turning to ancient Chaldea, we will not make a close study, just let us observe that here also we find that the people developed their knowledge by means of such simple devices as we have already mentioned. The system of writing, or expressing thought graphically, employed throughout a large extent of the country in Southwestern Asia is known as the cuneiform, because the element of the writing is a wedge or arrow-shaped figure. We are sure that in this area, people of different notionalities successively held sway, who adopted and modified the same system, and hence it is that so much confusion exists in regard to this writing. Into that question we do not propose to enter. We will simply show some of the changes through which this very extensive system of writing passed.

The origin of this system may perhaps be hopelessly lost, yet some significant facts remain which we think give us the clew to the whole process. In the first stage of the writing the arrow formed characters do not appear. Instead of them we see simply straight lines. Here, for

instance, is a brick containing an inscription belonging to very early times. The writing we notice is by means of straight lines. In the next cut is a brick from the same locality, containing evidently the same inscription, as can be seen on comparison, but here the wedges appear.[1]



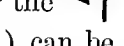
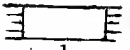
Inscribed Brick, Straight Lines.



Inscribed Brick Wedges.

Now from what were these symbols derived? In some cases at least, it seems possible to trace them back to the pictures of the objects they represent. In the first inscription we notice at the beginning an eight rayed star. This was a determinative sign and indicated that the name of a god was about to follow. When wedges take the place of the lines, the resemblance still continues, but later writing unites the oblique wedges thus; and finally throws them away altogether and the result is this form. Again one of the characters, representing the word "hand," is in the rectilinear writing, clearly the thumb and four fingers. In the older wedge writing it appears as, later still as follows:

1 It may be interesting to know the meaning of this inscription. Rawlinson gives it as follows: "Beltis, his lady has caused urukh (?) the pious chief, king of Hur, and king of land (?) of the Akkad to build a temple to her. "Seven Great Monarchies," New York, Vol. I. p. 43

The original ground plan of a house stood for "house." In wedge writing it appears as. It would seem perfectly natural to represent the sun by a circle, the nearest straight line writing could come to it was a square, thus. Wedge writing represents the square as follows: subsequently contracting the latter sign, and finally this form appears for the word sun.  A curiously complex sign for a woman (or rather the feminine form of the indefinite pronoun "one") can be traced through a succession of forms to the following:  which is probably a double-toothed comb, a toilet article peculiar to a woman; and therefore a fit symbolical representation for one.[1]

Such facts as the foregoing seem to show that the origin of wedge writing was in picture writing. Yet it may be that they early departed from such symbols as these, and adopted new forms, appealing to the reason rather than the eye;[2] and there are not wanting those who think that the origin of this writing is not to be found in picture writing, but in simple mathematical figures not suggested by pictographs. Certain it is that this wedge or cuneiform writing grew into a very extensive system. Some of these combinations stood for words, as, for instance, the star for the word "god." Such words as man, king, father, mother, son, brother were expressed in this way. Some words had several different forms. Some signs were what are called determinatives, that is by their use gave us a clew as to the meaning of the following word. Such signs used before proper names informed the reader whether the name was that of god, or of a town, etc. But most of

1 Rawlinson "Seven Great Monarchies," Vol. I., p. 45.

2 See Wuttke "Entstehung der Schrift," p. 609.

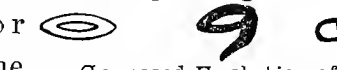
the signs were syllables, which by their combination spelt out words.

We have now considered the general subject of writing as it appears among savage tribes, and the reduction of the same to more definite systems among the principal old world people. Let us briefly review our ground before passing on to consider the origin of our alphabet. In all we find satisfactory evidence that the starting point was picture writing. When such simple pictures come to have a symbolical meaning as well, the first great step is taken. Our Northern tribes had taken this step. When the idea expressed by the picture itself was lost sight of, and the sound of the thing pictured was recalled to mind, a second very important step was reached. The more civilized tribes of Mexico and Central America were just entering on this stage. The Chinese are not further advanced than this stage, though they have brought it to great perfection in combination with the preceding stage.

The nature of the Chinese language was a great obstacle to further advance. It belongs, as we have seen, to the monosyllabic group of languages. Writing consists in representing the sounds of the language. But Chinese words cannot be resolved into simpler sounds, the Chinese therefore had done all that could be expected with a people having a language such as theirs. Further development is found among the people in Southwestern Asia, and in Northern Africa, speaking languages possessing words of several syllables. This was the stage of syllable writing, reached by both the Egyptians and the people making use of the cuneiform characters. We have seen that the Egyptians, and in fact the ancient Chaldeans also, had some characters belonging to the alphabetical stage; and yet they failed of understanding the real principle involved in

an alphabet.[1] At present the origin of our alphabet is unsettled, or rather we may say the origin of the Phoenician alphabet. A number of eminent scholars think it was derived from the Egyptian hieroglyphics, through the hieratic writing, specimens of this latter writing being shown some pages back.[2] But the difficulties are not by any means all cleared up. It is possible that the Phœnician alphabet was developed out of a system of hieroglpyhic writing used by the Semitic people, but if so, we have lost all traces of that system. The Phœnicians were the great traders of antiquity, they had commercial dealings with Babylon as well as Egypt. Always ready to turn to account the inventions of other people, it is quite possible that they borrowed the idea, on which their alphabet rests from one of these two sources.

In some cases it seems almost evident that the Phœnican letters are derived from the Egyptian. In the following cut we illustrate one possible derivation. In the Egyptian language the sound expressing "mouth" was "hro" or "ro." Notice the following changes. The first is the hieroglyphic for mouth, that is the lips. The second is the cursive or hieratic form, the third is the Phœnician form, and finally the fourth is the English equivalent. A number of such illustrations could be given.

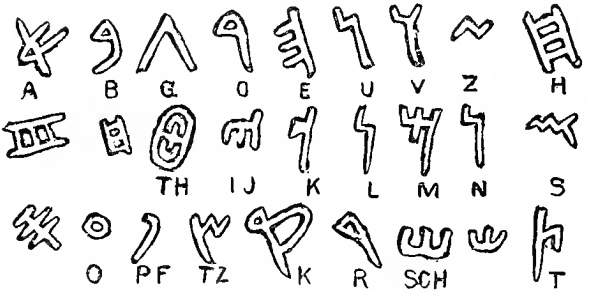


Supposed Evolution of "R."

[1] On this point consult Wuttke, "Entstehung der Schrift," p. 502, 709. But the reader must consult our chapter on the Yellow Races. In J. R. A. S. for 1885, Professor T. De La Couperie seems to show that Chinese writing had the same origin as the cuneiform and that the oldest writing in China, the Yh-king, is really a syllabary, like the Assyrian, and further that the history of writing in China is really a change from phonetic writing back to picture writing. "Origin of Writing in and around Thibet."

[2] Such scholars as M. De Rouge, M. Francis Lenormant and English scholars quite generally.

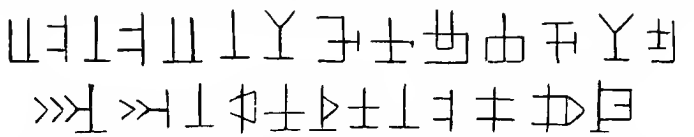
But let us consider the ancient alphabet as a whole as it appears on a coffin of King Eshmunazar of Sidon, as early as 900 B. C. The principal element of this alphabet is a straight line generally in an oblique direction. To this




Phoenician Alphabet.

straight line there are added other straight or slightly curved lines generally on the left side, as the writing reads from right to left. Only in a few cases do curved lines make their appearance.

We must recall that the original form of the wedge writing was straight lines, if then we compare this alphabet as a whole with the following inscription from the palace wall at Nineveh, it would seem quite as likely that the



Inscription at Nineveh.

Phœnicians got their idea of an alphabet from that source, as from the Egyptians.[1]

[1] In this discussion we have aimed simply to illustrate the fact that our present writing is a development arising from long continued efforts towards improvement of pre-existing picture writing. We have not aimed to settle the matter. Dr. Taylor in his recent learned work, "The Alphabet," exhaustively treats of the whole question, and seems to settle the matter in favor of the Egyptian writing. But on the other hand consult Hommel "Babylonien und Assyrien."

We have taken some pains with this one subject, the origin of writing, since in a certain sense it illustrates the development of all arts and sciences. Our present knowledge is simply the result of long, slow, continued growth; and in many cases the starting point of that growth is found in that stage of culture known as savagism, and from thence on every increase in culture shows increase in knowledge. The development of the idea of government law and property, has been glanced at; and we have now finished the brief investigation of one of the most useful arts, the one on which our present civilization seems so largely to depend. The art of cultivating the ground, and thus providing a supply of food, not depending on the chances of the chase, an art of the very highest importance, has been learned by man, only by taking a few, feeble steps at a time.

Preparing food for consumption, whether animal or vegetable, a most important process in itself, and which many times doubles our available food supplies and renders harmless what otherwise might be hurtful, is an art which man had to learn step by step. Were we to consider all these points, this volume would not suffice. The purposes of this chapter will be served if we have succeeded in showing that the laws of thought among savages are after all much the same as among civilized men. They constantly reason from the known to the unknown. The difference being that they have no accumulated wisdom to guide them.

If one carefully considers the difficulties, with which primitive man had to contend, it is indeed a suprising thing that any race achieved civilization. And, after all, probably the most advanced have only made a beginning in this work. If savages are children playing on the

shore we are but a short distance removed, the breakers are yet around us, the great ocean is still before us.

In this, as well as in the preceding chapter, we have presented some facts showing how greatly we are apt to err in reasoning about the probable actions of savages. Our source of error is in a failure to see how greatly their ideas may differ from ours. States of life that we are accustomed to seem to be *natural*, meaning by this word that they are just such states of life as nature would teach. Accustomed as we are to the modern family, we assume at once that this is in accordance with the dictates of nature. On the contrary, this form of the family was only reached after passing through at least two other forms. Accustomed to settled government, what more natural than that men thrown together by whatever cause should at once organize some government? On the contrary, the idea of government was of slow growth. Older writers used to talk about certain laws being according to nature. There is not a law in existence but what is the result of development.

When we talk about the "childhood of the race," our words carry a deeper meaning than most people are aware. They do not refer simply to some time long ago, but they also refer to the fact that primitive man in all his intellectual, emotional, social, and moral faculties, was but a child. And this saying, which was true of primitive man generally, is still true of savages and but partially civilized people. When we observe of children generally, that they are impulsive, thoughtless, careless of the future, light hearted, bent on present enjoyment; we are also describing savages, and consequently primitive man. As it takes years of education to train the child thus outlined to be a sober, judicious, thoughtful, far-seeing man, denying to himself present gratifications for the sake of some future,

greater good ; so has it taken the flight of unknown ages to develop from the savage races of primitive times the more enlightened races of to-day.[1]

[1] Spencer "Principles of Sociology," Chap. VI, and VII.

Head of Medusa.

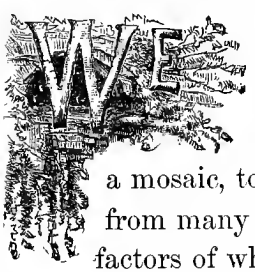
THE SCHOOL OF THE VESTAL VIRGINS.

C. LEROUX.

# CHAPTER IV.

## PRIMITIVE RELIGION.

Introduction—Different Religious Systems—Religious Growth Capable of study—Limitation of our Subject—Definition of Religion—Savage Speculations—Primitive Theory of Dreams—Shadows, Reflections and Refractions—Savage idea of Souls—Idea of Death—Theory of Sickness—Of Trance—Location of the Future World—In the Earth—Above the Sky—Journey of the Soul-Theory as to the Future Life—The Continuance Theory—Souls of Animals and Objects—Transmigration — Retribution Theory of Future Life—Morality not considered—Rise of belief in Supernatural Beings—Ancestor Worship—Its universal prevalence—Rise of Fetichism—Its extensive prevalence—Belief in Witchraft, Magic, Sorcery, Etc.—Worship of Animals and Plants—Worship of Images—Savage Philosophy—Sickness—The Savage Priesthood—Spiritualism—Rise of Polytheism—The Greater-Fetish Gods—Sky—Earth—Sea—Fire—Sun—Rise of Monotheism—Conclusions—Summary.



ARE in error when we ascribe civilization to any one cause, however important that may be. Civilization is a mosaic, to compose which, materials are drawn from many different sources. It is a product, the factors of which are many. As these factors vary from age to age, so does civilization vary. Amongst these factors or causes, two are found of surpassing importance. They are Science and Religion. They act and react on each other, and together determine, to a great extent, the civilization of a country. Let us now turn our attention more particularly to the subject of religion.

At present, the most enlightened portion of the world's inhabitants profess the religion of Christianity. It is true

that considerable difference of detail exists among the different sects of professing Christians, but on further investigation these differences are found to concern unimportant points only. All are further aware that other great systems of religious belief are in existence. They have heard more or less of Mohammedanism, of the religious systems of the Persians, of Brahmanism in India, and of that great system of the Oriental nations known as Buddhism. And it is generally known that a considerable fraction of the entire population of the world is in a yet lower stage of religious development, which, in its higher form, is known as Shamanism, and in its lower form as Fetichism.

It is not our present purpose to explain and define these different systems, or to show wherein one surpasses the others. The problem we propose to ourselves lies even deeper than that. We propose to discuss the origin and progress of religious belief, to show how it has molded civilization on one hand, and in turn been molded by it. This is a perfectly legitimate field of inquiry, and one that we may most profitable consider. It will show us the workings of the human mind when it first dimly comprehended that it was confronting some unknown power; and how these vague conceptions gradually crystalize into shape, finally, guided by inspiration, resulting in the higher and purer systems of belief. That this has been the course of events, no one need doubt.

The Apostle Paul when he addressed the cultivated and skeptical Athenians asserted that men were constituted so as to "Seek the Lord if happily they might feel after him and find him, though he be not far from every one of us." The great Apostle to the Gentiles here makes a statement which is found to be in exact accord with modern research. Men have everywhere and at all times been feeling after

that unknown, mysterious Power. The results come before us in the beliefs and creeds of the world, those of savage tribes as well as those of the most enlightened nations. Of necessity then there must have been a time when these conceptions first originated, and clearer ideas and views must have gone hand in hand with every advance in culture.

We may be sure that this growth can be studied the same as we study advance in any other department of culture. We are to go among the lowest and rudest tribes and study their religious beliefs, and then review in succession the beliefs of people higher in the scale. There is no belief so childish, no custom so foolish, no superstition so low, but that we can learn from it, and when we take a comprehensive view of the field, we will find that one of the most interesting chapters in the history of human development lies open before us. An understanding being obtained of it—so pleasant and easy to gain —will prove of great help to us in tracing the course of civilization.

Writing on civilization in general, we cannot pass this question by. We would glady do so if possible, since it so concerns the great majority of people that it is only by the exercise of the greatest care, that a writer who treats it from a scientific stand point can avoid giving offence. Our feelings and prejudice are aroused, and we can scarcely weigh clearly and impartially the evidence before us. We have observed in many important points, that our preconceived opinions have been found in error, when tested by the knowledge gained by investigating the lower races of men. Let us apply this same method to the question before us, and, for the time being, loose sight of the momentuous questions incidentally attaching to our subject.

When we have a difficult task before us, we should observe well our surroundings, and see what established conclusions are within reach, from which we can start on our new investigations. In the present case, we assume as proved the great antiquity of man, that primeval man was in the lowest depths of savagism, and further that advance in any and all directions has been in each case gradual and is the result of slowly accumulated experience. It is further assumed as proved that the lowest existing savages best represent the probable condition of primitive man, and that the course of development is quite fairly outlined in the customs and habits of successively higher and more developed people.[1]

Probably few scholars of note would take exception to the foregoing assumptions as long as they were not applied to statements of religious belief. But some might argue that belief in a god, or gods, or spritual beings is natural or instinctive to all men at all times. Possibly this may be so, certainly a great many think so, but we have no proof of it, and perhaps there may be no good reason for thinking that such is the fact of the case. One trouble is that when we once begin to make such exceptions, we do not know where to stop, and we might as well assume, as many do, that man in the infancy of the human race was, comparatively speaking, a highly civilized being possessing clear ideas of god and duty.

We cannot all see things in the same light, but to our mind no necessity whatever exists for making religious beliefs an exception to the general law. No great moral principle is here at stake. Belief in an over-ruling Provi-

[1] When we assume these statements as proved, we do not mean that there is no question about them. But they are the results that seem established by the researches in preceding portions of This Series.

dence, or in the soul's immortality ought in no wise to be affected by questions whether such beliefs are instinctive with man or not. We can even go further than this and hold that, if such beliefs appeared in a rudimentary form in tribes low down in savagery, but grew stronger with every advance in culture, this fact is one of the surest signs that such beliefs are reasonable. We will therefore look on these primitive savages, as beings destitute of religious beliefs, and, in accordance with this theory, we wish to trace the rise and progress of such beliefs. In this connection we want to explain that we are to deal only with people in the lower stage of culture, and hence are not called on to consider or discuss the claims of the higher systems of religion, and consequently all special questions such, for instance, as the inspiration and infallibility of the Bible, are entirely foreign to our purpose. We range only along lower levels of thought, confining ourselves solely to what may be called "natural" religion, disclaiming at the start any consideration of the great philosophical systems of belief, in which division fall all those claiming to be inspired. We want this point to be clearly understood so that no one will judge our statements in this chapter from a wrong basis.

In accordance with above statements we will now search about for some cause which could have suggested to man religious beliefs, granting that he was originally destitute of them. We quickly discover several, and considerable can be said in favor of each. Perhaps we are to recognize each as assisting in this matter. Streams from many sources finally united to produce the various great religious systems of the world. "Fear," say the ancient philosophers, "first made the gods." This statement is certainly one-sided. The feeling of dependence on some supernatural power which would find an object of worship

in the fears of humanity, would also find expression in feelings of love and thankfulness for many blessings.[1] But how did this feeling of dependence arise? Is it natural or instinctive to man? Or does it arise only after the conception has been formed of other states of existence than that usually known and visible?

We will find the same question confronting us when we consider other theories. "Man," says Baring-Gould, "conceives the notion of a great cause guided by his feelings by a process of selection, he conceives an ideal, and this ideal becomes to him an object of passionate devotion."[2] Such statements, it seems to us, are true only when considerable advance has been made, and our author in question recognizes the fact.[3] In this question we must be more than usually careful in imputing to primitive man our thoughts and feelings. Savages are not given to pondering over the mysteries of their surroundings, still less then primitive man. It therefore is not probable that religious conceptions originated in that way. Such speculations are impossible until considerable advance has been gained.

Some pathetic examples of savages wondering in their child-like way over the mysteries of life are indeed given. Of a Kaffir chief, we read that years before he met the white men he asked himself these sorrowful questions, sorrowful because he could not answer them: "Who has touched the stars with his hands? On what pillars do they rest? The waters are never weary, they know no other law than to flow without ceasing from morning until night, and from night till morning, but where do they stop? and who makes them flow thus? The clouds also come and go, and burst in water

1 Wachsmuth "Culture Geschichte," Leipsic, Vol. I., p. 22.
2 "Origin and Development of Religious Belief," New York, 1870 p. 76,
3 Ibid, 78-79.

over the earth. Whence come they? Who sends them?" In the midst of other examples, of which all are doubtless familiar, let us note the following, said to be the puzzled thoughts of a Greenlander: "From whence do the earth, sun, sea, moon and stars proceed? There must necessarily be some one who has created everything, who has always existed, and can have no end. He must be inconceivably more powerful and skillful than the wisest of men. He must also be very good, because everything that he has made is so useful and necessary for us. Did I but know him, what love and respect I should feel for him. But who has seen or conversed with him?"[1]

Whatever of truth there may be in these statements, we are sure they are very exceptional cases. As a general thing the lower savages are very little given to speculations. They have neither the power to think nor the desire for knowledge, and consequently do not concern themselves with attempts to explain even the ordinary surroundings, much less such questions as worried the Kaffir chief. Spencer has shown that the lower races generally have not a sufficiently developed mind to be surprised at novelties.[2] Consequently they do not concern themselves in trying to explain what is to them strange. Park, for instance, observed of some negroes whom he tried to have answer the question whether the sun they saw from day to day was the same or a different sun, that they "considered the question as very childish—they had never indulged a conjecture, nor formed any hypothesis about the matter."[3]

Taking now the broadest definition of what constitutes religion, that is "the belief in spiritual beings,"[4] it seems

1 Crantz "Greenlanders," Vol. I., p. 183.
2 "Principles of Sociology," p. 98.
3 Ibid 99.
4 Tylor "Primitive Culture," London, 1871, p. 383.

evident that primitive man only reached that stage of belief, because of some events happening sufficiently often to cause even his childish reason to adopt that explanation. Now it is sufficient for us to point out some way or ways in which such a belief might originate. There may of course be several such causes at work.[1] This belief in spiritual beings amongst all the lower tribes has for its root the belief in "another-self." Quite a number of causes are at work to produce this effect. Dreams are a most potent factor.[2] All savage tribes are great dreamers. Their habits of life conduce to such results; and further the value they set on dreams and the habit of constantly talking about them, only makes them more frequent.[3]

But now primitive man has no one to explain to him the nature of a dream. He knows nothing about the mind as something distinct from the body. He has no conception of the imagination, he has formed no theory on any of these points. He goes to sleep and dreams that he is fishing on some distant lake. What has happened to this individual savage, is continually happening to others. Even their infantile intellect at length frames some theory to account for these dreams. The theory they form is that "another-self" ordinarily invisible, lives with their body, and that dreams are the experience of this wandering "other-self" who some times goes abroad when the individual is asleep.[4]

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1 Here we wish to repeat that from our stand-point we have no dispute with those who insist that such beliefs are instinctive with mau, or that God endowed him with them. Our sole problem is to show how they might have arisen and advanced with advancing culture.

2 Fiske "The Idea of God," Boston, 1886, p. 67. Spencer "Principles of Sociology," p. 147, et seq. Lubbock "Primitive Man," p. 126. Tylor "Primitive Culture," Vol. I., p. 397.

3 Tylor "Primitive Culture," Vol. I., p, 400.

4 A more scientific term for this theory of "Another-Self," is "Animism," and in this sense is used by such writers as Tiele and Tylor.

Before going farther, let us see that this is actually the primitive theory of dreams. Crantz asserts that the Greenlanders believe that during the night the soul "forsakes the body and goes a hunting, dancing or visiting;" and he further observes that their dreams, "which are numerous, lively, and often remarkably curious, have given rise to this notion."[1] The Indians of North America generally hold that the dreamer's soul leaves the body and goes in search of attractive things.[2]

The Ancient Peruvians "asserted that the soul could not sleep, and that the things we dream are what the soul sees in the world while the body sleeps."[3] And we find also in the Old World that this same theory is widely held. Not to make too extensive quotations, such people as the New Zealanders, Figians, Dyaks of Boroneo, Karens of India, all hold to the belief that in dreams the "other-self" of the sleeper actually experiences what is dreamt about.

Nor is it from dreams alone that such a theory, that is of "another-self," would arise. Many other savage experiences are thus explained. Shadows, reflections and refractions all seem to lead to this belief in "another-self" ordinarily invisible, but at times capable of being seen. A savage finds on bright days and bright nights that he is accompanied by an attendant "something" that moves as he moves. On looking into a lake he sees his own image there reflected. Or in certain unusual states of the atmosphere he sees some uncouth figure outlined against the clouds, which by its movements is seen to sustain some relation to himself.

Here then this "other-self" is sometimes actually

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1 "History of Greenland," London, 1820, Vol. I., p. 185.
2 Waitz "Anthropology, etc," Leipsic, 1862, Vol. III., p. 195.
3 Spencer "Principles of Sociology," p. 151.

visible. No one is at hand to explain these optical effects, they simply go to confirm the "dream theory." Evidence from the most distant localities show us that the shadow is often regarded as the soul. The Greenlanders believe that the shadow seen in the day is the soul that wanders forth in dreams.[1] The Bennin Negroes "call a man's shadow his passadoor, or conductor, and believe it will witness if they live well or ill,"[2] and this belief is widely extended among the Negroes.[3] Language is here of great help. Tribes in the most widely separated portions of the earth use the same word for shadow and soul.[4] The Zulus believe the shadow is the soul, and that a dead body, from which the soul is gone will cast no shadow.[5] Still other tribes think it not safe to walk so near a river that a crocodile could sieze the shadow.[6] The case is much the same as regards reflections. Williams, speaking of the Figians, says: "I once placed a good-looking native before a mirror. He stood delighted. 'Now,' said he softly,' I can see into the world of spirits.'"[7]

Thus we see, that in seeking for some cause which might give rise to the idea of a "soul," supposing that no revelation were vouchsafed to man, we easily discover several at work in the case of each and every individual savage which would naturally give rise to confused ideas of "another-self." We have now mentioned but one set of causes, out of the many, which bring about this belief. Probably primitive man is more affected by these

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1 Crantz "Greenland," Vol. I., p. 185.
2 Lubbock "Primitive Man," p. 128.
3 Spencer "Sociology," p. 131.
4 Tylor "Primitive Culture," Vol. 1., p. 388.
5 Ibid.
6 Ibid.
7 "Figi and the Figians," New York, 1859, p. 189.

considerations than by any other. There are mysterious events happening in the lives of all, in the life of the savage as well as the civilized man, which when fairly considered, lead directly to the belief of the existence of supernatural beings. Or in a higher stage of culture still, the mysterious powers of nature, eloquently proclaim a "God of nature." This truth finds expression in such sayings as that "an undevout astronomer is mad." All this is gladly admitted, but we must guard against the assumption that primitive man is capable of reasoning in this way, or is affected by such circumstances. But the causes we have described are found by patient investigation, as we have pointed out, to influence even the lowest of existing savages. It is therefore not surprising that men everywhere, even in the most debased condition, are found to have some sort of religious belief, though in some cases it may be scarcely more than a confused belief in this "other-self." Probably no tribes are known to be destitute of at least such beliefs. The statements sometimes made of the existence of whole tribes entirely destitute of religious beliefs, is based upon a definition of religion involving something higher than this.[1]

Supposing now the conception of a soul once formed, we will trace the development of this idea. This course will illustrate to us in a very striking manner the working of the savage mind, and we will see that savages do not form conclusions without what seems to them good reasons for the same. In what part of the body does this "other-self" reside? A number of rude tribes think the heart is the place. Such is the belief of the Tongans and the Bæsutos, of Africa.[2] Others connect it with the blood, and

1 On this point see Lubbock "Primitive Man," p. 121, et seq. Darwin "Descent of Man," New York, 1875, p. 93, and compare with Tylor "Primitive Culture," Vol. I., p. 377, et seq.

2 Tylor "Primitive Culture," Vol. I., p. 389.

especially the pulses. This conception appears in Jewish and Arabic philosophy.[1] A vast number of people have identified the soul with the breath or act of breathing. It is surprising in how many languages, including our own, we can trace a connection between the words signifying breath or wind and spirit.[2]

These confused notions of the soul sometimes lead to the belief that man has several souls. Thus the Greenlanders "believe in two souls, namely the shadow and the breath of men."[3] A variety of beliefs appear among the Indian tribes. Some said there were two souls; "one goes out and sees dreams, the other remains behind.[4] Others thought there were three souls—a good soul which went to a warm land, a bad soul which went to a cold land and a soul which remained with the body;[5] and finally the Dakotas believed in four souls, of which one goes to the spirit world, one wanders in the air, one remains with the body, and one continues to reside in the village.[6] Of the Figians, "some speak of man as having two souls. His shadow is called the dark spirit which goes to Hades. The other is his likeness reflected in water" and is supposed to stay near the place in which a man dies.[7] Similar beliefs are found among the aboriginal inhabitants of India. One of the four souls of the Khonds passes, after the death of the individual, into the body of a new born child. One of the formal questions asked by the priest is, "what member of the tribe has returned?" and means are taken to satisfy

1 Ibid.
2 Ibid 390-91
3 Crantz "Greenlanders," Vol. I, p. 185.
4 Tylor "Primitive Culture," Vol. I., p. 392.
5 Waitz "Anthropology, etc." p. 194.
6 Ibid. 195.
7 Williams "Figi and the Figians," p. 189.

themselves on this point.[1] Most people, however, confine their belief to but one "other-self."

In general, rude tribes hold, as we have seen, that the soul is not necessarily connected with the life of the body, but that, for instance during sleep, it sometimes leaves the body for a short period. In such cases it is generally easily induced to return to the body, sometimes even calling by name is sufficient, or at most a slight shaking will suffice. But numerous phenomena occur which convince savages that it can not always be readily induced to return. There is even danger that it will stay away altogether. Such for instance, are fainting spells, apoplexy, catalepsy, coma and all those spells of unconsciousness produced by disease or accidents.[2] In numerous cases they have seen this "other-self" recalled by various means. Hence the actions of some savages in case of death to induce if possible the return of this "other-self."

The Hottentots, if they think death is at hand, seek to deter the soul's separation by making known their displeasure at this course. So "they reproach and ill use the dying and those just dead, for going away."[3] In some cases they even treat the body in a way which would cause the living intense pain. The object is if possible to induce the soul's return. The tribes in Northern Asia, when they suspect death is at hand, "the friends and relations go thrice around the dwelling, affectionately calling back the soul by name, while as a further inducement the Lama reads from his book descriptions of the pains of Hell, and the dangers incurred by a soul which willfully abandons its body."[4] And thus can we understand those scenes

[1] Spencer "Sociology," p. 157, et seq.
[2] Ibid. 168.
[3] Tylor Op. cit. p. 392.
[4] Tylor "Primitive Culture," Vol. p. 395.

witnessed in various, widely separated portions of the earth, where the body itself is addressed as though it could hear, asking it to declare the cause of its death, imploring it to return to life—all these various scenes are due to the belief that the "other-self" is away and might be induced to return.

In all these cases the absence of the soul has as a result the insensibility of the body. Such, however, is not always held to be the case. The soul may be absent from the body and its absence be scarcely noticed. The Greenlanders explain home sickness on the theory that one of their souls has remained at home.[1] The Salish Indians of Oregon think that the soul may wander away without the individual being conscious of it. The priest, however, informs him of the facts of the case, and to prevent unpleasant consequences kindly uses his power to restore it to him, putting it down through the top of the head.[2] When the Karens of India return from burying a member of their band, they provide themselves with little hooked sticks, by the aid of which they prevent their souls staying behind with the soul of their dead companion.[3] In Figi the spectacle is sometimes witnessed of a lusty native calling out most piteously for the return of his own soul.[4]

This belief in the temporary departure of the soul forms one side of the savage belief in sickness. It is the temporary absence of the soul. This belief is found all over the world. The Indians accounted for sickness as the "shadow" being unsettled, and if the convalescent exposed himself unnecessarily, he was censured for so doing before

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1 Crantz "Greenlander," Vol. I., p. 184.
2 Bastian "Der Mensch," Vol. II., p. 320.
3 Spencer "Sociology," p. 163.
4 Williams "Figi and Figians," p. 190.

his "shadow" was well settled.[1] Some tribes held that in cases of prolonged unconsciousness, but with final recovery, that the soul had turned back when on the boundary of the spirit land, or after a short visit thither.[2] This primitive belief is found in Africa, India and Australia, showing how true it is that the laws of thought are much the same everywhere.

Still another view of this theory of a wandering "other-self" must be taken. We have reference to those extraordinary subjective states of the mind known as ecstasy or trance, and which the priesthood among all partially civilized people have employed to more firmly establish their power. Thus among the Greenlanders the *angekok* or priest prepares for his office only after gaining the proper knowledge while in a trance. When consulted on various questions, he sends his soul to hold intercourse with the deity.[3] The Australian "doctor," must also visit the world of spirits and he had the power of sending his soul there to obtain information when wanted.[4] The magicians among the Finns can pass readily into this state and discover concealed things.[5] The same is true of Indian medicine-men and Siberian shamans. We have no reason to suppose those wizzards are all deceivers. In many cases they are no doubt sincere in their belief. They have simply put the wrong interpretation on a state of the mind of which their philosophy tells them nothing. Indeed this is the identical explanation given to-day to some cases of trance.

We make a very great mistake if we fail to see the

1 Tylor Op. cit., Vol. I., p. 304.
2 Waitz "Anthropology, etc." Vol. III., p. 195.
3 Crantz "Greenland," Vol. 1., p. 195.
4 Howitt "Kamilaroi and Kurnai."
5 Bastian "Mensch," Vol. II., p. 319.

deep significance of these beliefs which are gathered from such widely different sources. They are far more than simply curious bits of superstition. When we thus pass in review the beliefs of tribes in about the same stage of development from Greenland to Africa, from Australia to North America, and find them to be thus *identically* the same, it affords a most instructive example of the working of the mind in a primitive state. It accepts the only explanation that ignorance presents of the most ordinary circumstances. Thus in a most natural manner is found to arise the belief in "another-self," ordinarily invisible but not always so, which can exist apart from the body; and these examples should satisfy us once for all that savages do not come to their beliefs as the results of deep speculations. Primitive man does not stand in wondering awe contemplating the mysterious forces of nature. He forms no hypotheses about them.

Though it is scarcely necessary we wish to make a remark which it is well to bear in mind throughout this chapter. The great mission of the inspired word of God, the great mission of Christianity itself is simply to correct the false conclusions drawn from nature. The ideas of God, immortality, of duty, etc., were in the world long before the Hebrew people separated themselves from the Semitic people in general, and are found to exist among tribes who never had any supernaturally given revelations. Christianity goes forth to these rude savages. It does not begin by destroying their principal, fundamental beliefs, but frees them from error and teaches a more excellent way. Bearing this thought in mind, let us continue on our way. We have seen how ideas of the soul arise among rude people. This constitutes the lowest form of religious belief. Let us see how this belief developed with advancing custom.

Let us now notice a conclusion which would naturally present itself when once this doctrine of "another-self" had arisen. We have already seen that the soul is considered as capable of existing apart from the body, and, further, death itself is but an aggravated case of such absence, so long continued that the body suffers dissolution. How long can this "other-self" remain away from the body? Evidently considerable time, for in some cases days have passed and the unconscious one has revived. Therefore, in death the "other-self" is supposed to be still in existence. Here the savage theory of dreams strengthens this conclusion. The savage dreams that his comrade who died and was buried is with him once more. The only explanation he can give is that the "other-self" of his dead comrade appeared in his sleep.

But now, how about the life which this "other-self" lives apart from the body, now for days at a time, and now for an indefinite time, so long that the body decays? Savages, of course, are unable to conceive of a life quite unlike their own. Hence the first stage of belief that the life led by this "other-self" after death is much like that before death; and, as for the place of abode, in the first instance, this is supposed to be the old accustomed haunts, with frequent visits to the place where his body may be. This belief comes out particularly strong among the Africans. Nearly all the wild tribes suppose that the souls of the dead remain near the place of burial. Livingston asserts of the tribes north of the Zambesi River "all believe that the souls of the departed still mingle among the living."[1] The same is true of the inhabitants of the Aleutian Islands;[2] and, we saw some pages back, that our Indians, in some

1 Spencer "Sociology," p. 217.
2 Ibid.

cases, held that at least one of the souls of the departed remained in the village.[1]

But this belief changes at an early stage. The "other-self" is supposed to haunt the accustomed place for a short time only and then goes away. The Greenlanders "affirmed that souls loiter near the graves of the bodies which they animated for five days,"[2] after which they went to another world. The Indians universally held that the soul of the dead remained for some time near its old home. The Iroquois made a small hole in the grave so that the soul could go in and out. Other tribes provided for its wants for a year at least.[3] Williams tells us that the Figians, when a native dies of whom they were afraid, "hide themselves for a few days until they suppose the spirit is at rest."[4] In old Calabar the son inherited the hut of his deceased father, but he did not occupy it for two years, by that time the soul was supposed to have gone away.[5] With a kindly feeling the Congo Negroes did not sweep the house for a year after death, lest the dust should disturb the soul.[6]

But, in general, the souls of the departed soon take their way to a place regarded as their special abode. Sometimes this special abode is only a little ways off. "In New Caledonia the spirits of the departed are supposed to go to the bush, and Turner says 'that in Samoa, spirits were supposed to roam the bush.'"[7] In general, however, the home of the soul is some distance removed, though still considered near. Often mountains are set aside by popular superstition for this purpose. The tribes of Oregon

1 On this point also, Tylor "Primitive Culture,"
2 Crantz "Greenland," Vol. I., p. 189.
3 Waitz "Anthropology, etc.," Vol. III., p. 195.
4 "Figi and Figians," p. 189.
5 Bastian "Mensch," Vol. II., p. 323.
6 Ibid.
7 Spencer "Sociology," p. 218.

placed the abode of spirits in the Rocky Mountains.[1] So the ancient Mexicans supposed the land of the blessed to be among the mountains of Mexico.[2] So also the natives of Hayti pointed out to the Spaniards lovely valleys in their island where the souls of the departed lived, and feasted on the tropical fruits there growing.[3] On the island of Borneo, the traveler may visit the happy land and see the moss on which the spirits feed.[4] So also the beliefs of the Brazillians, whose happy land is behind the mountains.[5]

But the constant tendency of advancing intelligence is to remove the spirit land some distance away. Perhaps Spencer is right when he asserts that the explanation of this constant tendency is to be found in the migration of rude people. As time passes on, and the knowledge of their early home fades away, there would still exist among them traditions of a far away place which is thought of as better than their present location; and after death the "other-self" would set off for that other land.[6] One of the most beautiful forms of this belief is some happy island far away. This conception is met with in Australia where some of the natives believe in an island of souls to the West.[7] The inhabitants of the Tonga Islands "believe in the existence of a large island to the northwest of their group, but which no mortal can find unless such be the will of the gods. This island is supposed to be much larger than all their own islands put together, to be well stocked with all kinds of useful and ornamental plants, always in a state of high perfection, and always bearing the richest fruits

1 Waitz "Anthropology, etc.," Vol. III., p. 345.
2 Tylor "Culture," Vol. II., p, 54.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
5 Waitz "Anthropology, etc.," Vol. III., p. 418.
6 Spencer "Principles of Sociology," New York, 1877, p. 220.
7 Tylor Op. cit., Vol. II., p. 5.

and most beautiful flowers according to their respective natures; that when these fruits or flowers are plucked others immediately occupy their place, and that the whole atmosphere is filled with the most delightful fragrance that the imagination can conceive.[1] Traces of this same conception are met among people much farther advanced.

It is but a step from this belief to the conceptions of more remote regions still. A vast number of people have hit on the idea that the spirit world is beneath the earth. Perhaps cave-burial, which has been very extensively practiced has had considerable to do with the genesis of this belief.[2] However that may be, the belief in question is very wide spread. Some of the Greenlanders place the spirit land "in the depths of the ocean or under the earth, and suppose the deep chasms in the rocks to be its avenues.... there is perpetual summer, and clear sunshine uninterrupted by night. There are limpid streams and a superabundance of birds, fishes, seals and reindeers, which may be caught without trouble, or even found boiling alive in a large kettle."[3] This belief re-appears in many Indian tribes. The Tacullis believe that the soul continues to live in the interior of the earth.[4] The Sioux believe that the cavern near the falls of St. Anthony leads to the underground world.[5] The Navajos believe in an "underground world of plenty stocked with game and covered with corn."[6]

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1 Mariner "Tonga Islanders," London, 1818, Vol. II., p. 101. In this case we are to note the significant fact that the migration to these islands was from the northwest. The name of this blissful island is nothing else than a form of Bouro, the small island, from which centuries before their ancestors started in their migrations, lying between Celebes and Guinea.

2 Spencer "Sociology," p. 222

3 Crantz "Greenland," Vol. I., p. 186.

4 Waitz "Anthropology, etc." Vol. III., p. 197.

5 Tylor "Primitive Culture," Vol. II., p. 60.

6 Brinton "Myths of the New World," p. 241.

This belief is found among the South American tribes, Polynesian Islanders and in Africa.[1] The Karens of India likewise hold that when the sun set on earth, it rises in the underground world of spirits.

The next step is to remove this spirit world to some far off region. For this purpose, the sun, the moon and the heavens are chosen. Some of the Greenlanders, as we have seen, believe in a subterranean spirit world, but others place "the happy residence of the dead in the highest heavens, above the rainbow."[2] Dr. Brinton thinks that the Indian race universally held that the sun was the place of their happy land.[3] It is well-known that rude tribes almost universally conceive of the blue firmament above us as a material, solid substance. Above this firmament many people have placed the spirit world. "The Iroquois speak of the soul going upward and westward, till it comes out on the beautious plains of heaven with people and trees and things as on earth,"[4] and the like conception of heaven above the firmament, survives among people of a far higher culture.

We can readily see that among rude people, when the spirit land is considered as removed some distance away, there would naturally arise the idea of the soul's journey to this land. A journey which is generally attended with many adventures, and in many cases the newly emancipated souls are liable to suffer a second death which ends all life. The Figians believe that the road to their Elysian fields is long and difficult, and its accomplishment is dependent on many contingencies. In a certain stage of

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1 Tylor Op, cit., p. 60.

2 Crantz "Greenland," Vol. I., p. 187.

3 "Myths of the New World," p. 243.

4 Tylor, Vol. II., p. 66.

their journey they have to meet the "Killer of Souls" in combat. Only those who escape unharmed in this combat go further. If the soul be that of an unmarried man the case is nearly hopeless. "They are dashed in pieces on a large black stone, just as one shatters rotten fire wood."[1]

We read in Crantz of the singular belief of the Greenlanders. Departed souls do not go at once to the happy underground heaven. "They must first slide for the space of five days—down a rough rock. They always lament the fate of those poor souls who have to undertake their journey in cold, stormy weather, during which they may easily perish."[2] And how pathetic is the statement that they kill a dog and bury its body with the body of a little child. It is so easy for a dog to find its way home, and thither it will conduct the little soul entrusted to its care.

There is one feature in this journey of the departed which calls for special mention. The belief in a passage across a body of water, river, lake or sea is of very frequent occurrence. Commencing with tribes very low indeed in the state of civilization, it is found in all stages of culture, and to-day we constantly talk of the "river of death." Spencer suggests that this belief arises from the fact that no extensive migration could take place without crossing some body of water; and, therefore, if death be regarded as a home-going of the "other-self," the soul must recross such water.[3] Others see in this notion a deeper meaning. Regarding the spirit world as the place where the sun shines when it is night here, it is natural to suppose that the journey to the same is towards the place where

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1 Williams "Figi," p. 186.

2 "Greenland," Vol. I., p. 186.

3 "Sociology," p. 224.

the sun sets. But this is far away across the waters.[1] This river of death constantly meets us, whether in Africa, Polynesia, India or America, and its crossing is attended with many difficulties which we will examine further on.

Let us pause a minute to review the ground over which we have now gone. We are in constant danger of loosing sight of the real lesson underlying these statements of primitive belief. We have seen how this belief in "another-self" would arise and gradually assume definite prortions, and how a very important part of this belief was that this "other-self" was generally invisible, but was capable of existence apart from the body, and that its absence generally caused unconsciousness of the body. Hence arises the natural conclusion that death is simply the permanent absence of this "other-self," which was supposed to be still in existence elsewhere. We have now seen how this "other-self," is supposed, in the first stage of culture, to still haunt its accustomed place; but with advancing culture it is conceived as going to a spirit land, which is variously located, sometimes in a near neighborhood, but is generally considered as somewhat difficult of access; and then is located in some distant region of the earth, finally under the earth, or far removed from it. Let us now examine the ideas of future life and see what form they took.

The first stage of belief almost universally held is that the future life is simply a continuation of the present. Savages cannot conceive of a completely imaterial existence. True the "other-self" cannot generally be seen, and in their dream experiences they know that it has mysterious powers. A shake of a comrade suffices to recall in a

[1] Tylor "Primitive Culture," Vol. II., p. 84. Brinton "Myths of the New World," p. 248.

moment's time the wandering "other-self," though it were miles away. But they are quite incapable of reducing their conception to any orderly system, and the result is confused notions as to its existence and the life it is supposed to live. The easiest explanation that appears to primitive man, the only life of which he can possibly conceive, in fact, is simply a life like the one he is now living. The "other-self" is imagined as a material body and has, of course, material appetites, passions and wants.

The "other-self" will, then, need all those articles conducing to his comfort while in the body. Hence the custom of burying with the body the means of supplying these wants. The practice of thus burying food, clothing and utensils is so well-known that it is scarcely necessary to cite examples. We know that universally among partially civilized people this custom prevails. Sometimes it is stated generally that the property of the deceased is buried with him.[1] In other cases only what was more highly prized or neceessary; with the warrior his weapons, with the women household articles, with all what was considered necessary.

Along with this idea of a future life like the present, comes necessarily the idea of souls of animals and objects. Other causes were at work to produce such conceptions. Does not the "other-self," see animals, trees, houses and all manner of articles in dreams? Obviously, then, these objects so seen must be the "other-selves" of the real objects. At any rate the idea of animal and object souls is found fully developed at an early stage. We have in the Indian chief's vision of heaven, the spirits of

1 Spencer "Sociology," p. 202. Waitz "Anthropology, etc.," Vol. II., p. 193.

birds and animals, and the long train of arriving spirits is deeply burdened with the spirits of the articles buried with them.[1] So the Navajos believe that the reason why some seeds and germs fall on earth but do not sprout, is because their souls have gone to sprout and grow in the underground paradise.[2] The Figi Islanders show the traveler a deep well or "hole in the ground at one of their islands, across the bottom of which runs a stream of water, in which you may clearly perceive the souls of men and women, beasts and plants, of stocks and stones, canoes and houses, and of all the broken utensils of this frail world," swimming past on their way to the spirit world.[3] The Karens of India suppose that every object has a soul; axes, knives, trees, plants all alike have souls to be used in the future world.[4]

We can easily understand how the first step of change in the idea of a future life took place. The "other-self" instead of making use of the literal articles of food, drink, etc., used the souls of such objects. The Indians knew well enough that the kettles, furs and weapons buried with their warriors remained in the tomb, but they explained that the souls of such objects went to the dead who used them.[5] So the Polynesian Islanders explained to inquiring whites, that there was a spiritual as well as a material part to the food presented to the dead, and that spiritual part was for the use of the spirits.[6] And thus we understand the spirit world of rude tribes generally. "The dead Karen with the soul of his axe and cleaver,

1 Schoolcraft "Indian Tribes," Vol. II., p. 68.
2 Brinton "Myths of the New World," p. 241.
3 Mariner "Tonga Islanders," Vol. II., p. 129.
4 Tylor "Primitive Culture," Vol. I., p. 433.
5 Tylor Op. cit., p. 434.
6 Ellis "Polynesian Research," London, 1859, Vol. II., p. 404.

builds his house and cuts his rice; the shade of the Algonquin hunter hunts souls of beaver and elk, walking on the souls of his snow-shoes over the soul of the snow; the fur wrapped Kamschadal drives his dog-sledge; the Zulu milks his cows and drives his cattle to the kraal.[1]

Some people accept the idea that the future life is to be but a continuation of this life in its most literal sense. It was to be a continuation of the condition of the individual at the time of death. The chief continues to rule, the subject to obey. The rich retain their wealth, and the poor struggle with poverty. Hence the Figians, who believe that "as they die such will be their condition in another world,"[2] are not anxious to experience the infirmities of old age. It would never do to pass into the spirit world with the decrepitude of age, so they destroy their relations and friends long before the natural close of life. It is stated that this custom was so extensive that only one instance of death from natural causes occurred during quite a long period.[3] For a similar reason, the Negro fears long sickness before death, since it would send him in an enfeebled condition to the next world.[4] When an Australian has slain an enemy, he cuts off the right thumb so that the soul may not be able to throw a spear.[5] And we can understand the feelings of the Indian mother, whose grief at the death of her little child was greatly relieved when its father died also, he would now provide for its wants.[6]

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1 Tylor "Culture," Vol. II., p. 69.
2 Williams "Figi and Figians," p. 144.
3 Bariug-Gould "Origin and Development of Religious Belief," p. 86.
4 Waitz "Anthropology, etc.," Vol. II., p. 194.
5 Tylor "Culture," Vol. I., p, 407.
6 Waitz "Anthropology, etc.," Vol. III., p. 196.

Regarding future life as a continuation of this life, we at once understand scenes witnessed in so many parts of the world, of slaves and attendants being sacrificed to accompany their dead master. This terrible custom is extremely prevalent throughout Africa, especially in Dahomey. Hundreds of attendants are slain to serve the departed monarch in the spirit land.[1] But this same custom re-appears all over the world; in Figi, in our own country among the Peruvians, Mexicans and Southern Indians. It survived into higher stages of culture. Traces of it are recognized in China, and widow burning in Hindoostan shows that the Aryans themselves advanced through this stage of thought.[2] The genesis of these horrid customs is not hard to find. Believing in a future life like their own, they wished to provide the departed lord with attendants, companions, wives and slaves.

Here we must stop to notice one line of development of belief in a future life, which has no immediate connection with our present subject, yet this belief re-appears so extensively in some of the higher systems that it is necessary to speak about it. That is the doctrine of transmigration of souls. Amongst the confused notions that the Indians entertained of souls we saw, some pages back, that one was supposed to remain with the tribe and pass into the body of a new born child. In one tribe the medicine-man places his hand upon the breast of the dying or just dead, and then upon the head of a near relative. The child next born is supposed to have the soul of the dead relative and receives his name and rank.[3] In order

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[1] Ibid, Vol. II., p. 192.

[2] The laws of Menu do not favor widow burning, and in this respect the custom may be said to have been foisted on the Aryans.

[3] Waitz "Anthropology, etc.," Vol. III., p. 195.

that the mother's spirit might pass to the child, the Seminole Indians held the new-born babe over the face of the dying mother.[1] For a similar reason, "the women among the Algonquin Indians generally flocked to the couch of the dying, so that the new soul might enter some one and thus find a new home in the body of some unborn child."[2] This belief re-appears amongst the most widely separated people.

The Greenlanders along with their other notions hold it. It is said that "as soon as a person dies, his soul is supposed to animate a new-born infant."[3] It is the same with African tribes. "The Yorubas greet a new born infant with the exclamation, 'Thou art come,' and look for signs to show what ancestral soul has returned."[4] We saw some pages back that the Khonds of India believe that one of the four souls of human beings is re-born in the tribe, the priest knows how to determine which one has returned. Some tribes account in this way for the resemblance of the child to the parent.

We have seen that savage philosophy allows that both animals and material objects have souls. That being so, it is not strange that we should find the belief that the souls of the departed sometimes re-appear in animal and even material shapes. The Australians quite generally believe that the whites are simply the re-appearance of the ghosts of the blacks. The explorer Howett was frequently greeted as a "walking ghost."[5] An Australian condemned to death comforted himself with the belief that he would rise a white man and have plenty of money.[6] They sometimes recog-

1 Brinton "Myths of the New World," p. 253. 2 Ibid.
3 Crantz "Greenland," London, 1820, Vol. I. Note p. 342.
4 Tylor "Culture," Vol. II., p. 4.
5 "Kamilaroi and Kurnai," p. 248. 6 Spencer "Sociology," p. 186.

nize a departed relative in some white person. Governor Grey was wept over by a native woman as her deceased son come back to life.[1] A settler having a bent arm was at once recognized as a native not long dead.[2] A shipwrecked woman was adopted by a native tribe. The children would sometimes tease her, when the men would tell them to let her alone, "poor thing! she is nothing only a ghost."[3] This belief is widely prevalent in Polynesia,[4] and re-appears in Africa.[5]

As to re-appearance in animal shape, the evidence is equally abundant. Such a belief was quite common among the Indians, who generally found a place for one of their souls in some animal. In some cases we find the belief that after the funeral feast, one of the souls takes the form of a turtle dove.[6] The same conception, that is of doves being the residence of human souls after death, re-appears in Brazil.[7] A trace of this belief is to be seen in a beautiful custom among the Iroquois Indians; they captured a bird and freed "it over the grave on the evening of the burial, tobear away the spirit to its heavenly rest."[8] The Powhattans of Virginia held that a certain small bird received the souls of their princes at death,[9] but the souls could pass into other animals as well.[10]

It is scarcely necessary to show how widely this idea prevailed in the ancient world. We find it generally stated of Negro tribes, that they believed that souls of the dead

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1 Ibid. 2 Ibid.
3 Lubbock "Primitive Man," p. 159.
4 Bastian "Mensch," Vol., III., p. 362-3.
5 Spencer "Sociology," p. 187.
6 Müller "Urreligionnen" Basil, 1885, p. 56.
7 Brinton "Myths of the New World", p. 102.
8 Morgan "Iroquois," Rochester, 1851, p. 174.
9 Brinton "Myths," p. 102.
10 Waitz "Anthropology, etc," Vol. III., p. 419.

could take the form of animals.[1] The Zulus held that a snake was the form most assumed by the departed.[2] If the snake has any particular mark corresponding to some scar or other deformity of some departed one, it is at once recognized as his ghost.[3] Should a native see one near a grave, he at once speaks of "seeing" the person buried there.[4] But when the idea of object souls arises, nothing is to hinder the conception of human beings passing after death into such objects. The Dyaks of Borneo speak of "the human soul entering the trunks of trees where it may be seen damp and blood-like, but no longer personal and sentient,"[5] and some of the tribes in Bengal believe fruit trees are the abodes of the souls of good men.[6] One more observation on the belief of a Mexican tribe will bring this part of our subject to a close. We read "they worshiped every stone as a god, as they said that all men were converted into stones after death, and that a day was coming when all stones would be raised as men."[7]

Let us not at present dwell on these suggestive facts. We seem to be in position to understand and discuss the worship of animals, plants and stones, but we are not yet ready. Neither do we care at present to show how extensively this theory of transmigration enters into some of the higher systems of religion. In reviewing the ground thus far gone over, let us bear in mind only the main points. Many experiences of savage life led them to believe in the existence of "another-self" ordinarily invisible, at times however visible, residing in the body. Death is the pro-

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[1] Waitz Op. cit., Vol. II., p. 177.
[2] Idid, 411.
[3] Tylor "Culture," Vol. II., p. 7.
[4] Andover Review, 1886.
[5] Tylor "Culture," Vol. II., p. 7.
[6] Ibid,
[7] Spencer "Sociology," p. 194.

longed absence of this "other-self," which is thought of as still in existence, leading a life the same as his previous one, in some unknown place, generally far away; though he sometimes seeks again the land of the living, now in human form, now in animal shape, and yet again as some material object, as tree, plant or stone.

We have examined the first stage of savage belief, that is, that the future life was to be but the continuation of the present life, or a life in all respects like it. This conception soon gives way to slightly contrasted views. In general, mankind forms the conception of a future world which is to be the idealization of earthly good. The conception of what is good, varies, of course, with the culture and surroundings. The Greenlanders hope for a land of clear sunshine abounding with fat seals and reindeers which can be caught without trouble.[1]

The language of the Indian tribes was exhausted in picturing forth the happy hunting ground; plains dotted with lakes, through which rolled great rivers, on which grazed herds of buffalo, elk and all manner of game. The tree dwelling tribes of Brazil hope to find a forest full of Calabash trees and game.[2] Further south the Patagonians hope to be "eternally drunk."[3] We need not illustrate with quotations from other sections. There is, however, another and sader side to this picture which consists in representing the other world as a dismal abode, "where the soul experiences neither joy nor sorrow."

We have seen that not all the dead are able to reach the spirit world. The Greenlander who died in Winter runs great danger of perishing on his way, while the unmarried

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[1] Crantz "Greenland," Vol. I., p. 186.
[2] Tylor "Culture," Vol. II., p. 70, [3] Spencer "Sociology," p. 201.

Figian was doomed to the second death. The Tonga islanders thought that immortality was to be the lot of the chiefs only, the ordinary folks were denied this boon.[1] In general, among rude tribes, we find a trace only, of the belief that a person's condition after life depends upon his manner of life. It is most interesting to notice how this belief in a life after death just like the present, to which all are admitted, gradually changes with advancing culture, until finally two future worlds are presented to our view; one of happiness to which the good souls go, one of misery the place of the doomed. The theory that the future state is dependent on the manner of life lived here seems to be an outgrowth of the older theory. If it be true that the rich will continue rich, the poor remain in poverty, the servant to serve and the master to rule; why then it follows that the kind of life that would lead to success and happiness here, will be equally effective there. Then surely it is but a step to the further belief that the posession of those qualities leading to success and happiness here would pre-eminently fit their possessor for a residence in the happy land of spirits.

At this stage of development, which is pre-eminently the savage stage, the question of morality does not enter. Indeed, the student who takes a comprehensive view of religion will quickly make the discovery that morality and religion are strangers to each other in the ruder states of society. The savage pays very great regard to bravery, cunning and other qualities leading to success in hunting or in war. It is only in higher states of society that the gentler virtues of morality are appreciated. We must furthermore observe, in order to understand savage belief,

[1] Mariner "Tonga Islanders," p, 128,

that those not worthy of entrance to the better land were not by any means peremptorily shut out; they were simply left to shift for themselves, if they could overcome the great difficulties of their journey thither well and good.

The Greenlanders admitted to their heaven only those who were good workers and successful hunters.[1] These were excellent qualities, but observe that no question of morality was considered. The general belief of the Indians was that the "good" were in some way assisted by the good spirit, while the bad were left to shift for themselves;[2] but to understand what the Indians meant by "good," we must notice the Pawnee chief's definition that "The good are good warriors and hunters."[3] The assistance they are supposed to receive is largely in overcoming the dangers incurred in the passage to the spirit land. One idea that constantly re-appears in the Indian belief is that of a stream to be crossed in some portion of the journey, the only passage of which is over a slippery log with the bark peeled off; or sometimes a writhing, twisting snake takes the place of the log,[4] but the good are assisted in these passages.

In short, without going all over the ground, we can assert at once that the characteristic savage conception of the spirit land shows only the beginning of the idea that the future life was to be, in any important sense, a place where the individual would answer for the deeds done in the body. Advancing intelligence, which finally carried the White and Yellow races out of Savagery into Barbarism and Civilization, gradually united morality and religion, and so permitted the rise and progress of what is known as

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1 Crantz "Greenland, Vol. I., p. 186. 2 Brinton "Myths," p. 242.
3 Ibid. 300. 4 Waitz "Anthropology," etc., Vol. III., p. 197.

the "Retribution" theory of future life, a theory embraced by all the great systems of religion of the present.

We have been considering what we might call natural religion. Probably few would take exception to what has thus far been said. We have both revealed and natural religion. Rude tribes the world over are found to have ideas of a human soul, a spirit world and generally a belief in immortality. The problem is to account for the existence of such ideas and beliefs. There is, of course, a temptation to solve the question by looking on such beliefs as the fragments left of purer religious beliefs, referring to a time of primeval innocence, before death, sin and unbelief entered the world. This is to claim for religious culture a position long since abandoned for culture in general. We have no desire to discuss this question in detail. In our opinion it is unwise to make any such claims. Nature takes her feeble children by the hand and in many ways leads man, even while yet a savage, to hope for immortality, and dream of infinite good. It is not surprising that man should have mistaken many parts of Nature's teachings, and missed many points of her lesson. These errors are corrected with advancing culture. But man is finite, the question before him partakes of the infinite. It is only when here and there great and good men climb so high in thought that they stand bathed in the sunshine of inspiration, that a clear and consistent explanation is given to man.

Belief in immortality has exercised a tremendous influence on the culture of the world. This influence among the lower races has not always been healthy. A few moments reflection will show us why, as far as the savage world is concerned, this should be the case. Largely because savages failed to connect morality with this belief, or perhaps

we had better say, because their conceptions of morality were still of such a low grade. Nothing is clearer than that what constitutes morality changes with advancing culture. Communal marriage—a perfectly innocent mode of life for the Australians—appears to civilized man as the very cess-pool of iniquity. The cruel massacre of the Amalekites receives the sanction of Samuel, civilized man at the present day condems it. Savage morality, like savage culture in general, is of a very low grade. But such as it is, it is virtually unconnected with the belief in immortality. Only in a rudimentary form does the belief appear that a man's actions here influenced his life hereafter.

When the belief prevails, as it does among the majority of savages, that the future life is simply a continuation of this life, it can exercise little influence for good. Such people, like the Indians of Yucatan, look on death almost with indifference. It is with them only an "accident of life." On the other hand, indirectly it has had an enormous and disastrous influence on people in the lower stages of society. It leads to the slaughter of slaves, wives and companions, and the destruction of property. Those who regard the future life as like the present only surpassing it in excellence may have less reason to fear death than those who look forward to a gloomy hereafter, but in both cases we see how old and sick people are put out of the way so that they may not enter the spirit world burdened with infirmities. Finally, when in the higher range of Savagery, the idea prevails that the exercise of those qualities conducing to success here influences for good the life hereafter, then also we see that this belief, which in subsequent stages of culture exercises a power for good, here fails of that effect for it simply exalts sav-

age virtues, such as bravery, success in hunting and in war. But when the idea prevails, as it does among the higher races, that the exercise of morality leads to a life of happiness hereafter, then the belief in immortality has a tremendous influence for good.

A large part of our subject has not yet been touched upon. We have now to see how the belief in beings posessing supernatural powers arose; and, going along with this belief, many superstitious beliefs and customs, such as witchcraft, magic, astrology, on the one hand; and, on the other, the appearance of great systems of belief, first in a crude and savage stage, but assuming higher forms as civilization advanced. A most interesting field of research lies before us, and even a hurried examination of it will enable us to understand many otherwise dark points in the early culture history of mankind.

Many savage experiences conduce to the belief that the "other-self" has mysterious powers. In the course of a few hours sleep, it goes a distance of many miles, has most exciting adventures, and returns in an inappreciably short time when called by name or at the shake of a companion. Conceptions of the savage brain are doubtless more grotesque than those of civilized man. Now this "other-self" is flying in the air, now, armed with superhuman strength, it easily defends itself against most formidable enemies. Clearly, then, this "other-self" has powers greatly superior to those posessed by the real self in the body.

Death is the abandoning of the body by this mysterous "other-self," which is still conceived of as existing in the near neighborhood. Is there not danger of it exercising its mysterious power in favor of, or adversely to, its old neighbors and associates? Certainly there is. It

has now become a being to be propitiated, its anger is to be dreaded, its favor sought. A great host of savage customs clearly show that this is the prevailing idea in the savage world, and we can trace these ideas into higher stages of thought. Many savage customs are very foolish, for savages, like children, are not consistent in their conceptions. Conceiving the "other-self" as absent from the body yet lingering near it, let us notice the treatment of the body in some instances. The Tupis, among our Indian tribes, tried in several ways to prevent the dead from bothering them. In some cases they tied all the limbs fast so that they would not be able to rise and trouble their friends.[1]

In another tribe they hurried the scarcely dead body to the nearest pool of water and tossed it in.[2] Probably in this case the idea was that water would drown the spirit. This was the belief of the Lapps who consigned the bodies of their enemies to a watery grave.[3] So also the Matiamba Negroes believe that the souls of the dead are destroyed if the body is flung in the water.[4] But, in general, the dead are not thought of as being gotten rid of in any such way as this. So the place of death is simply abandoned along with the body. The Akanzas burn the lodge and its contents with the body.[5] The Kamtschadals often abandon the hut and the body together.[6] African tribes quite generally abandon the hut or even the village in which a death occurs.

Here we have clearly expressed the fear of the dead. In some cases this fear finds expression in a group of

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1 Spencer "Sociology," p. 168.
2 Brinton "Myths of the New World," p. 238.
3 Bastian "Mensch," Vol. II., p. 378. 4 Ibid.
5 Brinton "Myths of the New World," p. 238.
6 Spencer "Sociology," p. 217.

strange customs, which can be explained only as an effort to confuse the "other-self" so that it can not find its way back. From the most widely separated parts of the earth we find the custom of carrying the body from the house, not through the door, but by an opening made on purpose. Williams could not understand why the side of the house in Figi was broken down to allow the king's body to pass through when there were sufficient doorways close at hand.[1] This was so that the ghost might not find its way back and annoy the living. The Algonquin Indians generally carried it forth by a hole cut opposite the door, beating the walls with sticks to frighten away the lingering ghost.[2] Of the Greenlanders Crantz says, "The corpse is carried out, not through the usual entrance, but through the window. If they are living in tents at the time an opening is made for it by loosening one of the skins in the back part."[3] Perhaps an echo of this world-wide custom is found in some German states, where a window of the house must be opened after death.[4]

The instances we have now quoted show us that among savage people there is a fear of the dead. In some instances this assumes a sad form, as when some New Zealanders suppose that death so changes the nature of the soul that it will hate and try to injure those who were its dearest friends in life.[5] Such conceptions, however, are but seldom formed. The savage doctrine of continuance exercises a stronger influence than this, and fear of the dead is not the universal rule, though they are everywhere

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1 "Figi and Figians," p. 154.
Brinton "Myths of New World," p. 238.
3 "Greenland," Vol. I., p. 217.
4 Wuttke "Volks Aberglaube," Hamburg 1860, p. 269.
5 Tylor " Primitive Culture," Vol. II., p. 102.

regarded with awe. The loves and hates of this world are transferred to the spirit world. The interests of kindred will be watched over by departed kindred, the welfare of the tribe guarded by deceased tribesmen. The dead chief guards the interests of his people. He uses his mysterious powers to reward his friends and punish his enemies. His favors must be invoked, his blessing sought, his anger placated. Here we come at once on the simplest form of worship known, one that meets us low down in Savagery, continues into higher levels of thought, co-exists side by side with other systems. That is Ancestor worship. This will be found to be the starting point from which other systems diverge. It is the key which will explain many bits of superstition. Let us first gather some facts showing its extremely great prevalence in the earlier stages of culture.

No matter where we begin, we find plain traces of this ancient world-wide culture, and to-day it is the basis of belief of the larger portion of the world's inhabitants. We read that the Micronesian Islanders "worship the spirits of their ancestors,"[1] and "in Tahiti the dead are elevated to the ranks of the gods."[2] The Tonga Islanders believe that their chiefs after death become gods. They consider their graves sacred places and there invoke their aid.[3] The Australians believe quite fully in the wandering ghost theory of dead ancestors, but they had no established worship. In many cases they were supposed to be able to warn their friends of approaching danger, and the natives invoked their aid in this connection.[4] In New Zealand the spirits of the dead are supposed to attend the army and di-

1 Dunlap "Spirit Hist. of Man," New York, 1858, p. 8.
2 Ibid. p. 9. 3 Mariner "Tonga Islands," p. 100.
4 "Kamilaroi and Kurnai," p. 244.

rect its movements while on the march by communicating advice or warning. In battle they inspire courage in the hearts of the combatants.[1]

In Africa Ancestor worship prevails almost universally.[2] The Zulus charge all their ill luck to their dead brothers, who at times appear in the form of snakes, to conciliate them cattle are offered up in sacrifice.[3] Among the Maravi the principal objects of worship are the souls of the departed, all good and ill luck are ascribed to them, to them the first fruits of the harvest are offered.[4] In southern Guinea the worship of ancestors is one of the leading features of their religion.[5] They are noted for the very great respect they show to aged persons. This respect outlasts life itself. "It is not supposed that they are divested of their power and influence by death, but on the contrary, they are raised to a more powerful sphere of influence, and hence the natural disposition of the living, and especially those related to them in any way in this world, to look to them and call upon them for aid in all the emergencies and trials of life. It is no uncommon thing to see large groups of men and women, in times of peril or distress, assembled along the brow of some commanding eminence, or along the skirts of some dense forest, calling in the most piteous and touching tones, upon the spirits of their ancestors."[6]

The like belief re-appears among the Zulus who explain that they do not worship all the dead of their tribe. "Speaking generally, the head of each house is worshiped

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1 Bastian "Ethnologischen Forschungen, Vol. II., p. 341.
2 Waitz "Anthropology, etc.," Vol. II., p. 181.
3 Bastian "Mensch," Vol. III., p. 406.
4 Waitz Op. cit , p. 419.
5 Wilson "Western Africa," New York, 1856, p. 220. 6 Ibid. p. 393

by the children of that house, for they do not know the ancients who are dead, nor their laud giving names. But their father whom they knew is the head by whom they begin and end their prayer for they know him best, and his love for his children, they remember his kindness to them whilst he was living, they compare his treatment of them, and say ' He will treat us in the same way now he is dead. We do not know why he should regard others besides us; he will regard us only.'"[1] Among the Kaffirs generally, "the principal object of religious veneration is the spirit of the deceased chief, which appears in the form of certain harmless snakes. On many occasions they are invoked, thanks are rendered and offerings given to conciliate them."[2]

Turning to Asia, we find everywhere evidence of this primitive Ancestor worship. The statement is made that the "worship of ancestors appears to be more or less prevalent among all the aboriginal tribes of Central India."[3] Of the Santals, we are told that "each household worships the ghosts of its ancestors."[4] In Ceylon, the spirits of the dead were honored as gods.[5] In every calamity and want, the Dyaks "call for aid on kindred spirits, and especially the shades of departed children."[6] Among the northern Turanian tribes, the same state of affairs is shown to exist. In some cases, though outwardly Mohammedans, their belief consists in reality of worshipping at the shrine of "holy men."[7] The Tartars make pilgrimages to the tombs of the Mohommedan saints in the ruins of Balghars.[8] The

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[1] Tylor "Culture," Vol. II., p. 106.
[2] Waitz "Anthropology, etc.," Vol II., p. 411.
[3] Lubbock "Primitive Man," p. 229. [4] Spencer "Sociology." p. 307.
[5] Bastian "Mensch," Vol. II., p. 402.
[6] Tylor "Culture," Vol. III, p. 107. [7] Bastan Op. cit., Vol. II., p. 402
[8] Ibid.

Mongol tribes generally worshiped as good deities the princely souls of Genghis Khan's family.[1]

Among American Indian tribes, this same cult was wide spread.[2] The Nachez went so far as to erect temples to the honor of noted chiefs.[3] One form in which their anxiety to show honor to the dead found expression was by means of feasts to the dead.[4] Schoolcraft relates that among the Dakotas the natives sometimes refrained from murder for fear of the departed soul.[5] Similar conceptions exist in South America.[6] The Patagonians greatly fear the souls of their magicians, who, after death, are supposed to be transformed into evil demons, and all misfortune is charged up to them.[7]

It may not be out of place to show how persistent this Ancestor worship is. It survived into far higher stages of culture, and the most numerous sect of the Christian church has not wholly abandoned it. As is well known, this is the principal religion in China to-day. Among this people, the worship of ancestors is no simple rite of affection. They want the help of the ancestral spirit who rewards virtue and punishes vice.[8] To this day, the Emperor of China formally invites his dead ancestor to sit with him in banquet.[9] Of all religious ceremonies, the Chinese think Ancestor worship the most important. To look upon his ancestral "tablets is to a Chinese like an appeal to his honor.... It is reverence for them that constitutes the most powerful religious sentiment in his mind."[10] If no help comes in time of need, the Chinese will reproach his an-

1 Tylor Op. cit , p. 107.
2 Müller "Urreligionnen," p. 73. 3 Ibid. 4 Ibid.
5 "Indian Tribes," Vol II., p. 195. 6 Müller Op. cit., p. 261.
7 Bastain "Mensch," Vol. III., p. 406.
8 Tylor "Culture," Vol. II. p. 108
9 Edkins "Religion in China," Boston 1878, p. 23. 10 Ibid. p. 75.

cestor saying, "Father, mother, ancestor, how could you calmly bear this?"[1]

Turning to the White Races, we have just as abundant testimony that they all passed through this stage of culture. The Egyptians, as is well known, made offerings to the dead and invoked their aid. The Semitic Bedouins to-day offer sacrifices at the tombs of deceased ancestors, and it is well known that this statement is true of the Arabs in general.[2] More than one passage in the Bible indicates that this was one form of Idolatry in which the Hebrews sometimes fell.[3] As for the Aryans, the evidence is full and complete. "Among the Hindoos the Vedas distinctly recognize the ancient religion of the Pitris or fathers. The Pitris are invoked almost like gods, oblations are offered them."[4] It is an active feeling among the Hindoos to-day. The worship of famous ancestors is still prevalent and all their heroes are more or less deified.[5] In the Tinnevelly district the natives are known to make offerings of cigars and brandy upon the grave of a noted British officer, to concilliate his ghost.[6]

So the ancient Persian worshiped the ghosts of their departed. "There cannot be any doubt that the worship of the spirits of the dead played an important part with the Iranians, though perhaps more in private than in public." Hero worship was certainly general, and perhaps there was combined with it the worship of the ghosts of the royal dead. Ancestor worship was of a more private character. These departed souls are considered of very great

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1 Tylor "Culture," Vol. II., p. 108.
2 Spencer "Sociology," p. 317.
3 Ibid. See Deut. XXVI., 14.
4 Hearn "Aryan Household," p. 41.
5 Spencer "Sociology," Appendix.
6 Bastian "Ethnologischen Forschungen," p. 341.

help to the living, but they must be propitiated, they must be called upon, and have oblations offered to them.[1]

Passing to the Aryans of Europe, this is one of the most pronounced features in their religion. Their great mythological systems of belief cut very little figure in practical life compared with Ancestor worship. The

Aryan Ancestor Worship. Offerings to the Lares and Penates.

dead were held to be sacred beings. To these the ancients applied the most respectful epithets that could be thought of. Cicero warns his countrymen to consider them as divine beings. Tombs were the temples of these divinities. Be-

[1] Spencer "Sociology," Appendix.

H. LEUTEMANN.

CHARLEMAGNE ORDERS THE CUTTING DOWN OF THE SACRED OAK OF THE SAXONS.

fore the tomb, there was an altar for the sacrifices, as before the temples of the gods. This worship existed among the Greek tribes, the Latins and the Sabines.[1]

In the early culture history of the other European Aryans, this worship appears with less distinctness, but there is no doubt about its reality. Ralston observes of the Russians "that there is no doubt about their belief that the souls of the fathers watched over their children and their children's children; and that therefore departed spirits and especially those of ancestors ought always to be regarded with pious veneration and sometimes solaced by prayer and sacrifice."[2] Without extending the discussion farther, we need simply repeat that Ancestor worship is very conspicuous in the early culture history of all the Aryan people.

One form of survival of this old world-wide belief may be worth glancing at. We refer to feasts for the dead. This custom prevails among barbarian people and lasts well on into Civilization. We have seen that primitive people suppose the dead "other-self" needs the provisions, clothes and other comforts, which surviving friends place on his grave. From hence the custom arises of furnishing supplies at varying intervals of time, which is apt to assume the form of feasts for the dead and in this form the custom long outlasts the stage of culture in which it arose. In the month of December, called the month of shades, the Karens make a general feast for the dead.[3] Other tribes in this section make the feast at the end of the harvest.[4] In Africa, the Gold Coast Negroes hold a general feast for the dead at the time of yam-harvest which is a season of merry

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[1] Coulanges "Ancient City," Boston, 1874, p. 23-25.

[2] Ralston "Songs of Russia," p. 126.

[3] Tylor "Culture," Vol. II., p. 32.

[4] Ibid.

making.[1] After an abundant harvest, the head man of a Zulu village sometimes dreams that an ancestral ghost appears to him and says; "How is it when you have been given so much food that you do not give thanks," in consequence a feast is offered for the dead.[2]

But now let us notice the survival of this custom into higher stages of culture where we would scarcely look for it. In China, we have a description of an elaborate feast which wealthy individuals sometimes furnish for the spirits generally. The spirits are notified by the beating of drums and ringing of bells. Lighted lanterns and charms drawn on paper show the spirits the way. Arriving at the house, the spirits find water provided for a bath, and paste, wine and cake for a repast. Headless spirits are given spoons with which to put the nourishment down their throats.[3]

This custom long survived among the Aryan nations. The ancient Persians believed that about the end of the year the spirits returned to earth for about ten days and expected to be met with appropriate offerings of meat and clothes.[4] It is well known, and we shall show in another part of this work, that the public festivals of the ancient Greeks and Romans were of this nature. "In their midst their ancestors are present, and the protecting gods share the meal."[5] The Russian peasant to-day still celebrates his feast for the dead. The inhabitants of a village join in this act. They spread the tables and then go forth to meet their invisible guests. The master of ceremonies

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1 Waitz "Anthropology, etc.," Vol. II. p. 194.

2 Spencer "Sociology," p. 283.

3 Doolittle "Social life of the Chinese," New York, 1865, Vol. II., p. 94.

4 Spencer "Sociology," Appendix.

5 Coulanges "Ancient City," p. 209.

greets them, saying; "Ye are tired, our own ones, take something to eat." Entering the house he continues; "Warm yourselves, our own ones, at the stove." At the conclusion of the feast, he adds; "Now it is time for you to go home.... in God's name farewell."[1]

Christian Europe, in its festival of All-Souls Day, gave new life to old superstitions. The East Prussian believes that on midnight of said day the souls of the dead gather in the parish church and listen to a sermon from the dead pastor.[2] In Tyrol, food is left upon the table, and the room made warm and comfortable for their convenience.[3] In northern France, this superstitious custom is at its height. "The crowds pour into the church yard at evening, to kneel bareheaded at the graves of dead kinfolks, to fill the hollow of the tombstone with holy water, or to pour libations of milk upon it. All night the church bells clang, and sometimes a solemn procession of the clergy goes round to bless the graves. In no household that night is the cloth removed, for the supper must be left for the souls to come and take their part, nor must the fire be put out where they will come to warm themselves."[4]

The importance of our subject has justified us in making this part of our examination somewhat thorough. To avoid descriptions that may become tedious, we must desist. Let us examine our surroundings. We have seen how, among primitive men, the idea of soul, the spirit world and personal immortality might originate. We have now shown that the mysterious powers supposed to reside in the "other-self" tend to give birth to a form of worship, which is properly called Ancestor worship. We

1 Ralston "Songs of Russia," London, 1872, p. 322,
2 Wuttke "Volks Aberglaube," p. 616. 3 Ibid.
4 Tylor "Culture," Vol. II., p. 34.

have also shown by numerous quotations from writers of acknowledged ability the wide extension of this worship. We meet it low down in culture, we found it exerting its influence among higher civilizations and in one form find that it survives extensively in civilized countries to-day. Let us, therefore, conlude with a recent writer, that among all races of men, as far as can now be determined, this was the earliest form of worship known.[1]

From this conclusion as a new basis, let us proceed on our way. We are now in position to understand savage philosophy in general and see how this philosophy has changed with advancing civilization. We shall see how it has been freed from error little by little, and here and there given place to higher forms of belief; and we are confident that this philosophy, once thoroughly comprehended, will show us how easy and natural it was for men to entertain the superstitions of the past; superstitions from which the civilization of to-day, and the highest and best form of religion known, Christianity, have but partially freed the world.

Previous to the passage of descent into the male line, as explained in a previous chapter, the savage has very little conception of ancestors, or pays but little regard to them. Practically the child was not regarded as related to his father. Therefore, though he might recognize a confused mass of ancestors to whom he should pray, and from whom he might expect assistance, yet he formed no clear conceptions of his duty to them, or in what manner they exercised their power. The savage's memory is short. His father and the recent dead of his gens and tribe are borne in mind; he dreads their power, he makes suppli-

1 Fiske "The Idea of God," Boston, 1886, p. 69.

cation to them. "Ask the Negro where is the spirit of his great-grandfather, he says he does not know, it is done. Ask him about the spirit of his father or brother who died yesterday, then he is full of fear and terror."[1]

But these forgotten dead, though they may thus pass out of mind, are not supposed to be powerless. Though, as we have seen, many of these people entertain conceptions of a spirit land far away, yet with equal facility they imagine spiritual agents as ever swarming about them. These spirits may be either friendly or hostile, and by them everything is supposed to be accomplished. Success in hunting or in war, sickness, death itself and the thousand ills to which flesh is heir; fruitful seasons, pleasant weather, rain, sunshine, cold, heat,—are all under the control of spirits. The great burden of savage life is to avoid giving offense to these spirits, which are so all-powerful, to gain the protection of some spirit who will watch over his interests and guard him against those spirits who would do him injury.

In order to understand how he proceeds to accomplish his purpose, we must point out some of his peculiar beliefs. We have seen what confused notions savages generally entertain of the soul, some supposing it to reside in one part of the body, some in another; some dividing the various parts of the body among different souls, as the Caribs who lodged one soul in the heart, one in the head and one in the arms;[2] or, indeed, as some assert of these people, they think a soul resides wherever they find a pulse.[3] But the general savage belief is that all parts of the body are connected with the soul; and, indeed, that some mysterious con-

[1] Chaillu from Lubbock "Primitive Man," p. 139.
[2] Waitz "Anthropology, etc.," Vol III., p. 387.
[3] Müller "Urreligionnen," p. 208.

nection exists between the soul and external objects such as clothes worn, weapons used, footsteps, images, names, etc.

These are, indeed, singular ideas to hold, but let us be careful in passing judgment since many such superstitious ideas still exist among civilized man; wonderous acts of healing can be performed at a distance, given only a lock of hair to operate on. This connection between the body, soul and external objects receives a further meaning when we reflect on the doctrine of continuance. The old, sick and feeble in this life are subject to the same infirmities in the future life. Bodily mutilation here is repeated in the spirit world. Now bearing all this in mind, we can understand many superstitious customs everywhere observable. In how many parts of the world do we find the belief that the pairing of the nails, the hair and beard cut off, and all the natural excretions of the body must be carefully concealed? The savage method of reasoning is plain—suppose they are left exposed and some enemy find them; a charm might be said over them, or they might be misused in some way and thus the life, health and fortune of the individual might be endangered.

One illustration will suffice. In the Island of Tanna, in the New Hebrides, Mr. Turner observed a singular custom. The sorcerer collected what they called rubbish of a person. "Such as the skin of a banana he had eaten, wrapped it in a leaf like a cigar, and burnt it slowly at one end. As it burnt the owner got worse and worse, and if it was burnt to the end he died. When a man fell ill, he knew that some sorcerer was burning his rubbish, and shell trumpets which could be heard for miles, were blown to signal the sorcerer to stop and wait for the presents which would be sent next morning."[1] Similar examples

[1] Turner "Polynesia," from Tylor "Early Hist. of Mankind," p. 128.

could be quoted from books of travel throughout Polynesia, Africa, India and North and South America.[1]

Even death does not break the connection. It is true savages conceive the soul as existing apart from the body, but still the spirit can be operated on through the body or parts of the body. Perhaps no further illustrations are needed on this point when we recall the instances of bodily mutilation, done with the professed object of mutilating the soul. Remember the Australian cutting off the thumb of the right hand of his fallen enemy so that he might not be able to throw his invisible spear; or the Chinese, who prefers death by crucifixion to decapitation, for his spirit will then have a head; or the Figian, who believes if the body is eaten the soul is destroyed entirely; or the African, who fastens the skull of his enemy to his big drum, in order that every crash may send a thrill of agony through his ghost.[2] Hence the widely extended belief that, if you can only get posession of some relic of the departed, you, in effect, exert an influence over his spirit. You are, at any rate, put in communication with his ghost and can expect him to aid you provided you pay him due reverence. Several grades of this conception appear. Savages, the world over, carry about with them some of the bones or other portions of deceased ancestors and friends. The Australian carries with him the hand of a deceased ancestor; "The belief being that such a hand on the approach of an enemy would pinch or push the wearer."[3] So "the soul of a dead Carib might be thought to abide in one of his bones, taken from the grave and carefully wrapped in cotton, in which state it could answer questions,

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1 Ibid. 2 Tylor, "Early Hist. of Mankind," p. 129.
3 "Kamilaroi and Kurni," p. 244.

and even bewitch an enemy if a morsel of his property were wrapped up in it.[1]

One step further and such relic worship as this passes into what is known as Fetichism. This step is taken when the conception is formed that the souls of the dead may be induced to take up their abode in some immaterial object. We saw, some pages back, that certain Indian tribes of Oregon believed that the souls might leave the body without the owners knowing it.[2] In such cases, the priest entices them back in the shape of little bones, stones and splinters. In some cases, objects are taken to the grave for the express purpose of becoming the receptacle of the soul, which can then be carried around as an object of worship. Thus, the Malays of Keeling Island take a wooden spoon to the grave, which spoon is afterwards dressed up as a doll.[3] But the air swarms with invisible spirits. What now is to hinder such spirits from taking up their abode in some material object no matter how insignificant it may be? To the savage, there is no difficulty at all; for, as we have seen, all objects have souls, and some wandering spirit may easily usurp the place of such a soul. This introduces us to Fetichism, which is simply an extremely low form of idolatry.[4]

Fetichism exists over a wide region of the world. The material object supposed to contain a spirit may be any strange object which strikes the individuals fancy. In the lower stages of Fetichism, the belief freely prevails that possession of the object in which the spirit resides gives the posessor power over the spirit. Armed with this, the individual imagines he can compel the spirit's service.

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1 Tylor "Culture," Vol. II., p. 138. 2 Page 270.
3 Tylor Op. cit, Vol. II., p. 139.
4 See Baring-Gould "Origin of Religious Belief," p. 176.

Such is the belief of the African fetich worshipers.[1] A Negro thus explained to the traveler Bosman in regard to their Fetichism. "If we resolve to undertake anything of importance, we first of all search out a god to prosper our designed undertaking, and going out of doors with this design, take the first creature that presents itself to our eyes, whether dog, cat, or most contemptible animal in the world, for our god, or perhaps instead of that, any inanimate object that falls in our way, whether a stone or piece of wood or anything else of the same nature. This new chosen god is immediately presented with an offering, which is accompanied with a solemn vow, that if he pleases to prosper our undertakings, for the future we will always worship and esteem him as a god. If our design prove successful, we have discovered a new and assisting god, which is daily presented with fresh offerings, but if the contrary happen, the new god is rejected as a useless tool, and consequently returns to his primitive estate—we make and break our gods daily."[2]

In all this, however, we must understand that the Negro can distinguish the spirit from the object itself.[3] Practically, however, in the lower stages of thought this distinction is largely lost sight of. The fetich is supposed to "see and hear, and understand and act, its posessor so worships it, talks familiarly with it as to a dear and faithful friend, pours libations of rum over it, and in times of danger calls loudly and earnestly on it as if to wake up its spirit and energy."[4] The traveler in Africa, says Wilson, finds fetiches "suspended along every path he walks, at every junction of two or more roads, at the crossing place

1 Lubbock "Primitive Man," p. 165.
2 Lubbock "Primitive Man," p. 166.
3 Waitz "Anthropology," etc., Vol. II., p. 174.
4 Tylor "Culture," Vol. II. p. 144.

of every stream, at the base of every large rock or overgrown forest tree, at the gate of every village, over the door of every house, and around the neck of every human being."[1]

Fetichism was a large part of the religion of our Indians. Catlin assures us that every Indian in a primitive state carries his *medicine* bag, which is nothing else than his fetich, "to which he looks for the preservation of his life, in battle or other danger." He differs from the Negro in this, that he chooses his fetich once for all. When about fifteen years of age, the boy wanders forth on the prairie, and prays and fasts until he dreams of some animal, bird or reptile. Such animal is his *medicine*, and from the skin is made his medicine bag.[2]

It is apparent to all that the same state of belief which gave rise to Fetichism gave rise also to witchcraft, magic sorcery, etc. The belief, like the custom, survives into higher stages of culture; and, just as at the present day there is still among the ignorant classes a lingering belief in witchcraft and magic, so, in many ways, you can still detect a survival of Fetichism where you least expect to find it. The potato carried in the pocket to ward off rheumatism, is a fetich; the horseshoe over the door for good luck, is also one. Amulets are still carried in the most civilized countries of the world; and, to this day, the Tyrolese peasant objects to using grass for tooth-picks because of the demons that may have taken up their abode in the straw.[3]

Quite a number of writers seem to think that Fetichism is the lowest of all religions, that it is the starting point from which other systems have diverged. We have

1 "Western Africa," p. 214.
2 "North American Indians," London, 1866, Vol. I., p. 36.
3 Wuttke "Volks Aberglaube."

tried to show that it is only an outcome of Ancestor worship. Fetichism really is a form of idolatry. It is the symbol only. Travelers the world over have witnessed the worship of immaterial objects of all sorts of shapes and sizes, of all sorts of materials. They have too often failed to notice the accompanying belief of a spirit residing in this object, which was really the thing worshiped. When we come to consider the steps leading to this belief, we at once detect its true standing.

Let us notice another outcome of this primitive Ancestor worship, which has occasioned a great deal of discussion, we refer to the worship of animals and plants. No one needs be told how extensive is the worship of animals. There is scarcely an animal of any importance which is not especially honored, or even worshiped, in some parts of the world. Monkeys, tigers, leopards, hyenas elephants, crocodiles, all find their worshipers in Africa.[1] A similar state of affairs in regard to other animals exists in other parts of the world. Some animals, such for instance as serpents, and among the birds the dove have had a very extensive worship. In regard to trees and some other varieties of plants, similar statements can be made.

Now we must not forget that conceptions from many different sources have frequently united to form a worship; so, without denying that a number of grounds exist for the worship of animals and plants, it seems to us that one principal ground is simply Ancestor worship. One of the constant elements of tribal society, remember, is the presence of gentes. And each gens, remember, has a common name. Except in very rare instances, these names are those of animals and plants peculiar to the

1 Tylor "Culture," Vol. II., p. 146.

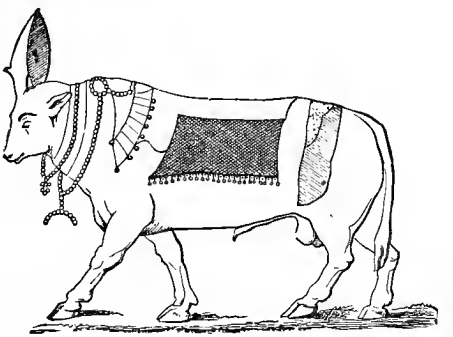
region in which the gens is located. The information is conclusive that each gens regards itself as descended from the animal or plant for which it is named. Perhaps the genesis of this belief comes from a confusion of ideas. Believing in transmigration of souls, the members of a lion gens, for instance, might readily suppose that after death the members of their gens would assume the form of lions. In this way lions generally might be regarded as the ancestors of such a gens.

When we add to the foregoing the fact that the members of a gens universally honor their totem,[1] and will not kill it, if an animal, unless pressed by hunger, and then always apologize for the violence done,[2] it seems to us that we are here simply dealing with one of the results of Ancestor worship. But, of course, what would be regarded with veneration by one gens, was not at all venerated by the next. Hence the fact that animals regarded as sacred in one section lost all their sacred character a few miles away. And we can also see how some animals would come to be regarded with greater veneration than others, simply because the gens bearing its name was stronger than others.

Take for instance the serpents. There would scarcely exist a rude tribe from Australia, Africa or America, which would not contain gentes named after some variety of snakes, so the world over snakes assume a sacred character. Of course, there are other peculiarities about serpents which would greatly increase this feeling. Casting its skin from time to time, it seems to be typical of immortality. Many of them by a bite, can soon destroy life; savages know nothing about poison, all they can see is

[1] Waitz "Anthropology," etc., Vol., II., p. 178. [2] Above page 143

that some powerful spirit is working through that serpent. Without further discussion, we may pass this part of our subject by. The worship of animals and plants is simply a necessary consequence of the belief of gentes in regard to their totem, and Ancestor worship.



Egyptian Animal Worship —The Bull Apis.

It is further evident, that at this stage of thought, any striking object in nature, such as a river, lake, precipitous cliff, singular shaped stone or commanding tree, would surely be regarded as the abode of some spirit, and would be worshiped accordingly. That such objects are worshiped the world over, we have abundant testimony, and it will be found in all such cases that there is some peculiarity about these objects which would be sure to catch the eye of savages. Take, for instance, the case of tree worship, Erman observes of a tree worshiped by the Ostyaks that "the peculiar sacredness of the tree was due to the singularity of its form and growth, for about six feet from the ground, the trunk separated into two equal parts and again united."[1] In some cases it is trees of a venerable appearance, or of great size, or standing in commanding positions.[2] Such conceptions, regularly framed in Savagery, long outlast that stage of culture. The Semitic and Aryan tribes long held to this superstition. Passages in the Old Testament show its survival among the Hebrews; and spread-

[1] "Travels in Siberia," Vol. I., p. 464.

[2] Tylor "Culture," Vol. II., p. 198.

ing Christianity in Europe frequently exercised its power to destroy the sacred trees of the barbarians.

We have made the statement that fetich workship is a low form of idolatry. It can be traced from this stage into higher forms. Of course, if the wandering spirit of some departed one may take up its residence in some insignificant object, still more readily would savages think of it choosing as its abode some especially prepared object. Thus, the Dakotas pick up most any round boulder and after painting it red, address it as grandfather and ask of it aid.[1] Some African tribes set up simply a stake in the ground to which offerings are made and prayers are addressed.[2] The Polynesian Islanders were observed to dress up rude logs in native cloth and anoint them with oil for their gods.[3] We must here understand that worship is paid, not simply to the uncouth image itself, but to the spirit supposed to reside in it.[4]

Of course, we can see that, with advancing intelligence, such images will come to be more and more refined; but throughout the old fetichistic idea, that posession of the fetich gave one a power over the spirit residing therein, survives. The Negro beats or destroys his idol if it does not give him good luck; the Ostiak treats his image well, but, if it brings him no sport, tries the effect of a good thrashing. In China, also, if the people after long praying to their images do not obtain what they desire, they try a different course. "How, now, dog of a spirit," say they, "we give you a lodging in a magnificent temple, we gild you handsomely, feed you well and offer incense to you, yet, after all this care, you are so ungrateful as to refuse us

1 Ibid. Vol. II. p. 147. 2 Ibid. 148.
3 Ellis "Polynesian Research," Vol. I., p. 337.
4 Waitz "Anthropology, etc.," Vol. II. p. 183.

what we ask of you," so they pull them around through the mud and filth. Should they receive what they ask for, they pick up their image again and clean it up, with many apologizes for being so hasty.[1] So too, but recently, "a prince of Nepaul, in his rage at the death of a favorite wife, turned his artillery upon the temples of his gods, and after six hours heavy cannonading, effectually destroyed them."[2]

Here we have shown how worship of ancestral spirits leads finally to idolatry and the worship of sticks and stones. There is another line of obeservances which leads in a more direct way from the worship of ancestral spirits to idolatry. Let us notice them because we want to make it very clear that Ancestor worship really underlies all these conceptions. We saw, some pages back, that savages suppose some mysterious connection to exist between an individual and parts of his body, or even the excretia and clothes worn. The connection is supposed to extend in other directions. A picture or an image of a man is held to be part of the individual. It is scarcely necessary to illustrate this statement. Savages, the world over, object to having pictures made of them, since the posessor of the picture thus has a mysterous power over him. And as for images, rude tribes, everywhere, believe that an image of a person, no matter of what material made, has so intimate a connection with the individual himself, that anything happening to the image, the like fate will befall the individual.[3]

Here, then, is one reason for making an image of a deceased ancestor, so as to control his soul in the spirit land and to furnish a convenient home for his soul. That such

1 Lubbock "Primitive Man," p. 168.

2 Hearn "Aryan Household," p. 25.

3 Tylor "Early Hist. of Man," p. 119.

conceptions exist is very certain. "The New Zealanders set up memorial idols of deceased persons near the burial-place, talking affectionately to them as if still alive, and casting garments to them when they passed by."[1] Another observer tells us that "they preserve in their houses small carved images of wood each of which is dedicated to the spirit of an ancestor," who is believed at times to enter it.[2] So the Sandwich Islanders make and worship an image of a dead ancestor,[3] and so of the tribes in Northern Siberia. We read that the relatives of an Ostiak "make a rude wood-image representing and in honor of the deceased, which is set up in the yurt and receives divine honors for a greater or less time, as the priest directs..." These images are preserved for several generations.[4]

We have investigated but one branch of savage philosophy, but have seen how true it is that Ancestor worship is the underlying principle. We want to speak more at length of one part of this belief. We have seen that, in forming an idea of fetich worship, savages come to the conclusion that the wandering "other-selves" take up their abode in material objects. Many savages form the conception that each individual has several souls. What is to hinder the belief that these wandering souls may take up their residence in some human body? No good ground for rejecting such a belief exists, hence it is held by widely separated people. How are we to tell when a foreign soul has entered a living body? Savages answer this question very easily. It is presumed not to be friendly to the body, hence a person who is posessed by a foreign soul, will

1 Tylor "Culture." Vol II. p. 159.
2 Shortland "New Zealand," London, 1854. p. 54.
3 Spencer "Sociology," p. 333.
4 Erman taken from Spencer Op. cit., p. 332.

be sick or crazy, or act in some very unusual way.

This belief that sickness, and all the ills of humanity are caused by some unfriendly spirit that has taken up its abode in the body, is the almost universal belief among savages, and it survives into far higher stages of culture. As all is owing to the intrusion of some spirit, the means of cure are very simple, either drive away, or coax the spirit to depart. Among our Indian tribes, the priests were generally the ones sent for in case of sickness. They proceeded to scare the evil spirit away. They sat down opposite the patient and barked like a dog for an hour at a time.[1] They drowned the groans of the sick one with the beating of drums or other rude instruments. They recited charms and incantations over him. They manufactured little images to represent the spirit of sickness and then destroyed them. They blew upon the part afflicted, rubbed, sucked, and then generally showed some hard substance which they claimed to have extracted from the body, and was the cause of the sickness; it was taken some distance off and thrown away with the exclamation; "Go thy way, devil."[2]

Similar accounts can be drawn from rude tribes everywhere.[3] Sometimes gentler means are tried, and the offending spirit is talked to, coaxed and urged to leave the body. In New Zealand, each sickness is caused by a spirit gnawing and feeding inside the victim. The priest, however, finds the path by which such a spirit has entered, and persuades it by a charm to get upon a stalk of flax and go away.[4] The Siamese take a little basket, put in it provisions and fruit and a little figure made of clay, and persuad-

1 Spencer "Sociology," p. 259.
2 Brinton "Myths of the New World," p 265. Spencer Op. cit.
3 Bastian "Ethnologischen Forschungen," Vol. II. p. 320.
4 Shortland "New Zealand," p. 97.

ing the offending soul to enter this, consign the basket and its cargo to some river.[1]

We will glance at only one other corollary of this savage theory of disease. It is, however, important since it shows us in a very instructive way how superstitions sometimes survive. We refer to what is known as Demoniacal posession. Prone as the savage is to ascribe all maladies to the action of spirits, we are not at all surprised to find that all extraordinary mental states, such as insanity, convulsions and nervous inflictions generally, are at once referred to such agency. Surviving into the barbaric stage of culture, the tendency is to limit such posession to the case of severe afflictions, such as epilepsy, hysteria, delirium, idiocy and madness. The general belief of the barbaric world to-day is that such attacks are caused by some demon gaining control of the body. This is the accepted belief among most Asiatics to-day. And it can be shown that a similar view was held among the Greeks and Romans of classical times.[2]

The Jews, at the time of Christ, were not an exception, and abundant passages in the New Testament show that some of the miracles of Christ were understood as the casting out of devils. The Bible being in no way given to teach science, the Great Teacher allowed this common explanation, and common error, to go unrebuked. When Christanity passed into Europe it found the partially civilized people firm believers of this demon-posession theory. It is no wonder, then, that finding this theory apparently sustained by the Bible, it should have held its way in civilized Europe until very recent times. Less than a century ago, seven clergymen at Bristol, England, succeeded, as

[1] Bastain "Reisen in Siam," London, 1867, p. 486.
[2] Tylor "Culture," Vol. II. p. 125.

they thought, in delivering a poor epileptic of seven devils;[1] and, even so late as the year 1861, in South Europe, there was an outbreak of such belief.[2]

Now let us return to another department of savage philosophy. We have already referred to the belief that posession of some article of the dead gave one power over the disembodied spirit, we have seen this develop into Fetichism and have observed that this same state of mind would inevitably give rise to a belief in magic, sorcery and witchcraft. It is instructive to notice that in the lower stages of thought the power ascribed to these arts was not believed to be necessarily dependent upon the co-operation of spiritual beings. It rested down on the older belief that you could influence an individual by means of anything belonging to him, even a representation of him, or a knowledge of his name would suffice. Thus an Australian believes that he can poison his enemy by pouring poison into the tracks of his footsteps.[3] Savages even assume that there is some such a connection between an object and its name. In Borneo, they change the name of a sickly child to deceive the evil spirit that has been tormenting it.[4] The Indians generally had a very great dislike to disclose their names, for fear that the inquisitive stranger would use them to bewitch them,[5] and thus it is that many savages have a "secret name," to divulge which "would be a serious breach of custom and good manners."[6]

But the conception that finally passes into the barbaric stage of thought is that the witch, magician or sorcerer, is powerful, because of some evil spirit which is helping him.

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1 Ibid. 126.
2 Ibid.
3 "Kamilaroi and Kurnai," p. 250.
4 Tylor "Early Hist. of Mankind, p. 125.
5 Spencer "Sociology," p. 293.
6 "Kamilaroi and Kurni," p. 191.

It is wonderful how persistent such superstitious notions have been. Amongst all savages and barbarous people, short work is generally made of any unfortunate individual

The Druid Priestess.

supposed to have such powers. It is, however, instructive to see how this belief kept alive in christian Europe. "For

more than fifteen hundred years, it was universally believed that the Bible established in the clearest manner, the reality of the crime, and that an amount of evidence, so varied and so ample, as to preclude the very possibility of doubt, attested its continuance and its prevalence. The clergy denounced it with all the emphasis of authority. The legislators of almost every land enacted laws for its punishment. Acute judges whose lives were spent in sifting evidence, investigated the question on countless occasions, and condemned the accused. Tens of thousands of victims perished by the most agonizing and protracted torments, without exciting the faintest compassion." As late as 1780, a sorcerer was burned at the stake in Spain.[1]

Let us now refer to the savage priest-hood. Amongst the Siberian tribes, the priest is the *Shaman*, from whence comes the word *Shamanism*, and by this title savage religions, above the lowest ranks of Fetichism, are sometimes known. It seems to us, however, that this is but a department of savage philosophy in general. Throughout the savage world, Fetichism maintains its hold, and indeed far on into Barbarism and Civilization. We shall now see how the same line of thought, which led to Fetichism, would also lead to the setting aside of a select body of men, of the nature of priests.

The dividing line between a magician and a priest, in savage conception, is certainly very narrow. The savage has become familiar with the idea of spirits swarming everywhere. He stands in fear of them and believes that they can enter his body and produce sickness, destroy his reason or take away his life. He believes that they can be coerced to do his bidding, provided he knows powerful

1 Lecky "History of Rationalism," New York, 1872, Vol. I. p. 28-30.

charms, or can only get in his posession some relic of the deceased with which to control them. But not all of these disembodied spirits are enemies. Some are his relations, friends and tribesmen. They come to him in dreams, warn him of danger, teach him magic charms. Can he not now attach some of these friendly spirits to his service, can he not so prepare himself that he can almost any time put himself in communication with them, and not wait for some chance dream? Being thus favored with direct communication with the spirits, he, of course, becomes an object of veneration to his tribesmen, his power is feared, his influence sought.

Savages answer the above questions in the affirmative. It is true every one cannot get this power, but some can, and the fortunate individual does become a man of influence and is treated with great respect. The above is a fair idea of a savage priest. He is simply a great magician. One who knows such powerful charms and songs, or has such wonderful "medicine" that he can put himself into communication with spirits generally, or with some higher and more powerful spirit. He can fortell the future events and perform many wonderful things. As a material consequence, he is able to perform many cures, for by his superior strength he can exorcise the evil spirits producing the sickness. The question of morality is not considered.

Let us notice, first of all, that the savage priest claims to derive his power directly from intercourse with spirits. Among the Greenlanders, a priest is an *Angekok*, or diviner, and before assuming his office, he must enlist in his service one of the spirits of the air. He goes through a cruel novitiate, he forsakes the society of his fellow men, he subjects himself to prolonged and repeated fastings and he must fix his mind constantly on what he desires. We,

of course, see what results are sure to follow. His disordered imagination usurps the place of reason, and figures of men, beasts and monsters throng the chambers of his troubled brain. Finally a trance state is produced, and he wanders through the Greenlander's heaven and receives supernatural instructions and attaches to his service a familiar spirit, who will henceforth come at his bidding.

When his services are wanted hereafter, the proceedings are about as follows: The priest drums and dances until he has worked himself up to a proper degree of excitement. He is then securely bound and placed in a darkened room. All persons then retire, songs are sung and the priest works himself up to frenzy. If his familiar spirit does not appear, he falls into a trance state and his soul leaves his body to search for it. He soon returns and then he stands ready to answer all manner of questions. The answers are generally vague and uncertain. If the waiting audience cannot unravel them, the spirit is requested to make his answers more definite, or perhaps the priest, leaving his body behind, soars with his familiar spirit to the highest heaven and there learns the fate of a sick person, or has decided other momentous questions. When the audience is terminated, the priest is found unbound in his darkened room.[1] Let us see how it was among our Indians. The general title is "Medicine-men," but the Indians gave them various titles, such as "dreamers of the gods," "masters or guardians of the divine thought." They may be roughly divided among the northern Indians into two great classes. The *Medawin* is essentially the magician, who seeks to propitate events; the *Jesukawin* is the prophet, who foretells events. Both appeal to spirits

[1] For details see Crantz "Greenland." Vol. I., p. 194-5.

for their powers. Both make use of some fetich, by means of which the power is exercised. In the ruder tribes, this power was strictly personal. Approaching puberty, the youth was expected to fast and meditate until in dreams or vision some fetich appeared to him. These dreams and visions might be of such a nature as to indicate that he was destined to be a priest, thereupon the other priests took him in hand to continue his training. "For months and for years he is condemned to entire seclusion, receiving no visits but from the brethren of his order." Sometimes the novitiate fasted in his solitary lodge until in vision he is taken to the Indian heaven, there to be taught unutterable things.

One of the highest exhibitions of their power is to summon a spirit to answer inquiries concerning the future and the absent. Accordingly a lodge is built under the priest's directions. When he enters it, all openings are carefully closed. The priest now begins his songs and incantations. He works himself up to a state of frenzy, or perhaps, falls in a death like trance; but finally "the lodge trembles, the strong poles shake and bend as with the united strength of a dozen men, and strange unearthly sounds, now far aloft in the air, now deep in the ground, anon approaching nearer and nearer, reach the ears of the spectators." At length, the spirit is considered to have arrived and questions are asked and answered.[1]

The same conception re-appears in Australia. Among the Kurnai, of South Australia, we read of the *Birraark*, men who profess to hold communion with the ghosts, and learn from them about absent friends and other information. When his services are wanted, the evening is de-

1 Details in Schoolcraft, "Archives etc.," Vol. I., p. 358 et. seq. Brinton "Myths of the New World," Chapter X.

voted to the work. The fires are allowed to go down, and silence is maintained. The magician cries coo-e e, coo-e e, at short intervals. At length, a distant reply is heard, and soon the sound of some one jumping to the ground signifies the arrival of the spirit. Questions and replies follow, and, at the conclusion of the audience, the Birraark is found, perhaps, in the top of some nearly inaccessible tree, whither the spirits had transported him while he was sound asleep.[1]

So, of the New Zealanders, we read of the worship paid to spirits of deceased ancestors, and that some individuals are supposed to be able to command their attention. And observers tell us how the stillness of the hut, only faintly lighted, is at length broken by the noise of some heavy body falling on the roof, and the spirits make communication in a thin, whistling voice, apparently proceeding from the roof.[2]

In the Figi Islands, the priest, fixing his attention on a whale's tooth, soon goes into strong convulsions, and the spirit of his god is supposed to enter into him, and questions are asked and answered. "While giving the answer the priest's eyes stand out and roll as in a frenzy; his voice is unnatural, his face pale, his lips livid, his breathing depressed, and his entire appearance like that of a furious madman.[3]

The Zulu diviners show that in Africa we once more meet with this characteristic savage priesthood. Certain symptoms appear to individuals which are universally ascribed to possession by "*amatonga*," or ancestral spirits. Some let the affection take its course and become an *In-*

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1 Details in Howitt's Memoir on the Kurnai in "Kamilaroi and Kurnai." 2 Shortland "New Zealanders," p. 61 et. seq.

3 Williams "Figi and Figians," p. 176.

*yanga*, or this power may be developed. For this purpose, fasting is necessary. "The continually stuffed body," say they, "cannot see secret things." A person who wishes to develop this power sleeps only by snatches, he dwells much on his dreams and becomes, as the natives say, "a house of dreams." He has waking visions of objects that are not there when he approaches them, songs come to him without learning. He has many illusions, such as if he

The Pythian Priestess.

were flying through the air. Such a person is now an Inyanga, that is, one who is at times possessed by a spirit and has great power in finding hidden things and giving apparently inaccessible information.[1]

[1] Details in Tylor "Culture," Vol. II., p. 120. Spencer "Sociology," p. 256.

These observations could be greatly extended, but we have now seen the true savage conception of a priest. A few words, now, as to the power posessed by these priests. At the present day, only ignorance will contemptuously class them all as imposters, knaves and scoundrels. Modern science comes far short of a thorough understanding of the human mind. It has mysterious powers, the nature of which is but little understood. We do not know across what distance one mind exerts an influence on another. In the lives of all, there are mysterious incidents which our present science cannot explain. Other mysterious events happen, vouched for by witnesses of undoubted veracity, which we cannot explain. We have a number of words to express this unknown power, such as clairvoyance, mesmerism, animal magnetism, odylic force, etc.

Such force or power is lodged more plentifully in some men than in others, it may be developed by cultivation. Now, we have only to notice that savage priesthood, everywhere, picks out for its profession men endowed with this power. They cultivate it by every method known to them They withraw from the society of men, they fast to the utmost of human endurance, they hold the mind constantly on this one subject. In all ways they strive to bring on a morbid condition of the mind. Any physician knows that such states of mind can be brought about. The savage, as well as the civilized man, will then have dreams and visions of wonderful force. When the powers of the priests are sought, one of the first steps is for the priest to bring on this morbid state of the mind; and, when this state is brought about, results are sometimes obtained that our present knowledge is unable to explain.

The foregoing presents one side of the case. There is, of course, a vast amount of humbuggery and cheating,

sleight-of-hand tricks and ventriloquism abound, and many of the tricks of the Indian jugglers are known to savage priests, but this does not explain all. Often the amazed missonary is ready to conclude that the "Evil Spirit" is helping his savage disciples. If it were deemed advisable, examples could here be given of well attested exhibition of unknown force among the savage priesthood, fully as wonderful as anything known to civilized man. In many parts of the world, these priests have, when occasionally converted to Christianity, stoutly maintained that their former protestation of power was not wholly affected. They still claimed that it was something real, though entirely inexplicable to themselves.

We have but one further observation to make. We have several times shown how savage beliefs survive even to the present day. It must be evident to all, that the savage doctrine of the spirit world, the future life so like our own, the spirits of the dead everywhere about us, the power of communication with them under certain conditions, by means of certain persons, has but lately sprung into new life, and is to-day firmly believed in by thousands of individuals in America and Europe. We refer to modern Spiritualism. This statement is, of course, entirely independent of any question as to the truth or falsity of Spiritualism. We are simply concerned to point out the striking similarity of belief. There is not a phenomenon connected with modern Spiritualism, which has not its counterpart in savage philosophy. Each reader must decide as best he can whether this be an argument for or against Spiritualism.[1]

1 See a most interesting article "Spiritism amongst uncultured people compared with Modern Spiritualism," by Charnock F. S. A., in "Anthropologia," Vol. I., p. 458, and discussion of the same. See also Tiele "History of Religion," p. 9.

A ROMAN HARUSPEX.

C. BLASHFIELD.

We are now approaching a difficult part of our subject, and it is necessary for us to constantly bear in mind that no one key serves to explain the various religious conceptions framed by man to account for the mysteries he everywhere sees about him. When we take a comprehensive survey of these conceptions, we preceive that from two main sources have come the lines of thought, the results of which lie before us. Of these, one is the primitive Ancestor worship, which, in some instances, conducts directly to Polytheism and, indeed, to Monotheism ; [1] the other is from Fetichism, which, taking a firm hold on men's minds, at length carries them to the same end. In both cases, we notice the tendency is from many to one. Let us show the truth of these statements.

First, in regard to the development of the idea of Ancestor worship. At an early stage, the idea prevails that the deceased members of a tribe look out for the wants of that tribe. In New Zealand, this explains the treatment of slaves. It is not supposed that the ancestral spirits of one's own tribe will follow him in the midst of the enemy to care for him. Still less will the ancestral spirits of his captor's tribe have anything to do with him. He, therefore, is under the oversight of no spirits.[2] Hence, the invisible spirit world is considered as divided into two great classes of spirits, the hostile and the friendly ; the dead of their own tribe, and those of others. It seems to us, that here is a simple and consistent explanation of the incipient dualism, the conflict between good and evil, which can be

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[1] This statement might be called in question by some, but we must recall that the political institutions of a people certainly influence their idea of God, and this must be a result of Ancestor worship. See Goldziher "Mythology among the Hebrews."

[2] Shortland "New Zealand," p. 62.

detected in most tribes, however low they may be;[1] but, at first, notice that no question of morality is connected with this dualism.

Let us follow this thought. Of all the various tribes of men on the earth, some are powerful and arrogant, the great majority are self-conceited, and some are feeble and conscious of their inferiority. How will these states of feelings affect the beliefs we have just noticed, for it is manifest that they will greatly influence them. Those tribes posessing power and conscious of it, worship the good (*i. e.*, friendly) spirits and defy evil (*i. e.*, foreign.) The weak and feeble tribes will, on the contrary, reverse this worship. That savage tribes are found, in the lower ranges of culture, who thus worship what they regard as the evil spirit or spirits is well known. In Mesopotamia, there is a sect of devil worshipers to-day.[2]

But, in another direction, this Ancestor worship clearly gives rise to Polytheism. Is it not clear that with development of tribal society there will arise conceptions of gods of various ranks? Will not the tribal chief be a god superior in rank to the chief of the phratry, and will not this latter out-rank the chief of the gens? So also, when the joint family develops itself, it will indeed have a family god, but this will be a grade lower than the god of the gens. Each and every step of the above can be found in the records of the the ancient Aryans. Every family has its house god, who is nothing but the deceased house-father. Above them was the god of the gens, who was nothing but the supposed common ancestor of the gens. As the descent passes into the male line, the custom of naming the gens after some animal is abandoned, and some hero is taken in-

1 See on this point Tylor "Culture," Vol. II., p. 287 et. seq.
2 Layard "Nineveh and its Remains," Vol I., p. 297.

stead as the supposed starting point, and to him worship is directed. Above these lesser gods, were ranked the tribal gods.[1]

We can turn to collected accounts of the beliefs of savage tribes and find this principle in active operation to-day. Take the Zulus. The clan chiefs pass on into deities, but back and beyond all these stands the first man, the supposed progenitor of all the Zulus. He is the "old-old one," the one who "broke off in the beginning," he is regarded as the all powerful god, the creator of all things.[2] So, among many other Indian tribes, the first man, the one from whom they feign descent, stands forth as a great god.[3] And so it is generally in Polynesia, where we would naturally look for such a result among a people who regard the heads of the families and chiefs as sacred persons.[4] We are told that there is good reason for connecting this first man in Polynesia with the first king of Hawaii.

Here, then, we see, how in a very natural and simple manner, Ancestor worship might pass into Polytheism. And we think that all must recognize the force of this tendency. To further help us in this matter, let us refer to one more class of facts. Where Ancestor worship prevails, any noted personage, inventor or warrior, medicine man or prophet would surely receive special honors after death. We have mentioned this tendency among the Hindoos to-day. We may well believe it exists elsewhere. Therefore, when Galton says the Damaras showed him the grave of the god Omakuru, we may possibly see here an instance

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1 Details in Coulanges "Ancient City," Hearn "Aryan Household." See also "Kamilaroi and Kurnai," p. 111.

2 Tylor "Culture," Vol II. p. 284.

3 Müller "Urreligionnen," p. 133.

4 Shortland "New Zealand," p. 84.

of savage apotheosis.[1] In this connection, let us recall what was said as to certain Mexican deities in the preceding volume.[2] Among primitive people, the great and successful war-chief would almost surely be raised to the ranks of the gods. Perhaps this was the origin of the Aztec god of war.[3] Most of the Chinese gods and goddesses are of this character. Their birth-days are held sacred. Tales are told of their early life. As might be expected, the war god is the spirit of a famous warrior.[4]

Among most people, however, the line of development seems to have been from Fetichism to Nature worship, and so to Polytheism and, eventually, Monotheism. And in all this, it has followed a perfectly natural course. From out the great mass of fetich gods, there gradually emerges more important nature fetiches, if we may so call them. Among these greater fetiches, are heaven, earth, water, sea, fire, sun and moon. The blue, over-arching heaven is regarded, in a primitive stage of thought, as a great fetich. Advancing culture serves to distinguish more and more clearly between heaven itself and the powerful spirit residing therein. The like process takes place with others of the more powerful nature fetiches. The results come before us in Polytheism. And we see how true it is, that only comparatively advanced people can thus originate a pantheon.

Let us illustrate the truth of this statement by reference to some items of primitive belief. The Iroquois prayed to *Garonhia* which is simply the word for sky, [5] but a more advanced stage of thought is implied in the

1 Spencer "Sociology," p. 422.
2 Vol. I. This Series, p. 713.
3 Müller "Urreligionnen," p. 591 et. seq.
4 Doolittle "Social Life of the Chinese," Vol. I., p. 266.
5 Brinton "Myths of the New World," p. 48.

name, sometimes used, of *Garonhiawagon*, literally meaning, sky-comer. This illustrates the separation of the indwelling spirit from the fetich itself. Equally significant phrases occur among the more civilized nations of the South.

In Africa, also, we perceive the worship of the heaven as a fetich, giving place to the worship of a spirit residing in heaven. The Zulus sometimes speak of heaven as able to punish evil doing, and then again of a Lord of heaven, who exercises this power.[1] We find that, in East Africa, the same word may be used for the name of the highest god or heaven or cloud.[2] So the ruder Siberian tribes scarcely, if at all, separate in thought the visible heaven and the divinity residing in it, using the same word for both.[3] The same transition of thought can be traced in China. *Tien*, or heaven, is by many spoken of as the Ruler and Lord of the universe.[4] The Ayrans also show a similar stage of belief. "We find a Zeus, chief god among the Greeks; a Jupiter, among the Romans; we have a Zio, an important divinity with the Teutons, and a Dyaus with the old Indians."[5] All these names are derived from one word meaning sky.[6]

This idea of a heaven-god, which we find thus rising from a conception of heaven as a fetich, presents different forms amongst different people. It is not strange that meterological phenomena should often be thought of as attributes of this heaven-god. Thus, the winds, tempests, thunder and lightening, though sometimes thought of as

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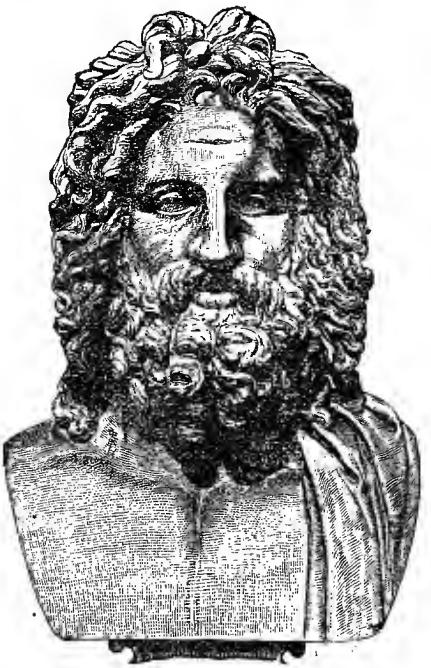
1 Tylor "Culture," Vol. II., p. 232.
2 Waitz "Anthropology, etc., Vol. II., p. 169.
3 Tylor Op. cit, p. 233.
4 Doolittle "Chinese," Vol. II., p. 396.
5 Keary "Primitive Belief," London, 1882, p. 41.
6 Muller, "Science of Language," Second Series.

the functions of a separate god, are more often conceived as the heaven-god himself exercising a special function. All these commotions of the elements herald their approach by appearances in the sky, hence they are generally regarded as significant of various states of feeling of the heaven-god—the thunder-storm, significant of wrath; the genial showers, of goodness. Sometimes other conceptions appear, and the storm-gods and wind-gods are regarded as separate beings but under the control of the heaven-god.



Jupiter.

Much the same course can be traced in regard to earth worship. Among many of the ruder tribes of men, the earth is regarded as a great fetich, The Incas worshiped the earth as a goddess.[1] The Algonquin Indians in the north would sing medicine songs to the earth, whom they styled the "great-grandmother of all."[2] A similar conception is found in West Africa, where the earth is worshiped as a goddess second only to the heaven-god.[3] Throughout Asia, the same conceptions re-appear, and we detect the same change—from the worship of earth as a fetich, to

1 Müller "Urreligionnen," p. 369.
2 Tylor "Primitive Culture, Vol. II., p. 244.
3 Waitz "Anthropology, etc.," Vol. II., p. 170.

the worship of a god of the earth.[1] The Aryans entertained the same views. "The Vedic hymns commemorate the goddess Prithivi, the broad earth;"[2] and, from the primeval home, the migrating tribes carried this belief with them. To his surprise, Tacitus observed the ancient Germans worshiping the earth even as his own countrymen did.

We have now spoken of but two of the greater nature fetiches and have seen how natural is the transition from them to Polytheism. We do not wish, in this chapter, to speak at any great length about Mythology, but the subject cannot be entirely passed by since "no religion which has any hold on the affections and imaginations of men can be without a mythology."[3] A myth is a story that has gradually grown up to account for certain observed phenomena. A vast number of them are nature-myths, to explain the most ordinary occurrences of nature. It is evident, that as religion passes out of the stage of Fetichism to Nature worship and, subsequently, Polytheism, that myths will, at once, make their appearance.

It was so with the two great nature fetiches we have examined. A very common conception, meeting us among tribes low in the scale and continuing to exert an influence far along in Civilization, is to regard the over-arching heaven and the fruitful earth as father and mother; whose offspring are the living creatures, men, beasts and plants. Throughout Polynesia, this myth is found; and interesting stories of native origin are given to account for their separation.[4] The same conception exactly re-appears in China, which illustrates how true it is that the human

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1 Tylor Op cit., 246-7. 2Ibid.
3 Baring--Gould "Origin of Religious Belief." p. 171.
4 See on this point Tylor "Culture," Vol. I., p. 290 et. seq.

mind, everywhere, obeys the same law of thought. Among the primitive Aryans, we are continually told of the two great parents, Father-heaven and Mother-earth. The conception of earth as a mother is more general than that of heaven as a father. "The Caribs, when there was an earthquake, said it was their mother-earth dancing and signifying to them to dance and make merry likewise, which accordingly they did."[1]

We have still two other important fetiches to treat of, and show how the worship of them passed into Nature worship and Polytheism, these are fire and water. In that stage of thought, where any striking object may be worshiped as a fetich, it is, of course, not strange that rivers, lakes and springs, and especially whirlpools, rapids and cataracts should be worshiped; and, finally, that worship should be paid more directly to the spirit residing therein. Such worship meets us everywhere. Our Indians were observed to make prayers to the deities of rivers and lakes. In times of sickness or drought, sacrifices are made to them. Examples of barbaric customs in this respect could be gathered from the most widely scattered portions of the earth.[2] Traces of this world-wide superstition still exist as survivals among the more ignorant people of Europe. "The Bohemians will go to pray on the river bank, where a man has been drowned, and then they will cast in an offering, a loaf of new bread and a pair of wax candles." The Bulgarian throws some water out of every bucket full brought from the well, so that if any harmful spirit be floating thereon, it may not be taken into the house.[3]

Let us here take notice of the steps which, in some

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1 Ibid. 295. 2 Details in Tylor "Culture," Vol. II., p. 190. et. seq.
3 "Positive Philosophy," Martineau's Translation, New York, 1853, Vol. II., p. 204.

cases, conduct directly from Fetichism to Polytheism. It is simply, a process of generalization. Compte says; "When certain phenomena appeared alike in various substances, the corresponding fetiches must have formed a group, and at length coalesced into one principal one, which thus became a god: that is, an ideal and usually invisible agent, whose residence is no longer rigorously fixed. Thus when the oaks of a forest, in their likeness to each other, suggested certain general phenomena, the abstract being in whom so many fetiches coalesced, was no fetich but the god of forests."[1] We can now see how difficult it was for primitive man to frame the conception of a water-god; the difficulty of bringing the many different forms of water under one conception.

Neptune.

But the sea, as being the greatest body of water known, naturally enough gives rise to the conception of a sea-god or gods. And here, we see the same stages of thought as before pointed out. The first thought is of the sea as a fetich, something alive, animated by a spirit. Many instances of this worship are known, as among certain African tribes who sacrifice directly to the sea. It survives into higher stages of thought, and even Xerxes thought to chastise the sea for destroying his bridge. But the higher stage of thought is where the sea is no longer a person but is ruled by indwelling spirits; finally appears the conception of a god of the sea, who con-

[1] Tylor "Culture," Vol. II., p. 253.

tinues to play an important part in the mythology of the ancient world.

The worship of fire is one of the most important of primitive worships. We can only briefly examine it. It presents the two stages noticed in reference to the great fetiches. Perhaps, all that is necessary is to point out that the worship of fire, in one sense or the other, is certainly very general among the barbarous races of men. In some localities, it is "conspicuous for its absence." In the South Sea Islands, there is sarcely a trace of fire worship,[1] and but one instance is recorded of its worship as a fetich among the Africans. In Dahomey, "A pot of fire is placed in a room and sacrifice is offered to it, that fire may 'live' there and not go forth to destroy the house."[2] It will be observed, that the worship of fire is lacking in warmer regions of the earth. This may be nothing but a coincidence, however.

In other sections, we are sure to come on traces of fire worship. It is true, however, that a great many rites of other worship require the use of fire, and we are liable to confound this use with worship paid to fire. Still it remains that worship was paid to fire. The Indians were extensively given to this worship.[3] It is almost general throughout Asia.[4] The Semitic people were extensively given to it. The worship of Baal was extensive throughout Assyria, Phœnicia and Chaldea, and passages in the Old Testament show how prone the Hebrews were to fall into this species of idolatry. The primitive Aryans were very extensively given to fire worship. It survives to-day among the Persian Parsees. When the

1 Tylor "Culture," Vol. II., p. 253.
2 Ibid. 3 Müller "Urreligionnen," 54.
4 Tylor "Culture," Vol. II. p. 254.

Aryans entered Europe, they brought with them this fire worship. Each joint-famly had its sacred fire, which was carefully screened from the gaze of strangers and never supposed to go out.[1]

It is interesting to trace the survival of this ancient fire worship in Europe. When a Russian family is about to move, after everything else has been taken from the house, a brisk fire is lighted for the last time in the stove at the old house. Precisely at midday, the embers from this fire are raked, by the oldest women of the family, into a clean jar, covered with a napkin and taken to the new house. There the jar is greeted with; "welcome grand-father to the new home."[2] The Esthonian bride consecrates her new home by casting some money into the fire for the "Fire-mother."[3] "To the Bohemian, it is a godless thing to spit in the fire,—'God's fire,' as he calls it. It is not right to throw away the crumbs after a meal, for they belong to the fire. Of every kind of dish, some should be given to the fire."[4] To have luck, the baker must daily throw pieces of bread to the fire.[5]

From fire worship, the transition is easy and natural to sun worship. Indeed, the sun would be worshiped as a great fetich from early times; but any well developed fire-worship would almost certainly lead its votaries to the worship of the sun. Sun-worship, like fire-worship, is very

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[1] Coulanges "Ancient City," p. 46. Keary "Primitive Belief," p 132. It should be observed, however, that among the Aryans, fire seems early to have passed the fetich stage and was regarded simply as the means of communion with the spirits of deceased ancestors. The Parsees, usually regarded as fire worshipers, disclaim this title and maintain that fire is only the symbol of the deity. [American Antiquarian] March 1887, p. 119.

[2] Ralston "Songs of Russia," p. 138.

[3] Tylor "Primitive Culture" Vol II., p. 259.

[4] Ibid. [5] Wuttke "Volks Aberglaube," p. 86.

extensive though not universal. It is certainly significant that, like fire-worship, the worship of the sun is not extensively prevalent in warm and torrid countries, though here again we must accept this statement with caution.[1] Sun-worship was certainly very extensive among the Indians of America, though there may be some uncertainty as to the rank of this worship. One writer concludes that all the Indian tribes were sun-worshipers,[2] but Dr. Brinton tells us, that the Nachez alone, among the North American Indians, were true worshipers of the sun.[3] It certainly remains that great honor was shown the sun, by a great number of tribes.[4]

In Mexico, Central America and Peru, the worship of the sun was well established; especially is this true of the Incas, where it was, what might be called, the state religion.[5] Passing into the old world, we find sun-worship still prevalent among the northern Turanian tribes, where sacrifices are still offered to him.[6] The aboriginal tribes of India, likewise, continue his worship. It is scarcely necessary to recall that the Egyptians and Semitic inhabitants of Western Asia were likewise given to the adoration of the sun. The Hebrews themselves, were continually relapsing into this idolatry.

We have seen that the ancient Aryans were fire-worshipers. We, therefore, expect to find among them the worship of the sun. There are probably no exceptions to this rule. All nations of the Aryan stock worshiped the sun under various names and aspects. It was part and

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1 On this point, Tylor "Culture," Vol. II., p. 260.

2 Carr "Mounds of the Mississipi Valley," p. 56.

3 Brinton "Myths of the New World," p. 142.

4 See on this point Waitz "Anthropology, etc.," Vol. III., p. 180. Müller "Urreligionnen" p. 116. Tylor "Culture," Vol. II. p., 261.

5 Brinton Op. cit., p. 142. 6 Tylor "Culture," Vol. II., p 265.

parcel of the ancient religion of Europe, and it presented a most stubborn barrier to the spread of Christianity; and, in fact, the great sun-festivals were adopted by the infant church, too weak to abrogate them. Easter, St. Johns Eve and Christmas are but ancient sun-festivals now doing duty for another faith. In Saxony, the peasants still climb the hills on Easter morning to see the sun dance.[1]

Moon worship follows almost as naturally as sun-worship. It is significant to note that in Africa, for instance, over a large section of country where sun-worship is virtually unknown, the moon is regarded with great veneration. They dance and sing all night in her honor, when shining at her full; they shout greeting to the new moon and make prayers to it.[2] In the new world, the worship of the moon was spread over a large extent of country, and she was generally regarded as the goddess of water.[3] Many are the myths relating to the sun and moon and eclipses of these bodies, but we must pass them by at present.

We have in the last few pages endeavored to show how from a stage of Fetichism gradually arises Nature-worship, and, from that, Polytheism, or the religion of many gods, arises. We can see that we have now largely passed out of the stage of primitive religion. Savage people, indeed, worship the great nature fetiches, sky, earth, sun, water and fire. But it is only the more advanced people who come finally to separate the indwelling spirit from the fetich body; and, only when that stage is reached, does Polytheism proper begin.

Nor is it singular that confusion at once begins to show itself in such advanced religion. As soon as the sky-

[1] Tylor "Culture," Vol. II., p. 269.
[2] Ibid. [3] Brinton "Myths," p. 130.

god becomes dis-associated from the fetich-sky, various conceptions will begin to be formed, and he is represented in different ways. Now, he is represented as the storm, wind, rain or thunder god; and, again, he is simply a god that controls and governs these lesser storm gods. So the sun; in how many different ways it is represented. It may be the rising or setting sun, or the sun of midday; and, in connection with all this, there goes that tendency of the human mind which, in the childhood of a race, leads to the formation of myths; and these mythical stories, being constantly changed from time to time, serve only to increase the confusion.

We have yet before us a most important part of our subject. Quite low in the scale we come upon savages having dim conceptions of one supreme deity, and it is necessary for us to examine this subject to some extent to see how such conceptions might originate. It is plain that here, also, Ancestor worship, logically carried out, must land its followers in Monotheism. Back of the ancestors generally, back of the deceased chiefs and kings, there looms up, in thought, the idea of the deceased first ancestor, the one from whom the race first sprung. One striking illustration has already been stated; viz., that of the Zulus. It is equally apparent that, even where Ancestor worship has not been carried to its logical development, still it has greatly influenced savage conceptions of the future world. When people have developed far enough to have a regularly organized tribal government, they must conceive of a government of the future, framed on substantially the same model; and, of necessity, there is a head of authority somewhere. So it is not at all singular that, even among quite rude tribes, we come upon evidence of a belief in some Supreme Spirit, who exercises dominion over all the

others. This belief, in its first stages, is, of course, shadowy, ill-defined and contains contradictory features.

We would make a mistake, however, to conclude that this was the only road leading to Monotheism. The savage begins by adoring as a fetich each individual tree or bush; he ends by forming the conception of a god of trees or of agriculture. As a savage, he worships for his fetich the individual lake, fountain or spring; he ends by adoring the God of water. From this belief in a number of gods, each ruling his own department—water, vegetation, animal life, winds, etc.—it is but another step to the conception of one force back of all.[1] The trouble is for partially civilized men to give this thought expression.

It finds vent, however, in two directions. One is to conceive of a spiritual entity, far removed from all the affairs of men, too mighty and benevolent to care for the praise and adoration of men, knowing little about their affairs and caring less. The Indians in Texas believed in such a one "who does not concern himself about things here below."[2] A great many of the African tribes believe in such a being "who, they suppose, is too far removed or is too indifferent to feel much concern in the affairs of men."[3] So too, of the supreme God of the Figians, *Ndengei*. "He is the subject of no emotion nor sensation, nor any appetite except hunger.... giving no sign of life beyond eating, answering his priest, and changing his position from one side to the other."[4]

To satisfy this same longing, one of the great nature or fetich gods is sometimes raised to the primacy. The

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1 Baring-Gould "Origin of Religious Belief," p. 241.

2 Brinton "Myths of the New World," p. 54.

3 Wilson "Western Africa," p. 73.

4 Williams "Figi and the Figians," p. 170.

sun or the heaven-god is often assigned to this place of honor. In the case of the heaven-god, this has taken place over a wide region of the earth. It appears among the South American Indians;[1] throughout the Polynesian Islands,[2] the same idea is found; it is also wide spread in Africa.[3] The same conception comes to the front in Asia, and especially among the Turanian tribes and among the Chinese;[4] and we have already pointed out that all the Aryan people had a heaven-god for the supreme deity.

We have, in this chapter, been investigating the religion of savage people generally. We have examined the superstitions of the lower races and have seen how they have developed with advancing culture. We have had to pass by a good many subjects of interest and must here drop the discussion. We have space only for a brief summary of our conclusions. We have found that the savage theory of dreams, shadows and reflections naturally gives rise to the belief in "another-self," posessing mysterious powers, capable of living apart from the body; and that death is, simply, the prolonged absence of this "other-self." From this as a starting point, we have investigated the savage theory of the future world and savage philosophy in general. We have found that the key which unlocks vast numbers of their superstitions is a belief in spirits swarming around them. This explains the savage theory of sickness, also the belief in magic, witchcraft, sorcery, etc., and it also explains the savage theory of the priest-hood.

We have seen that, at first, worship was paid to the spirits of the dead and have seen how persistent such belief

1 Tylor "Culture," Vol. II., p. 306. But see Brinton Op. cit., p. 54.
2 Tylor Op. cit , 312.
3 Waitz "Anthropology, etc., Vol. II., p. 168.
4 Tylor "Op. cit.," p. 318.

is, since to this day more than half the world are worshiping the spirits of the dead. But, at different stages of culture, this worship crystalizes into certain systems. Amongst the lowest tribes we find Fetichism, which, indeed, survives into the higher stages of culture. It is no exaggeration to say that the majority of the world's inhabitants today are fetich-worshipers. Amongst the higher tribes, Fetichism gives place to Polytheism. This result takes place in two directions, either by fusing the conceptions of a number of individual fetiches into one general fetich; forming, for instance, the idea of a god of water from the individual fetiches of fountains, lakes and rivers; or disassociating the indwelling spirit from the great nature fetiches, as, for instance, the idea of a sun-god from the fetich-sun.

We have further seen, that the same line of reasoning which conducts from Fetichism to Polytheism, leads on to Monotheism and have discovered still other lines of thought leading thereto. Even Ancestor worship, logically carried out, leads to the same end, and examples of this are given. Yet again, the tendency of the human mind to seek for some first cause, influenced, no doubt, by the savage idea of a future life like the present, induces even savages to form some vague, shadowy conception of a Supreme Being. We have to notice, in all this, that savage religion has but very little to do with morality. It is only advancing intelligence and civilization that finally unite morality and religion. Savage idea of the future life failed to exert its great influence for good, because of this. It is only in advanced stages of thought that the future life is held to be one in which happiness or misery is held to be conditional on the life led here. Savages conceive of friendly and hostile spirits, but only advanced civilization finally

changed these conceptions to others in which the question of morality, good and evil spirits, enters. Our subject has called for no discussion of the higher religions, such as Confucianism, Buddhism, Brahminism, Mohammedism or Christianity; it would be found, however, that these religions were the first and only religions that assigned the right place to morality, have made that, indeed, the corner stone of their system.

What shall we finally say of the results thus spread before us? They raise questions, the discussion of which would be very much out of place in this book. At least two results seem plainly indicated. The first is that even savages and but partially civilized people are so constituted that they come by entirely natural means to the fundamental conceptions underlying all religions, such as belief in God and immortality. The second shows us how far they come short of framing worthy conceptions on these and kindred topics. Christianity abandons arguments from nature and rests down upon the revealed will of the Most High, imparted to inspired men of old.

This chapter has been written solely for the purpose of enabling us to understand the religious beliefs of the Ancient World. Leaving the Hebrews entirely out of the question, for they play but a small part in the Ancient World, we have a difficult task before us to show how the great people of antiquity, who certainly did not derive their religion from the Hebrews, came to possess their great Polytheistic systems of religion. This question we have now attempted to answer. We can but notice how true it is that in religious culture, as in everything else, man has lived a life of progress. This affords room for the cheering hope that the world will grow better as well as wiser; and we can look forward to the time when Christianity will pre-

vail over the entire earth and free mankind from the superstitious depths of primitive religion, even as the science and Civilization of to-day extend their benignant sway.

We now bring to a close this series of introductory chapters and will turn to consider the development of culture in each of the three great groups of races. We have ranged over quite a number of topics not necessary for the mere historian to consider, but they are indispensible for one who would learn of the growth of Civilization. Two persons may both admire a flower, but the one who understands the outlines of botany is fitted for a higher enjoyment than one ignorant of it. Civilization is a beautiful flower, blooming on the vine of progress; all can certainly admire it in its present form, but he who has taken some pains to acquaint himself with the laws of its development and growth, and can compare the present results with those of an earlier age, derives a much higher enjoyment than one destitute of this knowledge, knowing only of the present.

We trust that all who have followed us will be impressed with a sense of the worth and dignity of man. In realizing the depths from which he has ascended, we can look forward with hope to the future. If it be true, that the elements of our present Civilization are simply the results of unknown years of progressive efforts, then let us trust that, as the years go by, Civilization will steadily grow higher, nobler and, in all ways, more in keeping with that life which the highest, purest, holiest instincts of man teach him he should live.

Let us not take a gloomy view of Civilization. The scholar, who laments that there is so much ignorance in the world; the philanthropist, who sighs over the many cases of man's inhumanity to man; the moralist, who sees

so many ways in which human conduct should improve; the philosopher, who views in amazement the thousands of superstitious customs of the world: should bear in mind that that which they severally deplore was once the universal rule of action. If we may judge the future by the past, we may see in the distant future the dawning of a better day. The Golden Age, of which the poets sung, is no myth, but instead of looking for it in the past, we are to look for it in the future. Each should so live that when his brief day on earth is past, his influence, which lives after him, will be felt as an elevating and ennobling one and thus contribute to the bringing on of that better Civilization of the future.

Pluto.

# PART II.

An
Historical Study
of the Races at the Dawn of History,
and their Development
in Culture.

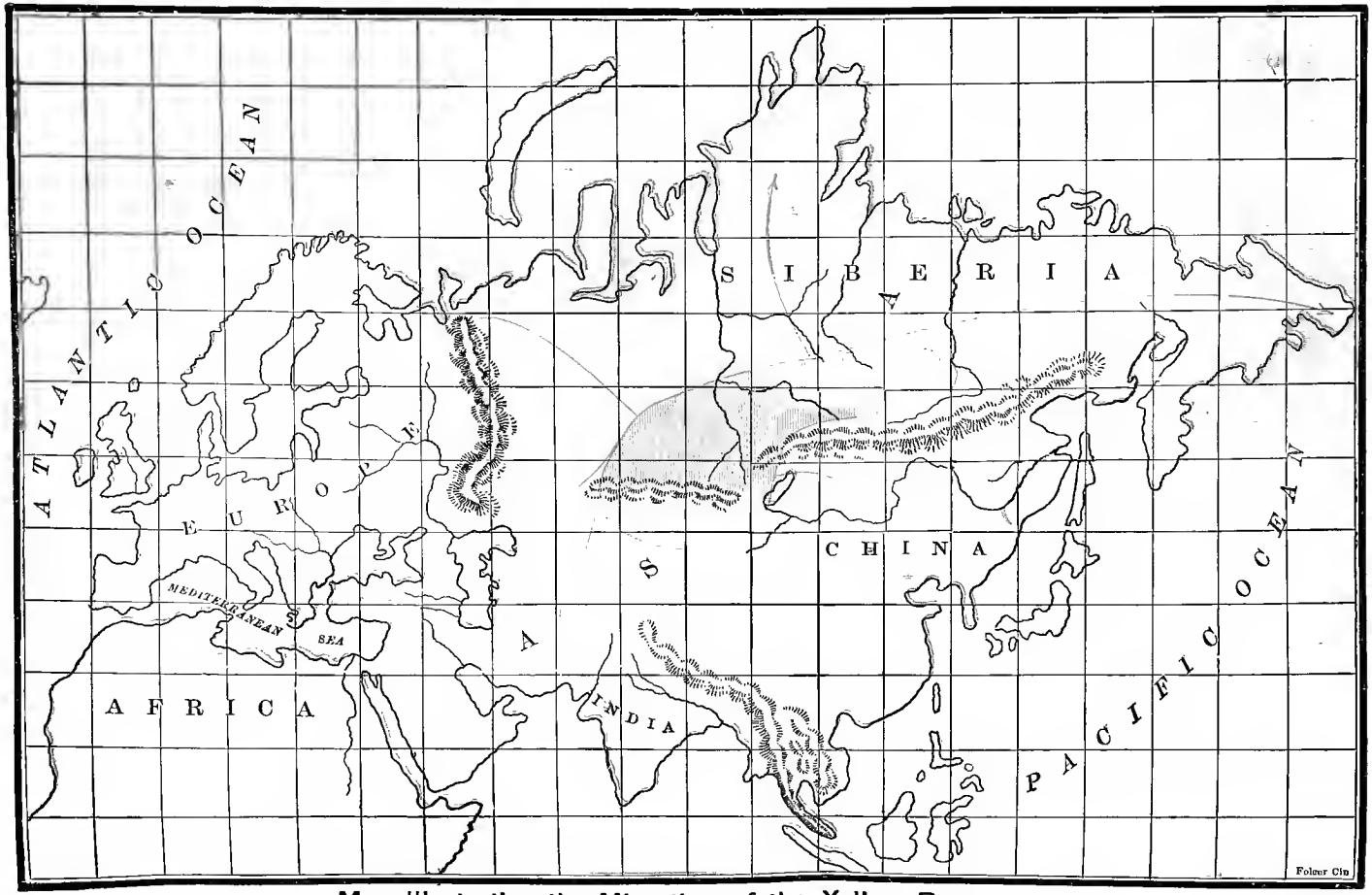
## THE YELLOW RACES.

## THE EGYPTIANS.

## THE SEMITES.

OUR CLOCK strikes when there is a change from hour to hour; but no hammer in the Horologue of Time peals through the universe, when there is a change from Era to Era. CARLYLE.

THE BIOGRAPHY of a nation embraces all its works. No trifle is to be neglected. A mouldering medal is a letter of twenty centuries. Antiquities which have been beautifully called history defaced, compose its fullest commentaries. In these wrecks of many storms, which time washes to the shores, the scholar looks patiently for treasures. The painting around a vase, the scribble on a wall, the wrath of a demagogue, the drollery of a farce, the pomp of an epigram, each possesses its own interest and value. WILLMOTT.

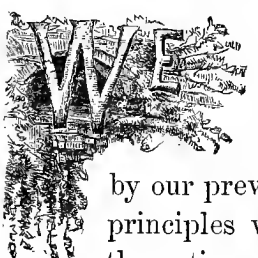



**Map Illustrating the Migration of the Yellow Races.**

# CHAPTER V.

## THE YELLOW RACES.

Introductory—Development of the Black Races—Origin of the Yellow Races—When—Where—Home of Yellow Races—The Dravidians—The Accadians—Results of recent research—Beginning of Civilization in Mesopotamia—Divisions of the people—The Accadians, Turanians—The Kushites or Cushites—Accadian Civilization—Accadian Religion—The Proto-Median Tribes—The Hittites—First History—Bible References to the Hittites—Egyptian References—The Alarodians—The Vannic Inscriptions—Hittite Religion—The Finns—Finnic Mythology—China—Early Chinese History—Chinese Classics—Probable Chinese History—Civilization of the Chinese Tribes—Writing—Sketch of their Development—The Aboriginal Tribes of China—The Chow Dynasty—Traces of Tribal Society in China—General Conclusions on the Yellow Races.



HAVE now reached an important point in our work. We are like travelers, who have been toiling up a long ascent, but are now in position to profit by our previous exertions. Let us now apply the principles we have examined and pass in review the nations and races of the world. Let us ask what part each one took in the work of Civilization. This research ought in no wise to fatigue us. We are not to sojourn along some beaten and dusty highway, we are not concerned with dynasties and the march of armies, but with the growth of Civilization. Whether we gaze on the monumental ruins of Egypt, over which unknown chiliads of years have winged their flight; ponder over the but just recovered cylinder of some Chaldean king inscribed with records already ancient when first the light of history lit up the Mediteranean area or scrutinize the records of Chi-

nese sages of unknown antiquity and meaning—our main purpose is to see how, in each case, Civilization was advanced.

We must, however, proceed in some definite order, or else, as the records of the past unroll before us, we will become confused and so miss the many details which make up the beauty of the whole. We will, therefore, take up the second great group of races and in this chapter inquire as to the part they have taken in the great work of human progress. We have seen that, for convenience, we may divide the many races of men into three great groups of races, the Black, Yellow and White Races. On the supposition that the the Black Races were the first to people the earth, we may ascribe to them the invention of the first language, the artificial production of fire and the utilization of stone for implements and weapons. They must have made the first beginnings in social life, carrying this organization forward at least as far as the class division of the Australians. In short, they must have advanced through at least the lower stage of Savagery.

It is, perhaps, not strange that at this stage the Black Races halted. The advance they had achieved, though small in the aggregate, was relatively great. As they spread from their primitive home, going forth to possess the earth in that primitive long-ago, they, of course, became exposed to greatly different surroundings. The descendants, then, of this primitive people would in time diverge from the ancestral type. In a former chapter,[1] we have suggested that the Yellow Races were the first to diverge from the primitive Black Races. We shall, probably, never be able to solve this and similar questions referring to the

1 This Volume, p. 78.

morning time of human life with certainty; the only way for us to do is to accept the solutions as convenient working hypotheses, ready to exchange them for any other theory that will best explain all facts requiring explanation. At present, however, we may assume that the Yellow Races represent the second great stock of people; and now let us see what was their condition in the Ancient World, and what they did to advance Civilization in the ages lying near the dawn of history.

The origin of the Yellow Races must be placed far back in time. No petty term of years will suffice. We are not able to give a definite answer, but everything connected with the antiquity of the Neolithic Age compels us to assume the passage of thousands of years.[1] Can we, in any way, determine the primeval home of the Yellow Races? On this, as on other points, all we can do is to come to some provisional answer, one that will do until we obtain further light. At the present day, the Black Races are found in Africa, Australia and the islands of Western Polynesia.[2] In accordance with present light, it seems reasonable to assign the primeval home of the Black Races to South-eastern Asia; bearing in mind, however, that the outline of the continent of Asia when man first appeared, was, doubtless, considerably different from what it is to-day.[3] The migrations of the first men, suited as they were for only warm and tropical regions, were mainly in a direction east and west; and hence it is, that we detect traces of their presence in Southern India,[4] and that they finally found a most congenial home in tropical Africa.

We may, of course, assume that they made extensive migrations into the temperate regions of the north. As

[1] Vol. I., p. 261. [2] This Volume, p. 80. [3] p. 64.
[4] See Keane appendix to "Asia," London, 1882, p. 704.

Paleolithic tribes, we seem to have caught sight of them in Preglacial times in Europe,[1] and they probably spread into the New World as well.[2] A recent writer assures us that Chinese immigrants found them in the center of what is now China, at a date preceding 2000 B. C.[3] But it becomes equally evident that, in their new homes, they would certainly be exposed to greatly different surroundings; and, in process of time, divergence from the original type would certainly take place.

More than one scholar has pointed out the influence of elevated, dry regions of land and of mountain ranges. A glance at the map of Asia will show that no great advance towards the interior could have been made, starting from the south-eastern section, before the spreading tribes of primitive men would come upon elevated dry table lands, bounded by great mountain ranges. In the course of time, then, it is not singular, that to the north of the center of Asia, a second great stock of races, the Yellow Races, make their appearance. This seems to be the original home of the Yellow Races. It corresponds well with all that is known of their movements in early times. If we are justified in assigning any considerable portion of our Indians to some original home, that home was Northern Asia. The Neolithic invaders of Europe, quite probably, came from that same section, and certain it is that the movements of all the great bodies of Turanian or Mongolic people, known to history emanate from that source.

Changes, both mental and physical, have taken place. There is, probably, now no longer a doubt that the new race type was the superior in both structure and intellect

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[1] Vol. I., p. 98. [2] Ibid.

[3] Prof. T. De La Couperie, Introduction to Colquihoun "Amongst the Shans," p. XLII., London, 1885.

to the Black Races. Living in a dryer and cooler habitat the color tends to become lighter.[1] But a more important change has taken place in mental endowment. In this respect, the Yellow Races occupy a higher scale than the Black; and, probably, the dryness of the climate serves to advance them in this direction also.[2] The Yellow Races had a great work to do in developing nascent Civilization. Taking up the work where the Black Races had come to a stand, they carried it forward. They are the childhood races of mankind. The period of infancy was past; but, just as the child is impatient of restraint, is moved by impulse but not by judgement, begins many things but carries few through and soon comes to the limits of his powers—so do we find it with the Yellow Races of mankind.[3]

We do not know how long a time elapsed, during which the Yellow Races remained near each other in this second center of dispersion. Yet increasing numbers and gradual separation in search of new locations, gradually tended to the formation of sub-stocks. Strife would, in time, spring up between them, and so from this center great bands would sally forth to escape the tyranny of more powerful tribes. But tribal organization appears to have been fully developed before these migrations began; and that peculiar system of relationship, which we have designated the Indo-American,[4] was developed and carried by migrating members of this race—on the one hand, to America, on the other to India. However, on this matter, we must exercise caution. The results just stated seem to be in keeping

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1 This Volume, p. 24.

2 Spencer "Sociology," p. 22, et. seq.

3 See "Anthropological Review," Vol. II., 1864, p. 179-80; Vol. III., p. 246, and Vol. VI., p. 122 and 298.

4 This Volume, p. 109.

with our present knowledge. Treating of these far-away times of which we have absolutely no record, we need not be over sure in our statements.

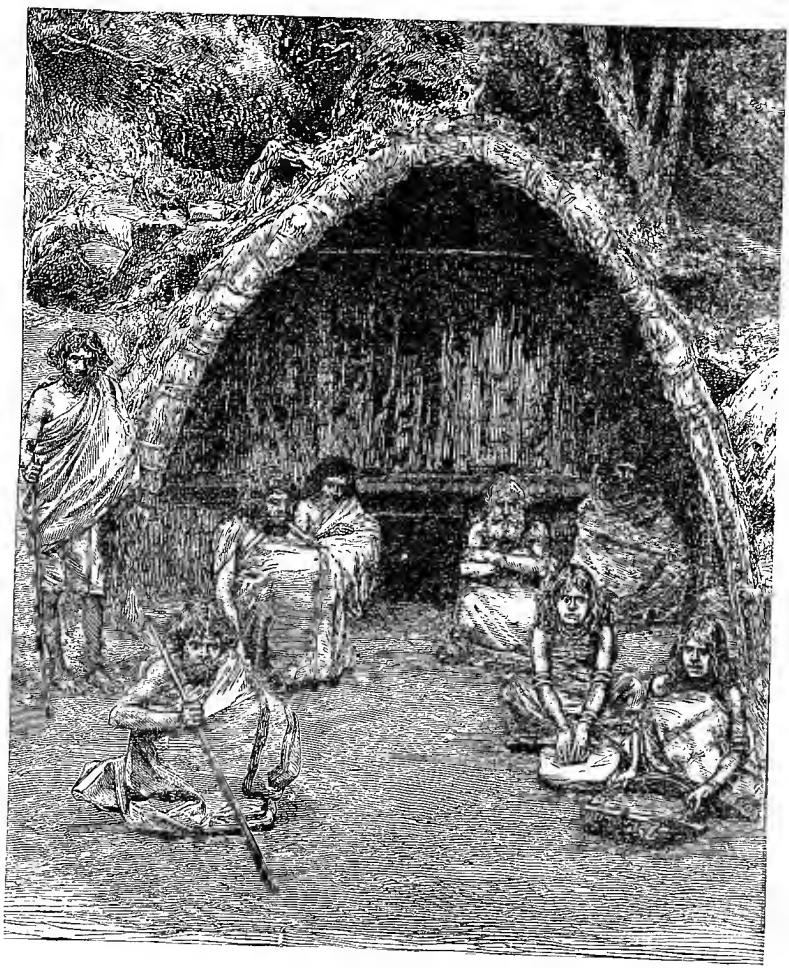
As to their general culture, not much is known, that is of the period preceding their migrations. Assuming, if we choose to, that the Neolithic inhabitants of Europe were among the first to leave, they had by that time attained to the possession of some domestic animals and at least the rudiments of agriculture, though they were as yet in the Stone Age of culture. These invaders were, probably, allied to the Turanian division of the Yellow Races,[1] though they might have formed a family apart by themselves or might have been closely allied to some of the other families, as, for instance, the American. Several scholars have thought this last suggestion reasonable, and some even have supposed that the Indians came from Europe to America.[2]

The Turanian division includes the most typical and important members of the Yellow Races. Its home seems to have been along the Altai mountain range. Its language has been sufficiently discussed.[3] At a very early time, some thousands of years before the Christian era, they began to send out great bands of migrating people and, from time to time, during the historic era, similar movements occurred. They not only sent one stream to Europe but at that same early date, they sent great streams of invading people into South-western Asia; and here they reached a comparatively high stage of culture, which exercised a great influence on the Civilization of both Europe and Asia.

Let us first see what traces we can find of this south-

1 Vol. I., p. 210.
2 Hale "American Antiquarian," 1883.
3 This Volume, p. 41.

western migration which took place at a time long before the dawn of history, doubtless earlier than five thousand B. C. In this cut, we have represented Dravidians from Southern India. The race to which they belong,



Dravidians.

doubtless much changed from the original stock, is one of very great interest. We do not know when they entered India. The evidence is to the effect that they invaded the

country from the north-west. After the lapse of many centuries, the number of which we can not now determine the Aryans entered India from the same direction and commenced a long-continued and stubborn contest with the Dravidians for the country. The result was the latter were continually pressed to the south. In the time of Solomon, they still held possession of Ophir, the country at the mouth of the Indus.[1]

At the present day, the Dravidian language is spoken by over forty millions of people in Southern India.[2] As far as we can now determine, the Dravidians did not reach any very high stage of culture. What they were able to accomplish in this direction was more an imitation of the higher culture of the Aryans. Thus, in comparatively modern times, they have developed considerable of a literature "which is in some respects unique in the East."[3] Some would assign to them the origin of the Indian architecture,[4] but we have the very best of reasons for concluding that this is a mistake.[5]

It is a most interesting question, who were these Dravidians? The Vedic hymns of the Aryan invaders speak of them collectively under the word "Dasyus."[6] This, however, was not a race name, it simply meant "enemies." More significant, perhaps, are the hymns describing the personal appearance of the non-Aryan Tribes. The flat-

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1 Sayce "Ancient Empires of the East," New York, 1884, p. 189.

2 Brandeth "Non-Ayran Languages of India," in Journal Royal Asiatic Society, 1876, p. 3.

3 Pope "Study of South Indian Vernaculars" in J. R. A. S., Vol. XVII., N. S., p. 165.

4 Ferguson "Hist. of Modern Architecture" and "Rude Stone Monuments," p. 477.

5 "Anthropological Review," 1863, p. 222. Rajendralala Mitra "Indo-Aryans."

6 Geiger "Civilization of the Eastern Iranians," p. 35.

nose, so descriptive of the Asiatics generally, is especially dwelt upon.[1] We must remember, that at the present day, the Aryans and Dravidians of India have become greatly mixed.[2] The main distinction between them is that of language.[3] Perhaps this point is not sufficiently considered by some of our more modern scholars, who are inclined to class the Dravidians among the White Races.[4] As a general thing, the Dravidians are classed among the Yellow Races. Perhaps they represent one of the very first emigrations out of the common home of the Yellow Races.

Passing more to the west of the Dravidians, there came, probably at a subsequent period, another great invasion of Turanians. Perhaps it was the march of their tribes, which forced the Dravidians out of the territory lying to the east and south of the Caspian Sea, into India. For the Dravidians themselves were intruders; when they entered India, the country was already filled up by Kolarian tribes, who came probably from the south-east and were related to the Black Races.[5] Be all this as it may, we have excellent reasons for saying that Turanian tribes were early settled in Mesopotamia and the country to the south and east of the Caspian. The Avestas, the epic books of the Aryan Persians, contain many references to Turanian tribes in that vicinity.[6] It was the Turanian tribes that finally occupied the country around the lower courses of the Tigris and Euphrates that possess great interest for any one who studies the origin of Civilization

This brings us to one of the most interesting discoveries of modern times. It is only within the last few years

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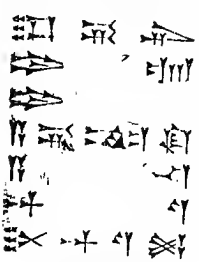
[1] "Encyclopedia Britannica," Article, India.
[2] Keane "Asia," London, 1882, p. 286. [3] Ibid. 704.
[4] Flowers in "Nature," Vol. XXXI., p. 364. [5] Keane "Asia," p. 704.
[6] Geiger "Eastern Iranians," p. 41.

that our scholars have become convinced that at a time long preceding the beginning of history, a Turanian people dwelt in Southern Mesopotamia as well as in the fertile portions of modern Persia. Let us see how they have been able to satisfy themselves of this.

Probably all are aware that Mesopotamia, the strip of land through which flow the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, has all evidence of being one of the centers of early Civilization. Through pestilential marshes, can still be traced the remains of ancient canals, which once made this now desolate land a fruitful valley.

Here were the cities of Babylon, Ur and Calneh and many more cities mentioned on the pages of Holy Writ, and the country itself was none other than the plain of Shinar.[1] This is not the place to recite how such explorers as Rich, Botta, Layard, Smith and others, finally succeeded in partially recovering for us the history of these extinct cities. The veil of oblivion has been here and there lifted, and we read of doings of kings, descriptions of their conquests, their worships and sacrifices, at a time removed from us by several thousands of years. These results have been attained only by the exertions of men who devoted their lives to the cause of science. Who followed one clew after another, until they succeeded in wresting from mysterious arrow-shaped inscriptions, such as are here shown, their hidden meaning.



Cuneiform Writing.

We are here trenching on a subject that will be considered later.[2] Thousands of inscriptions have been deciphered, and, thus it is, that we are now enabled to see

1 Genesis, X. and XI. 2 See Chapter IX.

clearly on many points in the history of these far away times and places. But still the unknown is greatly more than the known; and, further, nearly every day brings some new discovery to light, so that it becomes us to speak with great caution on all points connected with this ancient land. The following may be considered as the present conclusions, and the probabilities are that future discoveries will not greatly change them.

The beginning of Civilization in this section of country was along the lower reaches of the rivers, near the old shores of the Persian Gulf. This was the home of numerous closely related tribes, who had mainly adopted a sedentery life, possessing each a fortified citadel, or city, and each under the government of its own chief,[1] who, like all such officers in primitive times, was not only the head of the tribe, but the head of the religion as well. These tribes did not live together in peace and amity any more than do rude tribes generally. Some of them continued in a nomadic state of life, and thus a distinction was early known between them of highland (Accadian) and lowland (Sumerian) or, better still, the *nomadic* and *sedentary* inhabitants.[2]

Among the Sumerians there was, of course, the usual scenes of tribal rivalry. One tribe endeavoring to bring the others under its sway, and the supremacy resting now with one tribe and now with another. We may well suppose, also, that, at times, the sedentary tribes had to unite their forces, under the leadership of some noted tribe, to repel the attacks of the more savage nomadic tribes. But, as time passed on, the nomadic tribes, which might have included tribes of various races, gradually adopted the culture of the settled tribes; and now the rivalry for leader-

[1] A "Patesi" Ragozin, "The Story of Chaldra," N. Y. 1886, p. 203.
[2] See Rawlinson "Clay Cylinder of Cyrus the Great," in J. R. A. S.

ship among the tribes was transferred to a wider field. As for the language spoken by these tribes, there were, of course, numerous dialects,[1] because, in general, different tribes denote a difference in dialect.[2] The most numerous stock language in this section was of an agglutinative type and belonged to the Turanian class.[3] The evidence is to the effect that to the west and south-west of this early civilized area there were vast numbers of nomadic tribes, and certainly a large proportion of them were Semitic tribes. They might have formed an important element among the nomadic tribes that the more settled sedentary ones had to contend with. Be that as it may, it was Semitic tribes that commenced at an extremely early day to exert a pressure upon Turanian tribes. We have no reason to suppose that this pressure was exerted in a peaceful way only.[4] We may suppose the usual scenes of inter-tribal warfare ensued. Sudden and unexpected raids, cruel massacres, crops destroyed and people carried away to captivity. As time passed on, these nomadic Semites grew in culture, adopted

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1880, p. 71, Note, where he takes this view of the meaning of the two divisions. See also Lenormant "Chaldean Magic," p. 411. There seems to have been an ancient division of these people into Accadians and Sumerians. Some think this division indicated dialectical divisions, but more think it a geographical division.

1 On this point see Rawlinson's Article in Journal Royal Asiatic Society for 1880. Also Lenormant "Chaldean Magic," p. 412.

2 This Volume, p. 146.

3 On this point see Pinches "Language of Mesopotamia," in J.R.A.S, 1884, p. 301. He points on the monosyllabic tendencies as displayed in Chinese, p. 309. See also Sayce "Science of Language," Vol. II., p. 189. By same Author, "Fresh Light from Ancient Monuments, London, 1884, p. 20. Also, "Babylonia," 1885. But especially see Lenormant "Chaldean Magic," Chapter XIX. and XX., where both resemblances and differences are pointed out. The contrary view is maintained by M. Halevy, see J. R. A. S , 1879.

4 The contrary view seems to be the opinion of many writers. See Ragozin "Story of Chaldea," N. Y., 1886, p. 202 et. seq. Yet this is opposed by all that we know of Ancient Society.

more and more the ways of sedentary life and so settled among the Turanians, whom they doubtless reduced to a more or less completely subject condition; and now commenced that long interchange of culture, the old, arrested, perhaps decaying civilization (such as it was) of the Turanians sprung into new life and activity, when it felt the infusion of new blood. The language and culture of the Semites gradually prevailed, but they prevailed greatly modified by the older culture of the Turanians.

We are here only concerned with these people before they became thus "Semitized," so let us not trace the development of culture in this section of country to a later stage but make further inquiries in regard to these aboriginal inhabitants. In the first place, where did they come from? Reasoning from general principles, we have already stated that their original home was the Altai mountain range. There are several significant features of their culture which bear out this supposition. In the first place, as we shall see later, they were the inventors of the cuneiform system of writing. This, in its earlier stage, was picture-writing,[1] and in many cases the original form of the hieroglyphic can be made out. Now if we inquire as to the origin of the one hundred and eighty elementary characters of the cuneiform writing, we are told that they bear all evidence of originating in a more northern country than ancient Chaldea.

For instance, in Chaldea, the lion was a most common animal, but no hieroglyphic of the lion is met with; but the hieroglyphics of both the bear and wolf, animals unknown in Chaldea, are found. In Chaldea, palms and the vine flourish; but, in the country where this writing was first

[1] This Volume, p. 247.

invented, they were unknown, their place being taken by cone-bearing trees. In Chaldea, no metals are known to exist; but, among the elements of Turanian writing, there is a sign for copper and another for precious metals such as gold and silver. Their name for camel is only true of the double humped camel of Upper Asia.[1]

Equally significant, are the directions of the points of the compass. The evidence is to the effect that their east, west, north and south were not the same as our points, but just between them. Thus east was what we call north-east; their south, south-east, etc.[2] The easiest explanation is that they marched from north-east to south-west and took those two directions as two cardinal ones. This supposition is rendered extremely probable by another inscription which said, in substance, that the right of the moon was north, the front west, the left south and the back east, showing that they were marching in a westerly direction, when the cardinal points received their names.[3]

Still another coincidence is to be noted. We have suggested in another place that, when a migrating people begin to loose the recollection of the land from whence they came, it straightway becomes to them a legendary land and the special home of the blessed. So in the case before us. The mountain peak of Rowandiz in Western Persia, to the north-east of Babylon, has been connected by Prof.

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1 Lenormant "Chaldean Magie," p. 359-363. Ragozin "Story of Chaldea," p. 147.

2 See Pinches "Language of Mesoptamia" in J. R. A. S. 1884, p. 301. An ancient inscription reads; "The South is Elam, the North is Aecad, the East is Su-edin and Guti, the West is Martu." It is a most interesting and highly significant coincidence that Prof. T. De La Couperie points out that early Chinese immigrants placed their cardinal points the same way—see his article "Beginning of Writing about Thibet" in J. R. A. S., 1885, p. 449, Note 1.

3 See Pinches' Article just referred to.

Sayce with the mountain of Nizir, where, according to the traditions of the early settlers of Babylonia, the Chaldean ark rested. This mountain was a veritable Olympus, here was the home of the gods and here was the happy land of Aralli, where the spirits of the most blessed were allowed to live a happy existence, though the majority descended by way of the setting sun to an under ground world of spirits.[1]

We seem, therefore, justified in concluding that these early settlers were Turanian tribes from near the Altai mountain range. Can we now form any conclusion as to the date of this migration? At present, all we can do is to make certain general statements. We notice that when they left the home land, they worked at least some of the metals, since the sign of copper occurs. They were, therefore, probably leaving the Stone Age behind them. They were later in time, then, than the majority of the Neolithic inhabitants of Europe. It is an almost hopeless task to give any definite date. From what we have seen to be probably true of the slow Semitization of these inhabitants, we conclude that the process was certainly a very slow one. After this process was completed in Northern Chaldea, a king ruled at Agade[2] that is generally known by the name of Sargon I. The date of his reign is now generally acknowledged to be about 3800 B. C.[3] Yet at this early date Northern Chaldea had become completely Semitized. The ancient language of the country existed only as a sacred language. The mass of the people did not understand it. It was, however, the language of their sacred books, their magic formularies, their myths and

1 Sayce "Freshlight from Ancient Monuments," London, 1884, p. 32 and 35. Lenormant "Chaldean Magic," London, 1877, p. 132 and 168.

2 The Accad of Gen. X. 10.

3 How this date is arrived at will be explained in a future chapter.

legends, their hymns and prayers. In order, therefore, to provide against the calamity of loosing its knowledge altogether, great compilations were made together with a translation of the same into the Semitic language. Grammars, vocabularies and reading exercises were also made-in short, it is by these means that our scholars have been able to come to an understanding of Turanian Chaldea.[1]

Engraved Stone with Sargon's Name.

It is evident that this early date, 3800 B. C., by no means goes to the beginning of Civilization in ancient Chaldea. Long, long before this date, a tribe in the southern part of Chaldea, with headquarters at what is now Tello, evidently raised themselves to a high pitch of culture. M. DeSarzec, making explorations there, uncovered the statues of one of their *patesi* or priest-king, literally their chief, bearing the inscription of Gudea. This belongs, not to the most ancient, but still to an early period, when the Semite was not yet in the southern part of the land. The inscriptions are in a Turanian language only, and the characters in which they are written stand very close to the hieroglyphics, out of which they were developed. The heads of the statues show the typical Asiatic features, and they are shaved and turbaned like the Asiatics of to-day.[2]

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1 Ragozin "The Story of Chaldea," N. Y. 1886, p. 208. We do not think Sargon should be given this credit See Hommel Babylonian und Assyrian, p. 305-7.

2 See Ragozin Op. cit., 214. See also Sayce in "Contemporary Review" for 1886, p 104..

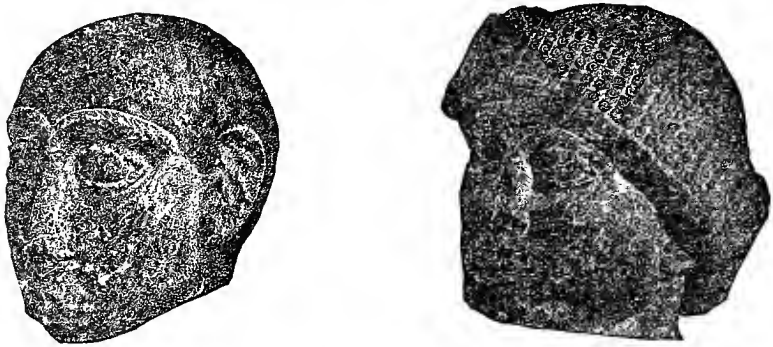
We call these earlytribes Turanians, but what did they call themselves? As a matter of course, each separate tribe bore a special name but, generally, related tribes have a race name as well. Now on such a subjuct as this, no one is entitled to express an opinion who has not made an especial study of Assyriology. We will, however, make a mere suggestion. Classical literature knew of many tribes dwelling in the eastern part of Armenia, whose names all commence with some sound of K. For instance, we have *Kardakes*, *Kardouchoi*, *Karduaioi*, *Kurtioi*, *Kosscans*, etc., and, in modern times, the *Kurds*.[1] This is admittedly the direction from whence the Turanian tribes entered Chaldea. One of the principal tribes of Turanians in Chaldea was the *Kaldi*, afterwards of sufficient importance to give their name to the whole country. We would suggest that collectively these tribes were the *Cushites*, and that this was the race name of the Turanian Accads. None of these Cushite tribes, we must remark, were strong enough to retain their race qualities. Those in Armenia became Aryanized, just as those in Mesopotamia became Semitized.

Gudea Statue.

[1] Lenormant "Chaldean Magic," p. 361.

This however is not given as a "result" but as a suggestion worth considering.[1]

Now, what was the culture of these Turanian tribes, that is, before they became mixed with the Semites? This point is a difficult one to decide, yet it is important. We think it has been overestimated. Not sufficient care has been taken to separate the pure Turanian culture from the same culture improved by contact with the Semites. We see no reason to suppose that the literary compilations, of which we spoke, give us a faithful picture of Turanian cul-



Heads from Tello.

ture, but rather of the mixed culture of the Semitic and Turanian tribes. Let us try and set forth what we think the culture was. In regard to tribal life, it was doubtless well developed. Turanian tribes, generally, had con-

1 This rather bold suggestion has some facts in its favor. See Mr. Pinches' article in J R. A. S. for 1884, p. 302; and especially see Lenormant Op. cit., p. 362. He shows that in classical times the inhabitants of Armenia possessd the same legend as those of ancient Accadia about the Chaldean ark resting on Mount Nizir [Rowandiz?] and remarks "The inhabitants of these same mountain regions, who have kept the name of Kurds up to the present time, became Aryanized many centuries ago .. but before that ..the Cuneiform Monuments exhibit their country as occupied exclusively by Turanian tribes closely allied to the Turanian tribes of Chaldea." [Lenormant, however, does not accept our statement.] We submit that such a suggestion as we make above removes many difficul-

siderable ability in this direction.[1] In full accordance with this, is the fact that the Semitic tribes copied to some extent the organization of the Turanians. This is shown by the names of officials adopted from the Accadians. The general-in-chief of the Semitic forces bore an Accadian title.[2] The Accadian word *sak*, meaning officer, re-appears in the title of a number of Semitic officers, amongst others in Rab-sha-keh or prime minister.[3] The old title for chief *Patesi* becomes the Semitic title for vice-roy.[4]

In their social life, we must notice several things. Though the Turanians were one of the first people, probably, to change to male descent, yet, in several ways, the former higher rank of the mother is shown. "The son who denied his father was sentenced to a simple fine, but he who denied his mother, was to be banished both from land and sea."[5] It might be remarked, that this feature of social life is still a distinguishing feature of the Turanian race. As the Turanian people early adopted the descriptive form of relationship,[6] which probably did not originate until monogamy became fully established,[7] it is interesting to know that, apparently, the Turanian Accad could form a legal marriage with but one wife.[8]

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ties about the Kushites, or Cushites. Amongst others it would settle the dispute so hotly waged between the French and German Assyriologists whether the Cushites or Semites were the ones who brought a higher culture to the Turanian tribes [See Ragozin p. 186.] Notice that all the cities mentioned in Gen. x. 10, as Cushite cities were, at least in their first stage, Turanian cities.

1 Lenormant Op. cit, p. 373. The Mongols, at a subsequent date, founded the greatest world-wide empires that ever existed. See Prof. Jüly in J. R. A. S., 1882, p. 43.

2 Tur-Tanu. See the title of Senacherib's general, sent to demand the surrender of Jerusalem, 2 Kings XVIII. 17.

3 Ibid. 4 Lenormant "Chaldean Magic," p. 354.

5 Ibid. 385. See also Sayce in "Records of the Past," Vol., III., p. 21.

6 This Vol., p. 100. 7 Ibid. 104. 8 "Chaldean Magic, p. 384."

In other directions, they seem to have made considerable advance. The joint family was certainly well developed and possibly the individual family as well. The father seems always to have had authority over his son. There appears the same sacredness about the house as among the Aryan nations, arising, as we have seem in a former chapter, whenever the joint family was well developed.[1] This house was a "sanctuary." A house-father could settle on

Origin of Cuneiform Writing.

a member of his household a portion of land but could not compel him to leave the community. On the other hand, the power of the house-father had not gone to the despotic length it subsequently did among some branches of the Aryans. Thus, he could not disown his son without risk

[1] Page 217.

of banishment, and he was even held responsible for his treatment of slaves.[1]

In the direction of practical knowledge, we have seen that they brought with them the elements of cuneiform writing. It was certainly in a very crude state and perhaps owes its development to Semitic influence. In this cut, we have a specimen of this early Writing. It is considered as proved that the Turanians also introduced the system of irrigation by means of canals and brought agriculture to quite a high stage.[2] They probably possessed but the rudiments of astronomy.[3] In this matter, the culture mostly came from the Semites. On the other hand, inasmuch as other branches of the Turanian race, such as Uigers, Mongols and the mantchoos, as well as the Chinese, based their calculations of time upon the number sixty, and as this is also the base of Chaldean mathematics, we conclude that the Turanians were the inventors of the system.[4] Tables of the cubes of numbers from one up to ten have been found.

In their calendar system, it is difficult to decide just how much of it was Turanian and how much was Semitic. The year was divided into twelve months of thirty days each. Then every six years an extra month was added.[5] In early times, this month seems the have been added, sometime at one period of the year and some-times at another,[6] showing

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[1] These results are drawn from a tablet of ancient Accadian laws, translated by Prof, Sayce, in "Records of the Past," Vol. III., also by Lenormant in "Chaldean Magic," p. 382.

[2] Lenormant Op. cit., 364.

[3] Ibid. Also, note on page 365. Compare with this, Sayce "Babylonian Life and History," London, 1885, for the contrary view, which is perhaps the more usual opinion.

[4] Lenormant note, p. 366.

[5] Sayce, "Babylonion life, and History," 107.

[6] Records of the Past, "Vol. VII, p. 158.

a lack of system, Each day of the month was assigned to some particular god or goddess, and further considered as lucky or unlucky.[1] The most interesting fact is that, commencing with the first of the month, every seventh day of the month was a holy day, in fact, the same as the Sabbath of the Jews.[2]

We now approach an interesting part of our subject, the religious culture of the old Turanians, and, in this connection, we must constantly bear in mind the conclusions reached in a former chapter. Perhaps nothing will give us a truer idea of their real state of culture than a knowledge of their religious development. We have pointed out, perhaps with tiresome emphasis, that savages and but partially developed people are of the opinion that the surrounding world is swarming with spirits,[3] and that this belief leads to several collateral beliefs. It is not singular to learn that the Accadians believed in the surrounding spirit world also. According to their philosophy, spirits were at the bottom of everything. "They caused evil and good, guided the movements of the celestial bodies, brought back the seasons in their order, made the winds to blow and the rains to fall and produced by their influence atmospheric phenomena, both beneficial and destructive. . . There were spirits everywhere. In the starry heavens, in the earth and in the intermediate regions of the atmosphere: each element was full of them, earth, air, fire and water; and nothing could exist without them."[4]

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1 Compare with Vol. I., p. 731-2.

2 Sayce "Assyria," London, 1885. p. 74. "Records of the Past," Vol. VII., p. 157, et seq.

3 This Vol. p. 307.

4 Lenormant "Chaldean Magic," p. 144. See also Sayce in "Records of the Past," Vol. I., p. 131. Sayce "Babylonian Life and Hist." p. 131. Sayce Assyria," p. 55. "The Accadians believed that every object and phenomena of nature had its *zi.* or spirit."

We may look, then, for the usual accompaniments of such belief, and we find a splendid exhibition of barbaric and savage philosophy. As might be expected, all kinds of sickness were thought to be the results of evil spirits that had taken up their residence in the body. We can see, then, that the theory of medicine in Chaldea was very simple. Care must be taken to guard against evil spirits, or, if they had fairly taken posession of a body, to drive them hence. To drive away the evil spirit, prayers were made to good spirits or their services were commanded by means of charms and incantations. The following prayer was made over a sick man. "May the goddess wife of the god.....turn his face in another direction, that the evil spirit may come out of him and be thrust aside, and that good spirits and good powers may dwell in his body."[1]

Sometimes the images of gods were brought into the chamber, for the belief was very firm that these fetiches could expel the evil spirits. In one place we read the following direction; "Place the guardian statues of Hea and Marduk at the door, on the right hand and on the left." In addition to this, holy texts, were to be employed. The people were commanded to place to the right and left of the threshold "holy texts and sentences, and to place pieces of parchment or papyrus inscribed with holy texts on the statues." The following very definite directions are recorded: "In the night time bind around the sick man's head a sentence taken from a good book." In still more serious cases, recourse was had to a mysterious substance called the *namit*, but we are ignorant of its nature. It was to be used as follows; "Take a white cloth. In it place the *namit*, in tbe sick man's right hand, and take a

[1] Fox Talbot in "Records of the Past," Vol. III., p. 139.

black cloth, wrap it round his left hand. Then all the evil spirits, and the sins which he has committed, shall quit their hold of him and shall never return."[1]

Now without extending this part of our subject, it is sufficient to remark that the belief in magic and sorcery was, as we would expect, fully developed. We have seen that this state of culture necessarily arises, when once the idea of innumerable spirits, swarming everywhere, has been formed Here is an incantation against a magician. "He who forges images, he who bewitches, the malevolent aspect, the evil eye, the malevolent mouth, the malevolent tongue, the malevolent lip, the finest sorcery; ... Spirit of the heavens conjure it! Spirit of the earth conjure it!"[2] In this matter, the ancient Chaldeans were in much the same state of culture as African tribes of to-day. The fear of their life was the magician. In their opinion; "There was no evil which the sorcerer could not work. He ordered at will the fascination of the evil eye or of unlucky words; his rites and formulas for enchantment subjected the demons to his orders; he let them loose upon the person he wished to injure, and made them torment him in every way." He could destroy life itself by means of waxen figures,[3] and, by magical imprecations, he could compel to his services both demons and gods.[4]

We must hurry on. Let us see what further progress had been made in religious belief. Have we any trace of Ancestor worship. This belief, as we have seen, necessarily accompanies the foregoing philosophy. On this point, we have but very little light indeed. Yet we feel sure that

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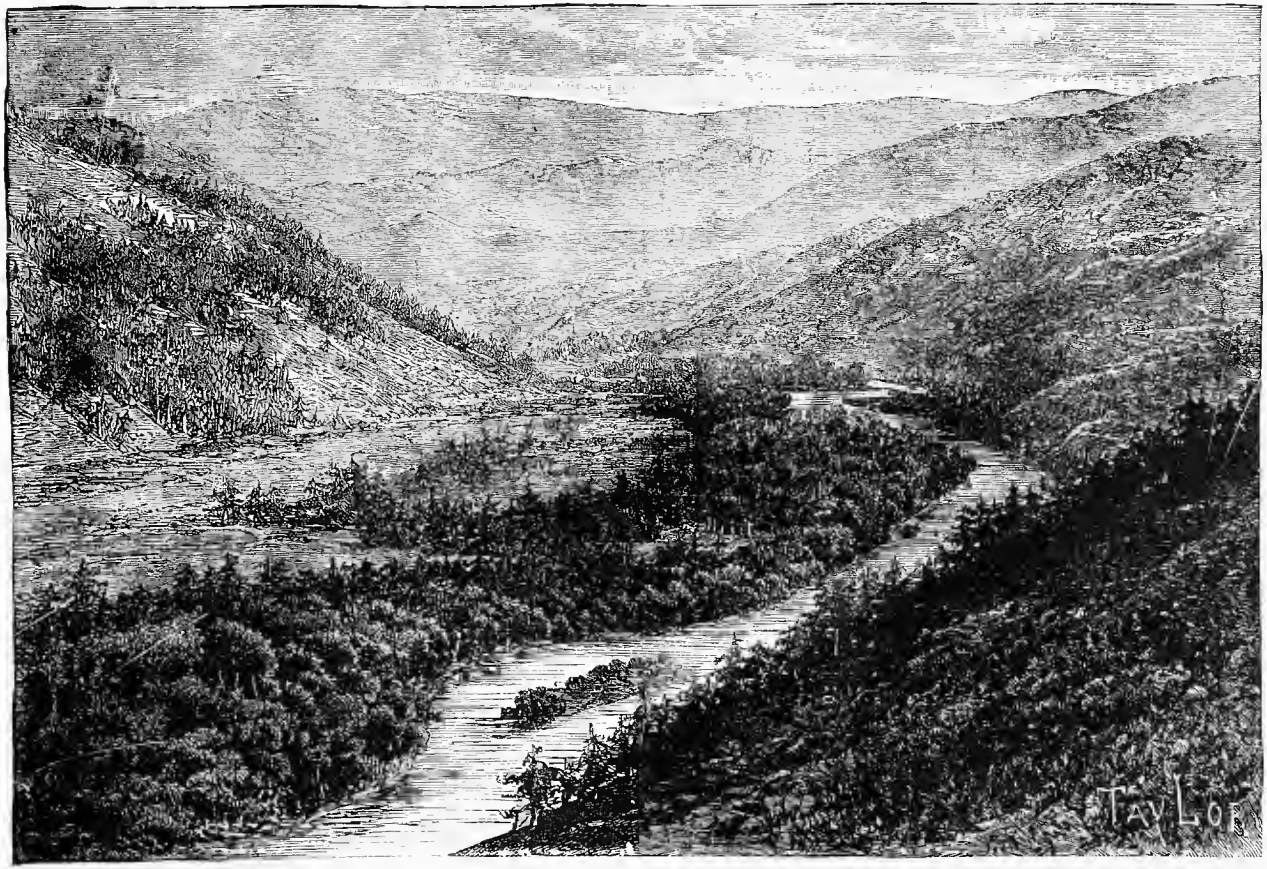
1 Ibid. 2 Lenormant Op. cit., p. 5. Compare the "forging of images" what is said in this volume, p. 317.

3 Compare with p. 323.

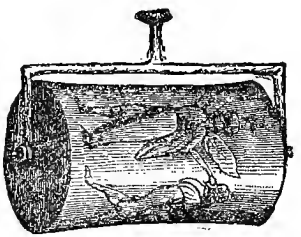
4 Our authority for these statements is Lenormant's oft quoted work.




HOME LAND YELLOW RACES.

this was a part of their religious belief. In the first place, this is a fundamental part of Turanian belief at the present day.[1] We know this much that they believed the soul of each individual (there were indeed two souls, a male and a female) was a god, corresponding exactly to the Persian *Fravishis*, and we have seen that they were worshiped after death.[2] We are of the opinion that when further light shall have been shed on this obscure subject it will be found that ancestral spirits played a most important part.

We are on firmer ground when we talk about Fetichism. There is no doubt that they were firm believers in the power of fetiches. The fetiches of the Accadians were called talismans, and were of very different make. Some of them consisted of bands of cloth covered with written formulae and were fastened to the furniture or the garments. Amulets of various kinds were worn around the neck as safeguards against diseases, demons and misfortunes. These amulets were frequently of hard stone engraved with figures, and contained sentences of some magical formula. They knew also how to make fetich images, which, placed underneath the threshold of a house, would protect it from all harm. Such images have been dug up under the pavements of palaces.[3]



Cylinder.

It is also thought that many of the sculptures that are found on the walls of old palaces are really talismanic. That is they were fetiches placed there to guard the

[1] This Volume, p. 297. [2] Page 299.

[3] Lenormant "Chaldean Magic," p. 50.

palaces. Thus the winged bulls placed in the gateways were guardian fetiches.[1] But the Accadians had evidently passed the first stage of Fetichism and had entered on Polytheism. An effort had been made to reduce the innumerable spirits of the first stage to some orderly arrangement. Seven general classes seem to have been formed, and each was further regarded as divided into groups of seven[2] We know but very little about the ranks of these various gods. Though some were good and some were bad, yet no question of morality was raised. Indeed, inscriptions exist, showing that some spirits belonging to the evil class are sometimes considered good. Thus, *Utuq* is the name of a class of evil spirits; but favorable Utuq are frequently opposed to evil Utuq.[3] It seems that each class of evil demons had power over a certain part of the human body; one upon the forehead, one upon the chest, etc.[4]

Winged Bull.

It is interesting to trace the development of the great fetich gods, which afterwards became the greater gods of their polytheistic pantheon. We are not surprised to learn that the fetich-sky was their chief god. The sky,

[1] Ragozin "Story of Chaldea," p. 164.

[2] Seven, it will be noticed, was a sacred number. The seven classes consisted of two good classes, *Mas* and *Lamma*, and five evil classes, viz: *Utuq*, *Alal*, *Gigim*, *Telal* and *Maskim*.

[3] Lenormant, p. 148. [4] Ibid 36.

according to their notion, was a solid substance separating the celestial waters, which at times descend as rain from the waters beneath, that is the all-surrounding ocean, on which the hollow earth floated. The sky was *Ana*, or as a fetich was spoken of as *Zi-ana*, literally, *spirit-heaven*. In this form he is always addressed in the inscriptions that have come down to us. "Spirit of the heavens conjure it" is always the acclaim. At a later date, Ana re-appears as a chief god.[1]

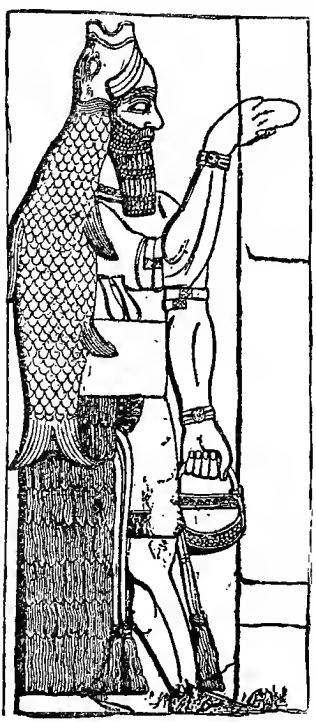
We saw, further, that rude tribes make a great fetich-god of the earth. This is often considered the beneficent mother of all and takes high rank as a fetich. It was just so among the Accadians. The inhabitable surface of the earth was *ki*, under the form of *kia*, it meant both land and water. The incantation against the magician, given some pages back, ends with the phrase "Spirit of the earth conjure it." Here the original is *Zi-ki-a*, "spirit of earth and water." But this fetich-god early became separated from its material object, and so received a separate name. In this case the name was derived from one of the titles of this god. He was called first *In-ki-a-gi*, meaning "Lord of the earth's surface;" then, in course of time, it was gradually shortened, first to In-ki-a, then to I-a, which is usually written Ea or Hea. This god Hea or Ea is spoken of as the god of the waters or the deep.[2]

It is interesting to note the great importance of this god derived from the fetich-earth, the mother of all. As

[1] Now, that a number of scholars have pointed out the connection between Chaldean culture and that of the early Chinese, it is safe to point a resemblence between the name of "*Tien*" or "*Thian*" the chief god of the Chinese, and *Zi-ana*. Thus *Thi-ana* and *Zi-ana*.

[2] See Sayce "Assyria," p. 56. Also "Babylonia," p. 128, or "Ancient Empires of the East," p. 146. We follow Hommel. Op. cit., p. 254. Ragozin, "Chaldea," p. 154, says that Hea was the great spirit of earth and water which is exactly the conception.

all was derived from him, he was the god of wisdom. He especially cared for his children, men. His care preserved them from sickness and charms. Even when under the influence of the most powerful sorcery, *Hea* could release them, for he knew all things. He was invoked when other gods failed. He was god of both earth and water, and in Chaldea water was a most precious element. So the ocean was regarded as his especial home. Hence we understand how they came to represent him as part fish and part man, and we understand the old legendary story that Berosus had to relate of the early Babylonians; how a monster, part fish and part human, came up out of the Persian Gulf and instructed them in all things pertaining to Civilization.



Fish God.

It is, perhaps, not necessary to say more of the Chaldean gods. We can understand how the sun, moon, fire and the planets would all give rise to greater polytheistic gods. Let us now see what was their ideas as to the future world. There is the usual confusion which we notice in the beliefs of rude tribes generally. That the first stage of belief was that the spirits of the departed continued to reside in the near neighborhood, seems indicated by several considerations. One is that the various classes of evil spirits are supposed to reside, some in near deserts, some on the neighboring heights and some in the

towns.[1] At a later stage they believed in an especial place of abode for the dead. This was the hollow interior of the earth. Here the great majority of disembodied spirits went to reside. The entrance to it was across the waters, by the mountains of the west, where the sun set.

This abyss or *ge* was ruled by a god and goddess *Mul-ge* and *Nin-ge*. Their conception of the life led here was certainly of a most gloomy kind. Here was "the home which one may enter but never leave, towards the road from which there is no return." This was the home of all. The same fate awaited all "whatever may have been their conduct during life." It was only at a later stage, under the influence (we think) of Semitic culture that the idea began to prevail of a happy home for those deserving it. Then did the righteous man, who had been constant in the duties enjoined by the gods, comfort himself in his last sickness by the thought that the god Marduk and the goddess Ishtar would approach his chamber, that he should hear the voice of Hea, and that like a bird his soul would fly to a lofty place, to the holy hands of its god.[2]

Let us now sum up some conclusions on the ancient Accadians. They played their part in the great drama of the world's history and disappeared from the stage of action a number of thousand years before the Christian era. Yet we feel confident that they wandered forth from the great home land of the Yellow Races, the vicinity of the Altai mountain range in Asia. They were doubtless far in advance of the majority of the world's inhabitants at that far away time, but their culture was indeed crude, judging from their religious conceptions. Further, just as Mr.

[1] Lenormant, p. 49.

[2] Talbot "Records of the Past," Vol. III., p. 34, 135 and 141.

Pinches has shown, that, even at the earliest stage in which we can detect them, their language shows all signs of being a decrepid worn-out language, so we conclude they had reached the limit of development for the Yellow Races. Just as these tribes lost their purity of blood and disappeared in an ethnic sense and became merged in the ranks of the advancing White Races, so did their culture become merged in the culture of the new comers. The tendency has been, we think, to give too high a value to the influence of their culture on that of the ancient world. They formed but one element of the culture of ancient Chaldea, and that not the most important one.[1]

The Accadian tribes, however, formed but a small part of the Turanian tribes migrating to the west, and Chaldea was but a small part of the territory they settled. To the east of Chaldea, was Elam, and further north, Media. We are certain that the original inhabitants in these countries were Turanian tribes.[2] It was among these tribes, that the Aryan Persians made their appearance about the middle of the ninth century B. C.[3] But these Aryans only constituted the ruling tribes. One striking point, showing their superior energy, is the fact that they succeeded, in time, in Aryanizing all these tribes. Their language and culture supplanted the language and culture of the Turanians. We have no good account of the culture of the latter, having the most complete details in respect to their religion. This was, as we would expect, thoroughly Shamanistic. The worship of fetiches, especially the fire, was very pronounced; and, of course, they believed in

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1 Lenormant, Op. cit., p. 377.

2 See Lenormant who states that the labors of Westergard, De Sauley, Norris, Oppert and Mordtmann establish this opinion.

3 Rawlinson "Seven Great Monarchies," Vol. II., p. 430.

magic and spiritism. The power of their magicians, Shamans or priests was very great. They were called magi. It is sometimes stated that they formed a distinct tribe by themselves. This is so improbable a statement that we have no hestitation in rejecting it. Each and every tribe had its own priests, and they doubtless took care that the youths admitted to their ranks should be the ones most fitted for the duties. And in this respect, mental fitness was regarded.[1] This was exactly the state of affairs among our Indian tribes and is to-day true of the Shamans of the Siberian tribes. Of course, as Civilization advanced, and the tribes became more closely connected, they would tend to form a class or caste by themselves; and, finally, when, as in the case of the various Armenian tribes, their very existence was threatened by the conquering Persians, they would present a united front and so might be spoken of as a tribe, but they could never have formed a tribe in the proper sense of the word. In Chaldea, the Turanian inhabitants exercised a great influence on their conquerors by means of their religious views; so in Armenia, the magi succeeded in greatly influencing the Persian religion.[2]

From what we have now seen to be the distribution of Turanian tribes just before the dawn of history, we would naturally expect to hear of their further extension in Asia Minor. We think the probabilities are that all Southwestern Asia was inhabited by them. But the Semitic tribes had dispossessed them of large parts of this area long before the dawn of authentic history. However, we have within the last few years, within a decade in fact, become

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[1] See page. 326.

[2] See This Series, Vol. III., Chapter II. For a general view of Magian religion. See Rawlinson work cited, p. 60 and 62. Herodotus mentions the magi as a tribe. Also Lenormant "Chaldean Magic," Chap. XV.

aware of a warlike branch of this people who, under the name of the *Hittites*, held a controlling influence ni Asia Minor and Palestine. This is one of the most unexpected results of modern research. The Hittites were, probably, the chief among a great many allied tribes; or, perhaps,

Hittite Confederacy.

it was but a general name for all the tribes. According to our view, they were all Cushite tribes. The Assyrian monuments speak of them as the *Khattai*, the Egyptian as *Kheta*, the Bible as *Hittites*.

Classical history knew nothing about these people

and never mentions them; Homer speaks of them once as *Khateioi*;[1] and yet, thanks to the efforts of recent scholars, we now know of the existence in the territory pointed out, of this powerful tribe or confederacy, which, for some thousands of years previous to its final overthrow at the hands of the Assyrian Sargon in 717 B. C., held the balance of power. They were strong enough to cope with Egypt on equal terms and compel a commercial and social alliance. Egypt, in her most palmy days, could not wholly reduce them, and Assyria only accomplished it after some centuries of warfare. In their culture, they greatly influenced the culture of the Aryan tribes on the western shores of Asia Minor and through them the Greeks of classical times. It is a striking commentary on the transitory nature of human fame, that this erstwhile mighty people had so completely disappeared from the pages of history that all knowledge of them was lost.

Probably the oldest account referring to the Hittites is from Chaldean sources. At the time of Sargon I of Agade (or Agane) whose reign, as we have seen, probably goes back to 3800 B. C., the Hittites are mentioned as being a great power in the land,[2] in an astronomical tablet of this king we read; "The king of the Hittites plunders and on the throne seizes;"[3] and, on another tablet, we are told of a strong enemy spoiling the country and placing the Accadians under tribute.[4] The enemy is said to "tyrannically march through the land," and we are told that this subjection lasted thirty years. The suggestion is made that these references are to the Hittites.[5]

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[1] Gladstone "Homeric Synchronisms," p. 174.

[2] Wright, quoting Sayce in "Empire of the Hittites," London, 1884, p. 37. [3] Sayce in "Records of the Past," Vol. I., p. 160

[4] Ibid. 161. [5] Wright "Empire of the Hittites," p. 36. It should be added that there are serious doubts whether these references are really

The writer of Genesis represents the land of Canaan as in the possession of the Hittites at the time of Abraham[1] and represents the latter as moving among these more settled tribes. In Egyptian history, the Hittites first come before us in the records of twelfth dynasty; when we have a record of towns and palaces of the Hittites destroyed on the very borders of Egypt. This shows that they were, at that time, the ruling people in Southwestern Asia; there is some authority for concluding that the Hittites were the mysterious Shepherd kings of Egypt.[2] Passing this point by for the present, it suffices to point out that the Hittites were, at that early time, a great people.

It is interesting to show references to the Hittites in the pages of the Bible, as this is the only source of reference to them except from Egyptian and Assyrian monuments. We have already pointed out a few references above. Hebron was, in fact, a Hittite city. The Canaanite who had betrayed his fellow citizens at Bethel to the Israelites, dared not entrust himself to his countrymen, but went away "into the land of the Hittites."[3] We read also of wars between David and the Hittites,[4] but the relations between the Jews and the Hittites were often pleasant. They intermarried, even the mother of Solomon is said to have been the wife of a Hittite.[5] Commercial dealings were common. Solomon imports horses from Egypt which he sold to the Hittites.[6] In later years, the Syrians fled panic stricken from the siege of Samaria, for they fancied they heard the Hittite army coming to the assistance of the Israelites.[7] These Bible references are at a late date in the

of the same age as Sargon, Hommel "Babylonien und Asyrien," p. 304-8.

[1] Gen., X. 15.

[2] See Wright "Empire of the Hittites," quoting Mariette, p. 14.

[3] Judges, I. 23 [4] 1 Sam., VIII. 9-14. [5] 2 Sam., XVII. 24.

[6] 1 Kings, X. 28-29. [7] 2 Kings, VII. 6.

history of the Hittites. Before the migrating Hebrews entered Canaan, it was largely in possession of the Hittites. They were the leaders in the coalition of tribes that met to oppose the invading Semites.[1] Jerusalem itself was, probably, an ancient stronghold of this people.[2] We have referred to the statement that, probably, the Hittites were represented among the dynasties of the Shepherd kings. At any rate, when Egypt succeeded in freeing their land from these hated foreigners and became an invading and conquering people themselves, the people against whom they directed their vengeance was principally the Hittites. The eighteenth dynasty, which finally drove out the Shepherd kings, was a warlike family. Thothmes I., about the middle of the seventeenth century, after consolidating his power in the southern part of Egypt, resolved to "wash his heart," that is to revenge the insults offered to Egypt by invading people from Asia Minor. Now commenced a war between Egypt and the Hittites, which, with varying fortune, lasted for nearly five centuries.

Thothmes III. was especially active in this matter, and from the twenty-third to the fortieth year of his reign, he made some fourteen expeditions against Western Asia.[3] He was very successful in reducing the scattered tribes to tribute. Most interesting records of the wars of this king have come down to us. They show us that, at this early time, the Hittites were the leaders in the great confederacy formed to oppose the Egyptians. The opposing forces met in a great battle before the town of Megiddo. We have the details given of a council of war held by the Egyptian king at Ihem. The king informed his generals that the king of Kadesh (Hittite capital) had arrived at Megiddo, that he

1 Josh., IX. 1., XI. 3., XXIV. 11. 2 Ezek., XV. 13.
3 Brugsch "Egypt under the Pharoahs," Vol. I., p. 363.

had assembled the kings of all the people who dwell from near the waters of Egypt as far as the land af Naharain (Mesopotamia.) The best road to Megiddo was then discussed, and then follows the accounts of the battle in which the Egyptians were successful, and tribute was imposed upon the allies.[1]

A list is given of one hundred and nineteen towns and nations represented by the confederates. Here we must make allowance for Oriental exaggeration. Though campaign follows campaign, and the "vile Kush," that is the Hittites, are represented as crushed, yet it was only along the borders of the Hittite country generally, that the war raged. About two hundred years past by of comparative quiet between the Egyptians and the Hittites. Finally, about the middle of the fourteenth century B. C., a warlike king, Seti I., reigned in Egypt. With him, commences another series of campaigns aginst the Hittites and their allies, and the advantage seems to have remained with Egypt. Seti was succeeded by his son Rameses II. We judge that the Hittites had quietly gathered their forces to test the question of strength. In the fifth year of Rameses II., we find him with his forces before Kadesh on the Orontes; where were gathered the forces of the Hittites and, among these confederates, there are some that possess for us the liveliest interest. These are the confederate forces from Western Asia Minor. The Dardani and the people of Ilion, together with the Lycians, Myscians, Carians and others are mentioned.[2]

The great battle of Kadesh follows, where the forces of Asia and Africa contend for the supremacy. As we are

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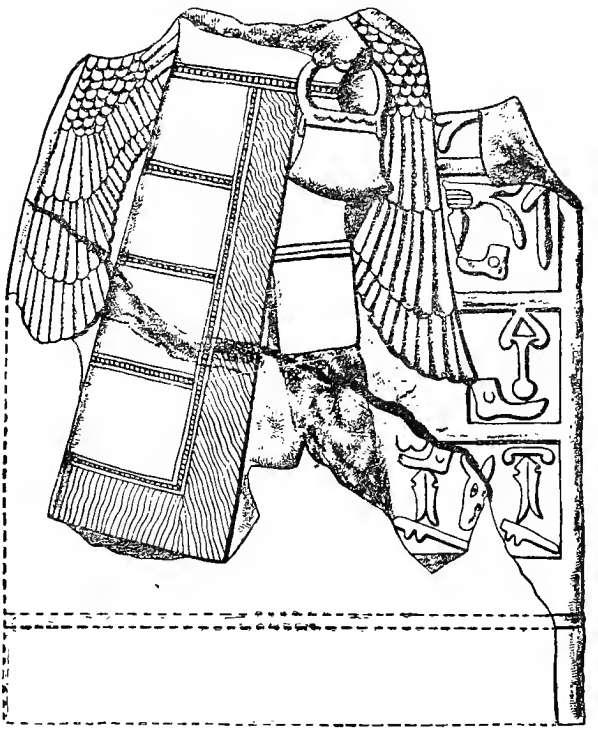
[1] Brugsch "Egypt," Vol. I., p. 320.

[2] Schliemann "Troja," New York, 1884, p. 3.

following an Egyptian account, it is not strange that they should represent the Egyptians as the successful ones, but, in point of fact, it was a drawn battle. Only with the utmost difficulty, Rameses himself escaped with his life. After the battle, the Egyptians immediately return to Egypt. There is no list of plunder borne home by them, and the best proof is that a treaty is entered into between



Hittite Art Inscribed Stone.

the Hittites and their allies on the one side, and Egypt on the other, by which both sides agreed to respect the other's territory. As is so often the case in ancient history, a dynastic alliance followed the diplomatic one. Rameses married a daughter of the king of the Hittites, and thus the two greatest nations of the time became friends to each

other, in the Egyptian temple of Abu Simbel, is a sculptured representation of this great battle. We will only notice one point in this scene—that is the representation of races. "In this picture the Hittites and their allies are represented as distinct races with different weapons. The one race (the allies) are bearded, the other, beardless and... the Chinese-like appearance of the Hittities who have long pigtails (!) is very remarkable. They are of a light red color with high caps."[1] We will have occasion to refer to this great battle scene again.

This treaty between the Hittites and the Egyptians was long respected. About a hundred years later, we find "a great confederacy assailing Egypt by land and sea. Rameses[2] defeated the invaders in a great naval engagement near Migdol, at the Pelusiac mouth of the Nile. He then proceeded to wage a campaign of vengeance in the home land of the invaders. He was victorious, and among the names of the conquered on the temple of Medinet Abou is that of the miserable king of the Hittites as a living prisoner."[3]

Here they disappear from Egyptian history. These scattered notices show us that, for more than a thousand years, the Egyptians and the Hittites stood facing each other. The shock of invasion from Egypt appears to have exhausted itself along the frontier, leaving the greater part of the Hittite territory untouched. From this time on, we follow their history by means of Assyrian inscriptions.

We have already pointed out that at the time of Sargon I. the Hittites are mentioned with great respect as a mighty people. Many centuries later, under the reign of Tiglath-Pileser I., we again meet with the Hittites as a

1 Conder "Heth and Moab," London, 1885, p. 24.
2 Rameses, III. 3 Wright "Empire of the Hittites," p. 35.

most formidable power beyond the Euphrates. This king's entire reign was little else than a series of campaigns against the Hittites.[1] In one inscription, he says; "There fell into my hand altogether, between the commencement of my reign and my fifth year, forty two countries with their kings, from beyond the river Zab to beyond the river Euphrates, the country of the Hittites." For about four hundred years, the inscriptions show the Assyrians in continual conflict with the Hittites. Two points are to be noticed.

Semitic culture and influence from the very earliest times had been on the increase in South-western Asia, and the time was drawing near when it was to sweep every thing before it. The Hebrews, Syrians and Assyrians now confronted the Hittites all along their border. While the Semites, and especially the Assyrians, were gathering strength to crush everything before them, the Turanian Hittites were loosing ground. No powerful confederacy appears to unite the scattered tribes under one powerful leader. Turanian rule in Western Asia was doomed to defeat before the growing power of the Semites.

In the second case, we must notice the extravagant statements of old annals. Year after year, the same people and cities are represented as being totally destoyed. We must constantly bear in mind the nature of an Oriental conquest. A marauding expedition starts out, the cities along its march are confronted with a demand for tribute. If they yield, well and good. Their name is enrolled among the conquered ones and on the force marches. The danger past, the people throw off the yoke and are ready to be conquered anew the next year. Thus, scattered through-

1 Here the word *Hittite* is used in a wide sense, meaning the people of Western Asia.

out the Assyrian records for about four centuries, are continual references to Hittite cities destroyed or laid under tribute. At length, we come to the time of Sargon who completely broke the Hittite power and carried away the principal tribe as captives. From this date, 717 B. C., the Hittites disappear from history.

We have been thus somewhat full in sketching the historical outline, because it is such a new field. Slight as is the foundation thus laid for a history of the Hittites, it is all that we now possess, and this has become known only within the last few years. From it we dimly perceive the presence in South-western Asia of a great confederacy of Turanian tribes. This confederacy appears at its greatest strength just as history dawns. We gather, further-more, that the territory was occupied by a vast number of mutually independent tribes, so typical of ancient society in general, that it was only now and then that great and powerful confederacies were formed, such as confronted the Egyptians. From the very earliest times, we detect these tribes gradually being forced back before the advancing Semitic and Aryan tribes.

We have spoken of these tribes as Turanians. Probably this conlusion will be strengthened as time passes on, and more records inscribed on ancient monuments are read by our scholars. We may, however, have to revise this conclusion. We have seen the presence in their name of that phonetic element represented by K. They are the "Hittites of the Old Testament, the *Kheta* of the Egyptian monuments, the *Khattai* of the Assyrian records and the *Khateioi* of Homer."[1] We have seen how the Turanian tribes of Chaldea (Khaldea) are intimately connected with these same tribes. We shall show a few pages further,

1 Taylor "The Alphabet," Vol. II., p. 120.

that the archaic reading of the name of the first Turanian dynasty in China is *Kutti* or *Kutta*. In our opinion, these tribes with this phonetic element in their name are Turanians; and they are, in fact, the Cushite tribes of the Old Testament.

We have already referred to an interesting observation by Captain Conder on the physical appearance of the Hittites depicted on the Egyptian monuments. Others have noticed the same peculiarities. Says Prof. Sayce; "They were thick-set and somewhat short of limb, and the Egyptian artists painted them without beards, of yellowish white color, with dark black hair.[1] And Sir Charles Wilson; "The sculptures show that the Hittites did not belong to a Semitic race. The features are rather those of a northern people; and, on the temple of Ibsamboul, the Hittites have a very Scythic character, with shaven head and a single lock from the crown."[2] Captain Conder further remarks, on this point; "It will, in the end, probably be found that the Hittite and the Accadian come of one stock; akin to the old, dark Turanian race, which the Semitic Assyrian subjugated in Chaldea; and the pig-tails of the Hittites seem to point to their kinship with the Mongols and Tartars—the oldest, perhaps, of existing Asiatic races.[3]

One feature about these Turanian tribes in Southwestern Asia must now be pointed out. That is their susceptibility in absorbing the culture of more highly organized races. We have already pointed out how the Turanian tribes in Chaldea became, in course of time, Semitized. This points to an extensive intermixture of

1 "Fresh Light from Ancient Monuments," London, 1884, p. 97.

2 Wright "Empire of the Hittites," p. 85. The word Scythic above means about the same as Turanian. 3 "Heth and Moab," p 27.

these two people. But, when two people thus coalesce, the fundamental elements of their culture unite in various degrees. In the case before us, the language became Semitized. The superior energy of the Semites carried forward the culture of the Turanians, which had probably reached its highest point, to a much greater length; and we have already referred to the influence of the Turanian in the field of religion. In Media, the Turanian tribes became Aryanized, but they were able to exercise a great influence on the Aryan religion. So in India, the culture of the Hindoos spread far among the aboriginal Dravidians, and they became extensively Aryanized, but here also the influence of their religious beliefs greatly affected the old Aryan beliefs.

The bearing of the forgoing becomes apparent when we reflect on the uncertain light afforded us on the vast number of Turanian tribes, of which the Hittites appear as the representative. All along their border, and especially in the land of Canaan, they were subject to Semitic influences. Everyone knows there was a great intermixing of ethnic elements in that section. We suggest that the aboriginal Canaanite tribes represent more or less completely Semitized Turanian tribes. In the meanwhile, from another source, pressure from higher organized races began to be felt. This was from the Caucasian region. Here, is the present home of a large number of tribes of considerable interest to the ethnologist. They are a branch of the White Races, but they are neither Aryan nor Semitic. They constitute what are known as the Alarodian speaking tribes of Caucasia; and, among these, the Georgians are typical.[1]

[1] It is difficult to obtain information on the so-called Alarodian

It is considered that the mountainous region of Caucasia may well have been the place where these Alarodian tribes first originated. At any rate, we cannot trace them to another section. They speak inflected languages, though inflected in a way that is neither Aryan nor Semitic.[1] Physically, they are among the very finest representatives of the White Races. It is possible that the white elements might have entered Caucasia from the north ; that is, from South-eastern Europe, which we know at an extremely early date was in the possession of Aryans.[2] Here, they may have coalesced with tribes already occupying the land, and from this cause, aided by the peculiar condition of their surroundings, the Georgian type may have been evolved. But, of course, this is mere theory.[3]

Be that as it may, there seems to have been a considerable extension of Georgian influence, in prehistoric times, among the Turanian tribes to the south and west of them. In the neighborhood of Lake Van, there arose finally an empire, or powerful confederacy of tribes, which betrays a singular admixture of people and culture. "The sculptures represent the people of Van wearing the same tunics and boots with pointed ends as the Hittites;"[4] This, we might remark, is the same peculiarity that struck the Egyptian artists.[5] The language they speak is, how-

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family. According to Prof. Hommel's theory, they were once of very great extension, covering large parts of Southern Europe. The Basques on the west he regards as belonging to this family. They further, according to his theory, include the Hittites and all Turanian people to the north and east of Chaldea, such as the Elamites, Cosseans, etc "Archiv für Anthropologie," 1885, Supplement, p. 165.

[1] Sayce "The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Van" in J. R. A. S., 1882, p 410.

[2] See This Series, Vol. III., Chapter I.

[3] See Keane in Stanford's "Asia," p. 710.

[4] Sayce's Article already referred to in J. R. A. S., 1882, p. 410.

[5] Wright "Empire of the Hittites," p. xii. and 84-85.

ever, closely akin to the Alarodian, and, finally, to express that language, they borrowed the Assyrian cuneiform characters.[1] These Vannic remains, which are found over quite an extent of country, are found bearing as late a date as 640 B. C.; and so here we are, face to face, with quite a powerful people of whom history is absolutely silent, and yet, for some centuries, they confronted the growing Assyrian power on the south.

How extensive this influence may have been is, perhaps, uncertain. Down to the last, the Assyrians recognized a difference between the *Urardhians*, as they called the people or tribes composing the Vannic confederacy, and the Hittites. It may be that the ancient language of the Hittites belonged also to the Alarodian family. Prof Sayce, in one place, has expressed himself in favor of that view.[2] As to this, we have to observe that the Georgians, who are the modern representatives of tribes using this language, are doubtlessly considerably different, ethnically speaking, from their ancient representatives. On this point, scholars are generally waiting for further light.[3] We are at present inclined to believe that the Alarodian is distinct from the Hittite language. Should it finally be shown to be the same, however, it will not show that the Hittites, like the Georgians, belonged to the white stock. Similarity of language simply shows a social contact.

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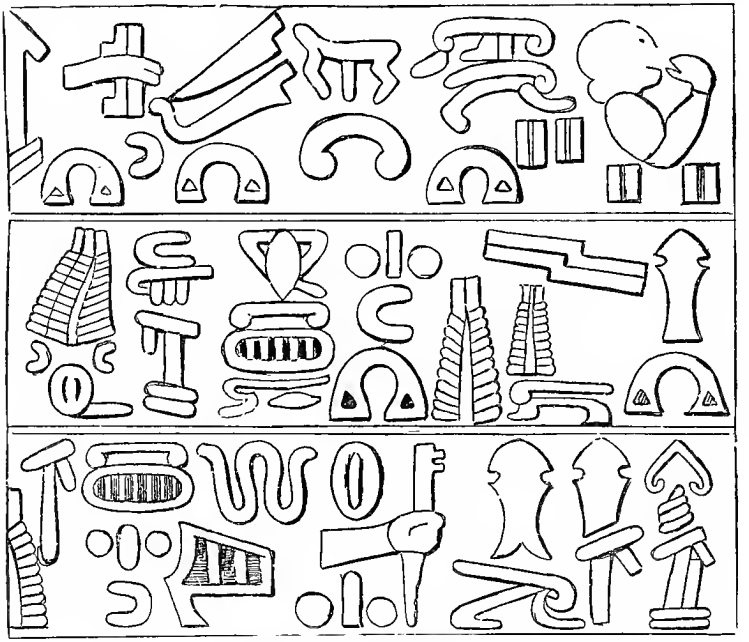
[1] Sayce J. R. A. S., 1882.

[2] "So far as it is possible to infer from proper names, the language of the Hittites belonged to the same family of speech as the language spoken by tribes who occupied the country between the Caspian and the Halys on the one side, and Mesopotamia on the other. This family of speech has been conveniently termed the Alarodian." "Transactions of Society of Biblical Archaeology," Vol. VII., p. 235. Quoted from Wright "Empire of the Hittites," p. 83.

[3] Conder "Heth and Moab," p. 27. Sayce "Fresh Light from Ancient Monuments," p. 97. Wright "Empire of the Hittites," p. 83.

It now only remains to point out the influence of Hittite culture upon Civilization in general. Here, as elsewhere, the Yellow Races appear as the ones who laid the foundation upon which the White Races painfully reared the superstructure of ancient Civilization. Like other branches of the Yellow Races, their priests had originated a system of symbolical picture writing, which had finally entered upon a phonetic, syllabic stage. Among the Hittites, however, this writing remained a mixed system,



Hittite Inscriptions.

partly ideographic and partly phonetic. This picture writing was the source of an ancient syllabic mode of writing used throughout all of Asia Minor, and, from it, there was rapidly being evolved an alphabet. In the Island of Cyprus, there still remain traces of such a writing. The spread of the Semitic alphabet, derived from various sources, however, put an end to this alphabet.

Commerce, law and civil institutions had early made great advance among the Hittites. They used silver as the standard of value, balances for weighing it and a regular recognized form of sale and conveyance. And it has been pointed out that Hittite coins continued to be the standard weight throughout Asia Minor and among the Greeks, long after the break up of the Hittite power. Their standards have been found in ancient Troy. In matters of art, Hittite influence has been traced throughout Asia Minor and the islands of the Archipelago in cylinders, sculptures and seals, long supposed to be Phoenician, but which turn out to be after Hittite models.[1]

Hittite Terra Cotta Seal.

We have been able to obtain but brief and unsatisfactory accounts of the religious beliefs of the Hittites. We must remember that the Hittite inscriptions, of which we gave an example some pages back, are as yet almost unread, and, until they are deciphered, we are in great doubt as to names and ranks of their gods. They doubtless had the same superstitions that the Accadians did. They had their shamans and fetiches and were devout believers in witch craft and magic and worshiped, to a greater or less degree, the shades of the departed. But it is not safe for us to go farther. One observation only, we will make. The goddess Ishtar, god of war and of love among the Accadians, re-appears among the Hittites as Atargatis. Her worship was "carried by the Hittites to the western coasts of Asia Minor, and, from thence, made its way across the Aegaean sea to Greece. Even the Amazons of Greek my-

1 See Wright "Empire of the Hittites," p. 67-9.

thology were really nothing more than the priestesses of this Hittite divinity, who wore arms in honor of the goddess. The cities which according to the Greeks were founded by the Amazons were all of Hittite origin."[1]

What we have thus far had to say makes plain to us the presence in all the countries of South-western Asia of tribes belonging to the Yellow Races. Everywhere, they appear as laying the foundation of ancient Civilization; everywhere, they disappear before the advancing Whites. From the north-east, the Aryans; from the south-west, the Semities, and, from the north, the tribes from Caucasia crowd down into their area, impose upon them their language, unite with their culture and are influenced by their religious conceptions: out of that conflict, there emerges the greater nations of antiquity; the Semitic Babylonian, Assyrian and Hebrew on the one hand, and the Aryan Persian, on the other. These are the nations that, together with Egypt whose culture at the bottom is also, probably, Turanian, fill the pages of ancient history. We have tried to show how much they owe to the Turanians who preceded them. Let us now trace the Yellow Races in other regions of Europe and Asia.

We are not yet through with the migrations from the old home land of the Yellow Races. One of the discoveries of this century has been that the Finns of Northern Europe belong to this same Turanian race, and that their mythology, embodied in popular story and song, bears a considerable resemblance to the mythology and legends of old Chaldea. They have not always occupied their present

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1 Sayce "Fresh Light etc.," p. 97. See this same author's article in T.R A.S. for 1882, p. 412. et seq., for what is known of the Vannic religion. See Wright op. cit., page 73 et seq., for Hittite religion; but from both sources it will be seen that but little is known.

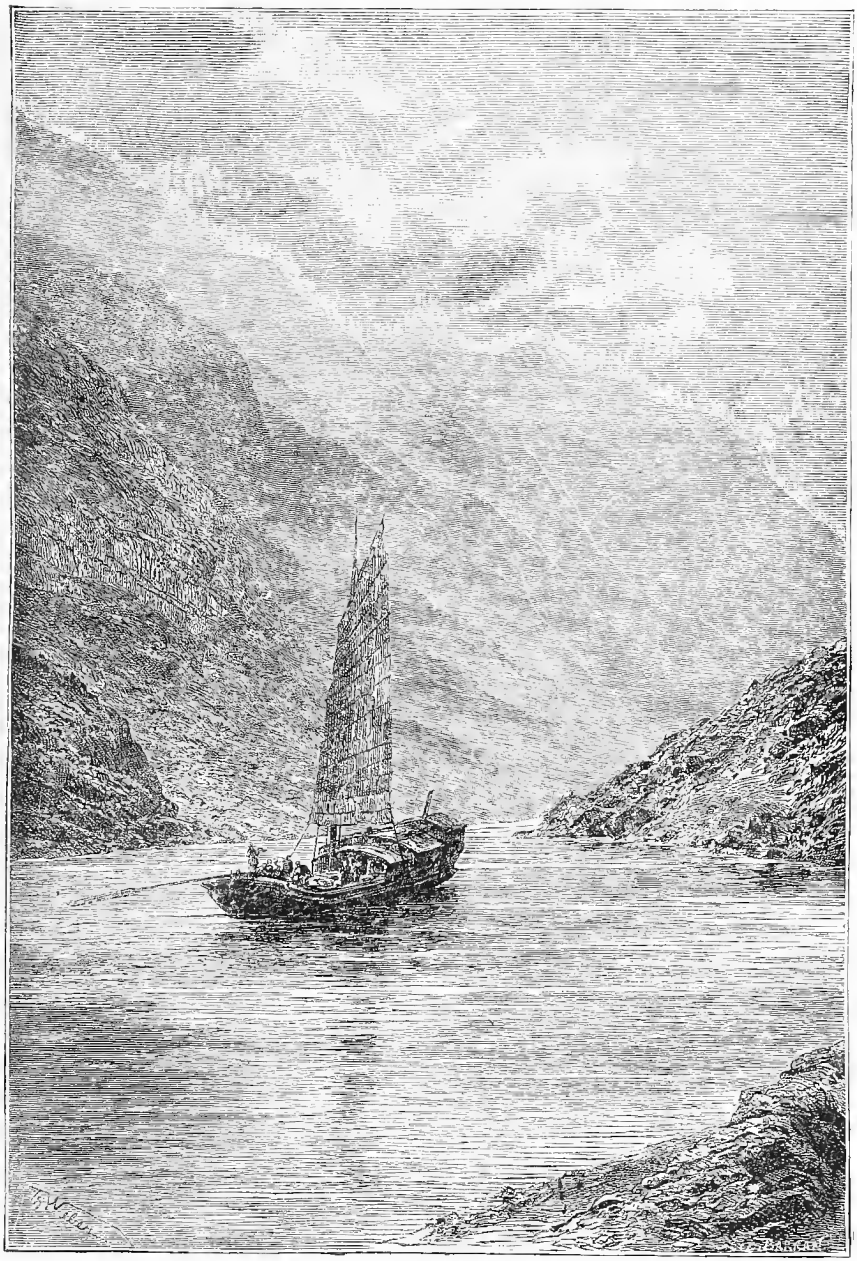
rather inhospitable country. Doubtless, in prehistoric times, they spread themselves over Eastern and Central Europe. They have been, however, gradually forced to the north, by the ever increasing pressure of Aryan tribes[1] leaving,

Lapps.

here and there, detached settlements in Eastern Europe.[2]

[1] Winchell, "Preadamites."

[2] See Keane in Appendix to "Europe," with Ethnological Map.



SCENE ON THE YANG-TSE-KIANG. 

At a far later day, related bands came from this same home land, and, amongst them, the tribes who afterwards became the Hungarians of history.[1] We have, however, no doubt that the Finns came from from the Altai district. They consisted of many diverse tribes, differing in time of migration and in culture. Doubtless, preceding the true Finns, were the Lapps. The Finns "may be followed along the Kama and Volga to the most advanced outports on the Baltic seaboard."[2] These more northern Turanian tribes were certainly not very far advanced in Civilization when they left the common home. They were in numerous small tribes, and we must notice that the chief or war leader was elected from time to time.[3]

Judging from the evidence of language, they derived considerable of their Civilization from the Aryan tribes. Thus, agriculture and cattle breeding were derived from the Teutons and the Slavs. Before that, they were turf-cutters rather than agriculturists. They must have made considerable advance in metallurgy. Copper was known from the very earliest times. Meteoric iron was also used for ornamental purposes, not until they reached the Baltic, had it become sufficiently common to be used in making axes. Though they had the reindeer, horses and cows, yet not until near the sea coast, did they acquire such animals as sheep, goats and pigs.[4]

When we compare the religious belief of the Finns with the Accadians, we come upon very strong points of resemblance indeed. They believed the universe to be filled with spirits.[5] Fetichism exists to this day among the

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1 Vambery "Story af Hungary," New York, 1886, p. 31.
2 Keane "Europe," p. 577.
3 Sayce "Science of Language," Vol. II., p. 195.
4 Ibid. 5 Rae "White Sea Peninsula," London, 1884, p. 270.

Lapps.[1] Small natural objects of wood or stone are supposed to represent the gods, or small figures of earth or snow will do.[2] The belief in magic is particularly strong An old writer tells that the Finns have many runic verses which are called charms and are supposed to contain healing powers. "With them, they heal bites of the serpent and cure sickness, scalds or burns."[3] Since his day, great collections of these songs have been made, and they are found to form a more or less continuous epic, which is very highly praised by our scholars. This collection is known as the *Kalevala*. From it we gather much of our knowledge of Finnish mythology.

"The Finns attributed to the incantation and magic rites, whether used for good or bad ends, an absolute power over the whole of nature and also the elements and spirits. The earth and the air, the visible and invisible regions, water and fire were subject to the power of spells; they brought the dead back to torment the living; they even acted upon the most powerful gods, neutralized their influence, or exerted a sort of restraint over them."[4]

The three higher gods of the Finns are analogues of the Accadian gods Zi-ana, Hea and Mul-ge. In the case of the Finns, the fetich-sky[5] had received another name. He was sometimes called "god-of-Heaven," "*Taivahan Jumala*; or called the "first god," *Yli Jumala*; or, simply, "the ancient," *Ukko*. The god corresponding to Hea, "the spirit of earth and water" appears as the "friend of the waves," *Waia moinen*. He resembles Hea very closely. He is the god of all science. He knew the words which gave life to every-

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1 Ibid. 13. 2 Ibid. 148.

3 Acerbi "Travels in Finland," London 1802. p. 521.

4 Lenormant "Chaldean Magic," p. 246.

5 Tai-Vahan, notice the resemblance to Zi-ana.

thing that existed and which had power to bind the gods as well as inferior beings. The god of the lower world was *Ilmarinen*, "the eternal forger."[1]

A Typical Member of the Yellow Races.

In treating of the Turanians of Chaldea, we said nothing about their legendary stories, because we intend treating of them in another chapter. Prof. Sayce shows that

[1] Ibid.

very similar legends, consisting of long poems on the creation, the deluge and the giants of the ancient world, are found not only among the Finns, but among the Esths, Lapps and half savage Voguls of the Urals.[1] Indeed, we are not sure but the Turanian Accads exerted their greatest influence on the Civilization of the world in this direction through the medium of the Semities.[2]

We thus see that we find a great resemblance between these two branches of the Yellow Races, though separated in time by several thousand years, as regards what we can gather of their belief. But of their culture in other respects, the Accadians must have made considerable advance before they arrived in Chaldea, or else we will have to more strongly insist that their culture, by itself uninfluenced by the Semites, has been over estimated. We think that, give them time enough, they would make considerable advance by themselves in fertile Chaldea, but we also think they made their rapid advance through Semitic influence. We question whether the cuneiform writing was not perfected by people of the White Race, for at Tello, where the earliest remains of Chaldean art have been recovered, where we see the hireoglyphics growing into the cuneiform writings, there, also, we are not without evidence that even then another race than the Turanian was present.[3] The pure Turanian races, as far as we know them, never ad-

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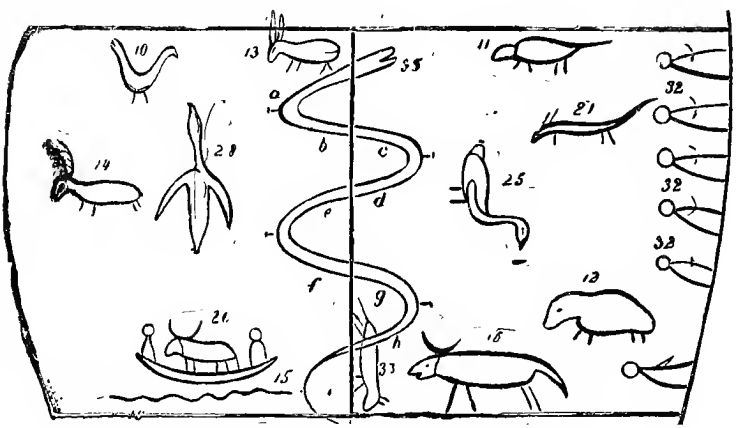
[1] Science of Language," Vol II., p. 198.

[2] It should be said that Prof. Tiele, in J. R. A. S. for 1879, protests against accepting the analogy said to exist between the Finnish and Accadian gods.

[3] See note page 372. In our opinion the Turanian culture of Chaldea has been overstated. Prof. Pinches thinks that Cappadocia was the true home of the cuneiform writing. [See J. R. A. S., 1884, p. 302.] Perhaps the White Races there living made the first great advance from Turanian picture writing to cuneiform, exactly as the Semitic advanced the hieroglyphic writing to the alphabetic stage.

vanced beyond the symbolic stage of writing reached even by our Indian tribes, a stage of writing eminently fitted for Shamanism. Compare this symbolic writing on the head of a magic drum among the Lapps with cut given on page 236.

If any one were asked to name the most striking development of the culture of the Yellow Races, they would probably name China. Everything connected with the early history of China has been so tinged with romance, that it is doubtful if we can ever extract the truth. However, of late years, this question has been scientifically examined, and we begin to see dimly some of the main points of Chinese early history.



Writing among the Lapps.

In inviting the reader's attention to China, it is, of course, well known that only just a brief outline can possibly be given. Yet such as it is, it will prove of great help in considering the development of the Yellow Races. Without a long preliminary, we will commence with a brief consideration of the inhabitants of China, before the arrival of more cultured tribes, who are considered as being the ancestors of the Chinese proper. Of course, such a wide and,

in general, fertile section of Asia as that included in the present confines of China would be one of the first countries to be occupied by the spreading tribes of primitive men. Here, doubtless, the centuries came and went, of which we have absolutely no record. Tribes of primitive men spread slowly over the world; divergences of race types arose and became more pronounced, slow advance in culture took place—but of this, doubtless prolonged period, we know nothing.

The very first gleams of light shed on this country and its inhabitants are obtained from Chinese sources, being compilations made by Chinese scholars some centuries before Christ, embodying traditions, songs and the substance of illy understood records written on bamboo reeds. How far back these records go and the value of their statements we will not discuss at present. They contain some statements in reference to the tribes inhabiting the country, among whom the pre-Chinese tribes had intruded. As might be expected, they found the country fully inhabited. Several races and languages were represented.[1] A general title for these tribes was "barbarians," further specified as the east, west or south barbarians.

Some of these tribes practiced tattooing. They are spoken of as tribes of "perforated breasts."[2] Two of these races are described so Prof. La Couperie thinks he can identify them; one, a race of pigmies, representing the once widespread Negroid race; the other, a race called the

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[1] See T. De La Couperie, "Beginning of Writing around Thibet" in J. R. A. S., 1885, p. 541.

[2] De La Couperie in Introduction to "Amongst the Shans," London, 1885, p. xiii. Also see "Bamboo Records," in Legg "Chinese Classics," Vol III., pt. 1. Dr. Legg says this was a fabulous race.

"Long-legged" people. It is interesting to know that the French expedition to Mekong found a number of tribes in Indo-China, whom this designation exactly fits, in close proximity to representatives of the dwarf Negroid race. Perhaps they have both been driven south before the Chinese and other people. It is equally suggestive

Stieng.

to know that there are some grounds, though perhaps at present not conclusive, for considering these "Long-legs" in Cambodia as belonging to the White Races. We present a cut of a Stieng, of Cambodia, and call attention to the fact that the features are not those of a member of the

Yellow Race.[1] So the earliest Chinese records show us a conflict in progress between the three great races: Black, Yellow, and White, in a country watered by the Ho-ang-ho.

Now, who were these invading tribes whom we have designated as the "pre-Chinese" tribes, where did they come from, when was this, and what was the culture they thus introduced among the ruder tribes just mentioned? We will try and give the answers to these questions that seem sustained by our present knowledge. They called themselves the "black-haired people," probably this was one distinguishing trait of appearance from the indigenous tribes. We have seen that black hair is one of the distinguishing marks of the Yellow Races. As far as we can now decide, the language spoken was agglutinative,[2] and, as well as we can judge from the faint traces of this primitive language that can now be recovered, it was closely connected with the Finnic stock of the Turanian language.[3]

Here, then, we once more meet with representatives of this comparatively cultured section of the Yellow Race. It would seem that from the Altai Mountains migrating tribes not only marched forth to the west and south-west, but to the east and south-east as well. Let us see what evidence we possess as to the date of this movement. It seems to us, that we have no very good historical evidence on this point. The simple fact is that, as far back

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1 See Keane "Asia," p. 671. See by same author, a valuable series of articles in "Nature," Vol. XXIII., on the Indo-Chinese and Oceanic race. Qualifying this last, see Flowers in "Nature," Vol. XXXI., p. 364.

2 See La Couperie, "The *Yh King* and its Authors" in J. R. A. S for 1882, p. 799 and especially note 1. p. 800, where it is stated that the language in China at the present day is more agglutinative than monosyllabic. See this Vol., p. 30. See also Douglas "China," p. 344.

3 La Couperie, "Beginning of Writing around Thibet" in J. R. A. S., 1885, p. 451.

as we can go, we find evidence that the Chinese had then been in China for a long time. There are no monuments existing in China, that enable us to rest with confidence on far away dates, as we can in Chaldea.

Most of the histories start with dates ranging from 2000 to 3000 B. C., but all that can be claimed for these dates is that they may be approximately true. Any one, taking the least trouble to investigate the early history of China, will quickly discover that its chronology rests on a foundation of sand. There are not wanting histories that give what professes to be a full list of the so-called Emperors of China from the very earliest times, giving the years when their reign commenced, the end, their personal traits, their wise enactments, their speeches to their armies and words of counsel to their heirs. This is nearly all fancy. The names of many, perhaps the most, of the early rulers, say for the time preceding 1000 B. C., may have been preserved to us; we have no assurance, however, to this effect. We know nothing with certainty as to the commencement or duration of their term of power, the extent and nature of which have been greatly exaggerated.

Such sweeping assertions call for a statement of the ground on which they rest. We will be as brief as possible in this matter. Doubtless, every one knows that there is in Chinese literature a collection of books known as the "Classics," which are regarded as sacred books. The writer, who can show that his statements are supported by the classics, is not to be disputed. Among their classics is the Shoo-King, or "Book of History." The word *Shoo* means "pencil speaking" and may be applied to any historical document. This Shoo-King is supposed to be a compilation and re-arrangement of previously existing his-

torical documents, by the great Confucius. There is considerable dispute, even among Chinese scholars, as to his share in the work; into that, we need not here inquire. It is enough to know that after Confucius' time, there was such a compilation in existence. Confucius died 478 B. C., so that we can say that the Shoo-King, substantially as we have it now, dates from about 500 B. C.[1]

Now, what was the source of the statements made in the Shoo-King? From whence were the documents compiled by Confucius obtained? The fourth classical book is known as *Chow le*, and consists of an elaborate detail of the various officers under the Chow dynasty, the then ruling house. One class of these officers was called *Sze*, a term meaning recorders, sometimes translated historiographers, annalists or clerks. Their duties are specified, and it seems to be clearly made out that from very early times there was a class of officers whose duties it was to keep what we might call the state archives. How far back in time this organization extends, we cannot say. Chinese scholars claim that such officials existed from the very earliest times, back to confessedly mythological eras.

In the midst of the confusion on this point, we are at least safe in saying that the probabilities are altogether against there being any sort of full and complete documents, the contents of which were understood. The records, if made at all, were on bamboo reeds, a substance not the best qualified for some hundreds of years continuous handling. We are confident there was no strong, well settled government in China at that time. Previous to the Ts'in dynasty, (B. C. 246) it was a time of great confusion, con-

[1] We here say nothing about the destruction of Literature under the Ts'in dynasty.

federacies and tribes striving each to gain the upper hand. Mencius (B. C. 400) tells us that in his time rival chiefs destroyed many of the records of the past. Still more was this likely to have taken place during earlier and ruder ages. The very statements of Confucius show that while in his day some fragmentary documents of early antiquity remained, they were neither numerous nor complete.[1] Still further, if such records had been kept from the very earliest times, the scholar of Confucius' time would not have been able to read them. In the course of time, the writing had changed from phonetic writing back to picture writing. The *Yh-King*, still another classic, was so written that the Chinese scholars of Confucius' time failed to understand it.[2]

The best statement that can be made for the Shoo-King is that its compiler made the best use he could of the materials before him. Living under the Chow dynasty, we may suppose he possessed tolerably full and complete records of the ruling chiefs of this tribe; but he could have possessed only very incomplete records of earlier ages, here and there, perhaps some fragmentary account, but partially understood. For these early times, he must have relied largely on tradition. Let us study Confucius a little and see what sort of a history he would write if he had full accounts before him. The classic known as *Ch'un Ts'ew*[3] is supposed to be more his own work than any other of the classics. Certain it is, that it is regarded with superstiti-

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1 He says; "I am able to describe the ceremonies of the Yin dynasty, but Sung cannot sufficiently attest my words. They" can not do so because of the insufficiency of their records and wise men. Legg "Chinese Classics," Vol. V., Pt. I., p. 13.

2 See LaCouperie "The Yh-King and its Authors" in J. R. A. S. for 1882 and 1883, and especially the latter volume, p. 272, et seq.

3 This phrase means the same as "Annalists," each confederacy or semi-independant state had such annals.

ous veneration by the Chinese. Confucius is said to have remarked; "It is the Ch'un Ts'ew which will make men know me." It is a simple record of events taking place in the Confederacy of Loo, extending over a period of 242 years, without the least effort on the part of the author to do more than record the events. The fewest words possible are used. No details are given, nothing to express the author's feelings.[1] Yet it seems that in this work he took the liberty of *twisting* the facts so as to set forth his own idea of morals and duties.[2] This fact, admitted by some Chinese scholars, becomes apparent when this record is compared with the commentary on it known as the *Ch'un Tso*, giving more complete details of this same period.[3]

If Confucius took this liberty with the records of his own native state, we need not look for anything better in the records of older times. In fact, the Shoo-King is of very slight worth for history. One writer declares that the Shoo-King "is a collection of excellent maxims, which have been conveniently arranged under different reigns."[4] Another says; "The Shoo is not the work of a historian nor of a poet. It is not allegorical. It is preaching from history."[5]

Is it not then evident that those accounts of ancient life and times, drawn from this collection of confused traditions, and descriptions of what *ought* to be instead of what was, are largely worthless? As for chronology, it is admitted on all hands that it is useless to try to arrange

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1 La Couperie thinks, in opposition to Dr. Legg, that the very characters used by Confucius did, in effect, denote praise or censure. J. R. A. S., 1882, p. 804, note 2.

2 Legg "Religions of China," 1880, p. 144.

3 "Prolegomena to Ch'un Ts'ew."

4 "Chinese Repository," 1839.

5 Johnson "Oriental Religion," Boston, 1887, p. 490.

any scheme on this work. Legg remarkes; "There is no succession of dates in it—in its present condition, it contains only scanty notice of a few of the sovereigns in the earlier dynasties, and the length of reign of two or three of these is stated." Only a few dates near the close of the period covered by the Shoo-King are known.

We have described the oldest historical work in China. Let us next speak of the so-called "Bamboo Records." These consist of a series of records on bamboo slips *said* to have been found in a tomb of one of the Wei kings, about 284 A. D. They are supposed to have been buried there about six hundred years before. Chinese scholars themselves have little hesitation in declaring this work a forgery.[1] It gives, from a very early period, the cycle year of some events. Dr. Legg, who is inclined to credit at least some portions of these records as being a genuine production of the third century B. C., shows that the dates in it are a later addition. It seems, then, that we need not consider these records longer.

About the year 250 B. C., the state or confederacy of Tsin overthrew the authority of the previous confederacy, in which the Chows were the ruling tribe or people, and took the supremacy. They are credited with a wholesale destruction of these records we have spoken of. They determined to blot out the semi-independent confederacies or states. A new order of things was to be inaugurated. They had no more need for these official documents. They therefore "ordered that the whole existing literature, with the exception of books on medicine, agriculture and divination, should be burned. This decree was obeyed as faithfully as was possible in the case of so sweeping an ordi-

[1] Wylie "Chinese Literature," Shanghae, 1887, p. 19. Legg "Chinese Classics," Vol III., pt. 1.

nance."[1] We may admit that copies of ancient books and bundles of records were hidden away in walls of houses and graves, but it is evident that the official records of the various states were largely destroyed and scattered; and, if at the time of Confucius these ancient records were only fragmentary, we are morally certain that, after this destruction, no records could have existed from which future historians could have compiled a history of China embracing these early periods, giving dates and various details that would be of the slightest worth.

Yet one Chinese writer after another proceeds to give in most voluminous works an account of life and times going back before 2000 B. C. Sze-Ma-Tseen, born about 145 B. C., is sometimes styled the "Herodotus of China." He produced a work consisting of one hundred and thirty volumes covering the period just mentioned. Considerable is said about the immense mass of material that he gathered for this purpose. However, in this series of works, no attempt is made to settle the question of chronology. He contents himself with giving in most cases, simply the names of the kings and the order of the reigns. He certainly would have given the length of reign, if he could. We question whether he could give us a list of kings or any account of their reigns worth having. The Shoo-King, for instance, mentions no rulers of the Hea dynasty after Chung-Kang. How did our present author discover there were thirteen other kings of this dynasty and proceed to give us an account of their reigns? Does any one suppose the bamboo records remained intact, and that Sze-Ma-Tseen could read these ancient records of seventeen centuries before his date?

[1] Douglass "China," London, 1882, p. 77.

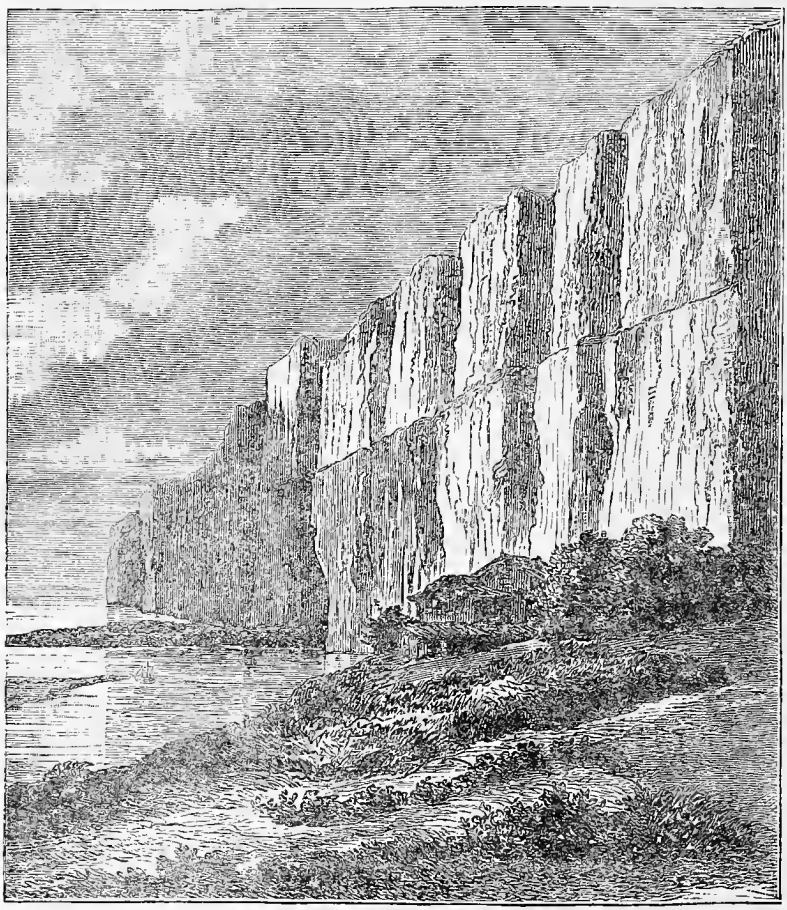
We are not saying that he forged these accounts. He probably had in his possession fragmentary records gathered from many sources. He undoubtedly had the names of a number of ruling chiefs, some of one confederacy and and some of another, and he arranged them in what seemed to him a proper order. We are, however, able to prove that the condition of early China gathered from Chinese sources is notoriously exaggerated. What Sze-Ma-Tseen was unable to do, Chinese writers of a later date, writing a thousand years later, find themselves able to accomplish with ease. That is, they are now able to give the dates and length of reigns, of these so-called emperors of China from about 2200 B. C. down. Dr. Legg comes to the conclusion that this chronology is a deliberate invention of later Chinese writers[1] If such be the case, and it is certainly very hard to believe they have any "records" giving them these dates, we need not hesitate to believe that they would arrange the names and order of reigns of those early emperors in the same free and easy way.

We have now set forth our reasons for rejecting the current account of Chinese history. On this point La Couperie remarks; "The stock in trade of misunderstanding, bias and untrue statement with regard to China, its language and races which is commonly used and credited .... is simply apalling."[2] We need then have no hesitation in rejecting most of the current account of early China. But who is able to give us a more excellent account? The only one entitled to speak with authority on this point is a person who has spent years of careful study on the Chinese language, and read for himself the scanty stock of tra-

[1] "Chinese Classics," Vol. III, p. 1.

[2] Introduction to "Amongst, the Shans," p. xxiv.

ditions embodied in the older books, and read with care such fragmentary records as are contained therein. We will only attempt to give a brief outline and will rely on the translation of the classics given by Dr. Legg.[1]



Scene on the Hoangho

We have found satisfactory grounds for holding that the pre-Chinese tribes were members of the Finnic stock

[1] "The Chinese Classics" in seven volumes, James Legg, D. D., Hong Kong, 1861.

of the Turanian tribes. It would therefore be naturally expected that their invasion of China should be from the north-west. They seemed to have followed the course of the Yellow or Ho river and finally settled along its banks, mainly in the present department of Honan. Owing to the overflows of the Ho river, this section of country seems to have been covered with lagoons and given up to swampy jungles. They took possession of this country for which, perhaps, they did not have to fight very much. What was naturally the best portion of the country remained in the hands of the former possessors.[1]

The superior Civilization of the invading tribes showed itself in this; they set to work to clear the ground and fit it for cultivation. They dug canals, raised embankments along the rivers, drained the great marshes, set fire to the jungles and, in fact, here performed a work in all respects similar to that by which their kindred tribes had converted the marshes of lower Chaldea into a fertile region of country.[2] All this, of course, took considerable time, but we have no means of estimating the length.[3] They succeeded in making this a fertile section of country, and here they developed quite a degree of Civilization, and built up quite a compact government, one that commanded the respect of the surrounding more barbarous tribes. In after times,

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1 We know that all the ancient capitals were either in Honan or Shenai, ["Bamboo Reeerds."] At a later date, the original tribes were foreed to remove to the south side by a king of the Shang dynasty. [Book VII. of the Shoo-King.] In regard to the country being a jungle, let us quote Mencius: "The vast waters flowing out of their channels made a universal inundation, vegetation was luxuriant, and birds and beasts swarmed." [Book III., Pt. I, Ch. IV., See. 7.] The earlier dynasties never subdued the tribes along the Kiang.

2 This aceount appears in tradition as principally the work of the great Yu [Shoo-King, Part II., Book IV , Chap I, Sec. 1.] Also see Mencius, just eited.

3 See Legg, Prologomena to Shoo King, p. 50-1.

this came to be looked back to as a sort of golden age. Confucius could not sufficiently praise the virtues of this early time.[1] It is not singular that they bestowed on this dynasty an extent of power far beyond what it possessed, and made it to rule over a much larger section of country than it brought under tribute.[2]

There seems to have been twelve tribes of these early people,[3] each of which was under the rule of its own chief called a *pastor*. The government was a confederacy of these twelve tribes. At the head was an elected chief, the celestial one, the emperor.[4] He was assisted in his government by a council of twenty-two members,[5] composed of the chiefs of the twelve tribes, a president of the council, known as the "Chief of the Four Mountains,"[6] eight officials elected by the council to assist in the affairs of government, and one important official, who exercised imperial authority when the emperor was disqualified by reason of age or infirmity, who was, in fact, a coadjutor with right of succession known as the "General Regulator,"[7] and who appears to have commanded the troops in time of war.[8]

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1 The Master said: "I can find no flaw in the character of Yu." "Analects," Book VIII, Chap. XXI.

2 Tradition gave it a much larger section than that subject to the Chows, many centuries later. On this point, see Legg Op. cit., p. 50.

3 Spoken of as the division of the empire into twelve provinces. "Canon of Shun," Sec. 10.

4 Traditions all represent the first emperors as elected.

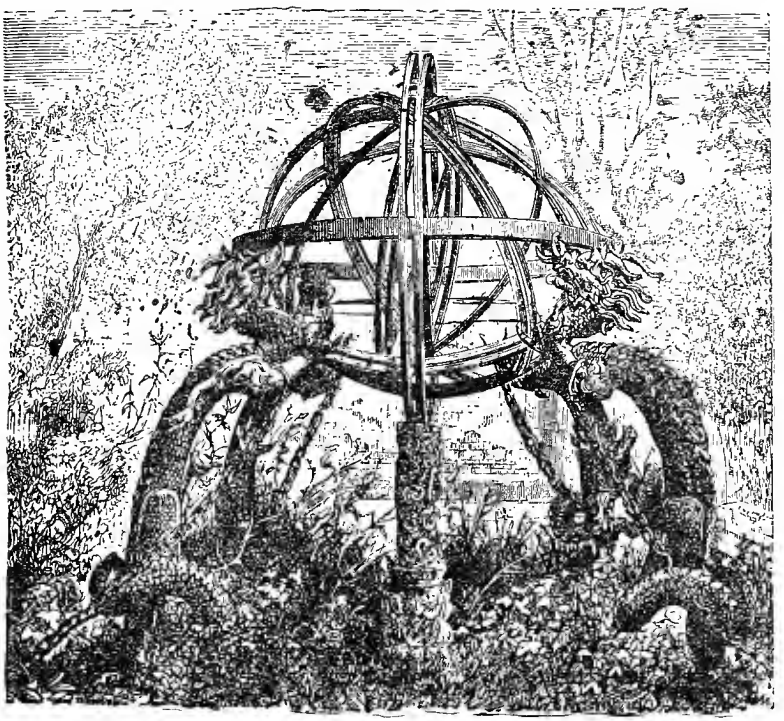
5 The emperor said: "Ah! you twenty and two men be reverent and so shall you aid me in performing the services of heaven." "Canon of Shun," Sec. 26.

6 When the council was in session the emperor generally put his questions to the "Chief of the Four Mountains," at other times he is represented as being in consultation with him. "Canon of Yaou," Sec. 11-12. "Canon of Shun," Sec. 17-23.

7 "Canon of Shun," Sec. 17 to 26. Observe that both Yu and Shun were "General Regulators" before raised to the office of ruling chief.

8 Thus Yu is represented as commanding against the San Meaou "Councils of the Great Yu," Sec. 20.

In other directions, we have not much to guide us. We have seen that they showed a great deal of skill in clearing up their country, so as to fit it for agricultural purposes. They had some knowledge of astronomy, but on this point we have probably overrated them. That mythical personage, Yaou, is represented as forming an astro-



Chinese Astronomy, Celestial Sphere.

nomical board, to observe the various celestial bodies and to deliver "the seasons to the people;" [1] and Shun is said to have "examined the gem-adorned turning sphere and the gem-transverse *tube* that he might regulate the seven directors." [2] Yaou further makes some remarks indicating that

1 "Canon of Yaou," Sec. 3.

2 "Canon of Shun," Sec. 5. There is a dispute as to whether the

the people had considerable astronomical knowledge. In effect, we are told that in his time the equinoxes were in Taurus and Scorpio, and the solstices were in Leo and Aquarius.[1] Two astronomical calculations on this as a basis[2] give 2163 and 2357 B. C. as the time of Yaou.[3] These statements found in the Shoo-King are certainly remarkable. It is stated that the astronomers of the Han dynasty were ignorant of the precession of the equinoxes, if so, the compiler of the Shoo must have had some sort of a record before him. We may find an explanation of this further on.

In religion, we detect the following. They believed in a host of spirits, spirits of hills and rivers.[4] These spirits were supposed to exercise a great influence in all the affairs of men, and consequently were appealed to in divination.[5] A spirit of Fetichism is shown in the worship of hills and rivers.[6] Ancestor worship was certainly very prominent. They had entered on the stage of Polytheism, since we are told of the "six honored ones" to whom sacrifices were offered. The fetich sky had already become transformed into a supreme god known as *Shang te* the "supreme one."[7] There was no priestly class.[8] The in-

"seven directors" refer to the sun, moon and five planets, or to the seven stars of the Great Bear. Compare Legg's note under section just quoted with Chalmer's remarks in same volume, p. 91.

[1] "Canon of Yaou," sec. 3-6. "Classics," Vol. III., Part I, p. 88. Chalmer's article in same volume, p. 92.

[2] See This Series Vol. I., p. 153.

[3] Ideler, the former date, Biot, the latter.

[4] "Canon of Shun," Sec. 6 and 7.

[5] "Councils of the Great Yu," Sec. 18.

[6] "Canon of Shun," Section cited above and 8.

[7] This word was used as synonymous with the spirit of the personal visible "heavens," that is Thi-an which it is well to compare with the Accadian Zi-ana.

[8] That is, none are mentioned. We incline to the belief there were magicians. They certainly had officers of divination. See "Councils of the Great Yu," Sec 18.

fluence of Ancestor worship was sufficient to keep the worship local and tribal. Each joint-family, gens, tribe and finally the confederacy had its gods in an ascending degree, and the chiefs in each case were the priests,[1] and the gods they worshiped were their deceased predecessors.[2]

Some very important considerations center around the subject of their knowledge of writing. The older view generally was that it had a native development in China; but, at present, all who have investigated the subject conclude that they brought with them, not only a knowledge of writing, but some manuscripts as well. There are good grounds for considering that the *Yh King*, regarded as the oldest of the classics, was, as regards its primitive portions, amongst those manuscripts. One fact showing how completely this early culture has been lost amongst the tribes they assimilated is that the Chinese early forgot the significance of this *Yh King*. It became to them a mysterious book, superstitions made use of it for the purpose of divination, and all Chinese scholars have mistaken it. It remained for a modern scholar to develop its meaning.[3]

From a study of this, Prof. La Couperie arrives at some most important conclusions. He considers that he has established the fact that these pre-Chinese tribes were nothing but migrating tribes from ancient Chaldea, taking with them the culture of this section. This view would explain the remarkable statements we have already quoted in regard to the astronomical knowledge of Yaou. Knowledge of which the Chinese of the Han dynasty (B. C. 246.) were ignorant. It would also explain how it comes that a de-

[1] Legg "Classics," Vol. III., Pt. I., p. 193.
Compare this account with the outline of early Chinese religion given in Tiele "Hist. of Religion," Boston, 1887, p. 27.

[3] See La Couperie in J. R. A. S. for 1882 and 1883, "The *Yh King* and its Authors."

scription of an eclipse, supposed to have taken place more than two thousand years before Christ, assigns it to its true cause; but that, at later times and down to modern times, they speak of the sun or the moon as eaten, that is by a dragon.[1]

But La Couperie thinks they took with them Chaldean writing as well. In other words, that the pre-Chinese writing was cuneiform. He thinks it possible to point out the connection between some of the oldest Chinese characters and some of the cuneiform syllable elements.[2] He thinks that this writing was, in its first stage, phonetic. By degrees, however, owing to continual contact with more barbarous tribes, this phonetic principle was lost and hieroglyphic writing resumed it sway.[3] Prof. La Couperie also holds that the name of the Chinese tribes[4] really means the Bak tribes, thus referring us to Bactria and the region of country thereabouts, from whence descended the Chaldeans. He further adds that *Hea*, which is the name of one of the first dynasties mentioned in the Shoo King, was called, in the first instance *Kutta* or *Kutti*, and the reader will recall what we ventured to suggest in regard to the first settlers in Chaldea being the Cushites.[5] Prof. Douglass, in his recent work on China,[6] insists strongly on this identification. He even identifies Hwang-ti, one of the early mythological emperors of China, with *Nakhunte*,

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[1] The Chinese account says; "On the first day of the last month of autumn the *Sun and the Moon* did not meet harmoniously in Fang," that is to say, the eclipse was when the Sun was in the Constellation of Scorpio.

[2] J. R. A. S., 1883, p. 282.

[3] Journal for 1882, p. 801.

[4] The Poh sing, usually translated by the expression hundred family names, from whence comes the idea there were one hundred gentes of the early Chinese.

[5] Journal, 1883, p. 280, note 6.

[6] "China," by R. K. Douglass, London, 1882.

a god of ancient Susiana whose name appears in the name of several kings.[1] He also points out several other striking points of coincidence which "with a host of others which might be produced, all point to the existence of an early relationship between Chinese and Mesopotamian culture." It is suggested that the great break up of Susian tribes, thought to have occurred in the twenty-third century B. C., is in some way connected with this eastern migration of the Chinese Bak tribes.[2]

We have stated Prof. La Couperie's position in this matter, and such a view certainly clears up a number of difficulties. Before accepting it fully, it would be well to wait for clearer evidence.[3] For our own part, it seems to us to be too strongly stated. It seems to us evident that China was influenced from Chaldea, but can not some of the observed coincidences be explained on the ground that they both started from a common home? We have seen no conclusive reasons for holding that the first writing in China was cuneiform. On this point, however, let us hold ourselves in readiness to accept whatever conclusions to which our scholars may come.

Although we speak of the surrounding tribes as barbarians and as possessed of lower culture, still they had made considerable advance. They are represented as assisting the Chinese in astronomical calculations, in teaching them music and as having considerable influence on their

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[1] Oppert in "Records of the Past," Vol. VII., p. 79, et seq.

[2] J. R. A. S., 1883, p. 280, note 4. In regard to the proposed date of this migration, that is the twenty-third century B. C., while on some accounts we would think it too recent, yet we must say that the twenty-third century B. C. was a period of great commotion in Western Asia, and, until better informed, we may accept that date.

[3] In 1884, Dr. Edkins writes as follows: "The part that Babylnia, Susiana, and Bactria had in helping forward the early progress of China in knowledge and the arts would be by successive contribution of in-

writing.[1] In process of time, indeed, the distinctive nationality of the first comers was all but blotted out.[2] We will not undertake to give a concise history of these far away times. In fact, we doubt whether such a history can be given. Perhaps the oldest dynasty we know anything about is the Hea dynasty whose organization we have described. We have already called the reader's attention to the interesting observation of Prof. La Couperie, as to the original meaning of the word *Hea*. We notice the office of ruling chief, or emperor, originally elective, gradually passes by inheritance.

We may suppose there were the usual scenes of tribal rivalry, incident to all ancient confederacies. One tribe, after holding the supremacy, forced to give way to another. According to current chronology (the value of which is very doubtful) this state of affairs lasted for five hundred years. Their territory embraced only a very small section of country around the great bend of the Hoangho, though they held some surrounding tribes to tribute. About the middle of the eighteenth century B. C., there is supposed to have taken place a change of dynasty. Chinese histories relate how the ruling house became very corrupted until, at length, one of their subject princes, at the earnest solicitation of some of the wise men, finally marched against the wicked emperor and overthrew him.

We may dismiss this account, change of dynasties seldom happen that way. The conquering tribe or tribes came from Shensi, this is the north-west province of China, and indicate the movement of another body of

formation at different times." [In J. R. A. S., p. 360.] Prof. Sayce in reviewing Prof. La Couperie's article, also takes occasion to dissent from his position, as being by no means proven.

1 Douglass "China," p. 6.

2 "Amongst the Shans," xxv.

people. The darkness resting over Central Asia at this time prevents us from learning anything of the movements of its people at that early date. We may suppose there was a constant movement of migrating people. China, during historical periods, has had to sustain many assaults of Mongolian tribes. It was probably so at that time, and we are to see, in this change of dynasties, a successful invasion by barbarian tribes. Perhaps they united for this purpose with some of the more powerful non-Chinese tribes already in China.

Whatever may be the truth about this conquest, whether by it we are to understand a new invasion of kindred tribes or a successful revolt of one of the confederate tribes, we have certainly but little historical information relating to this dynasty. About five hundred years pass away, and although histories are quite free to relate the events of each reign, such accounts are practically worthless. All the China we have to talk about is confined to the same limited expanse of territory about the bend of the Hoangho. The better portion of the country was still in possession of the non-Chinese tribes. We are now approaching a period when some historic light appears, though for centuries it remains very faint and indecisive.

We are approaching what is known as the *Chow* dynasty in China, a conquest which influenced for a long time the history of the Chinese. Here again, the ordinary representation is that the wickedness of the former dynasty had now become so great, that the virtuous prince of Chow finally overthrew the old government and revived in his own person the glory and virtues of the ancient empire. This is the general way that Chinese historians have of describing past conquests of their coun-

try. It is strange that European writers should follow them in this matter, yet many have done so.[1] In regard to these Chows, who appear as victorious invaders about the eleventh century B. C., it is very hard to come to any satisfactory conclusion. Probably at some no very distant day, when a careful comparison and analysis of ethnological notices, scattered throughout the vast mass of Chinese literature shall have been made, and an analysis of the traditions of the people in Central Asia, at present a veritable *Terra Incognita*, are laid before us, we shall see clearly what is at present very much enshrouded in doubt.

As a further showing of the difficulties in our way, we must recall that throughout all the confines of China, there has been, from the very earliest times, a wonderful mixture of races in progress, and this means a mixture of traditions as well. A further reflection to be borne in mind is that our early history, such as it is, only refers to a small portion of country around the Hoangho. The vast mass of China is almost completely unknown to history until many years subsequent to the time we are now describing. Some of the invasions of China, we can but dimly perceive taking place still earlier than the eleventh century. Such, for instance, are the *Jung* or *Nung* tribes, which are supposed to have made their first appearance in China about the sixteenth century B. C., and which we are inclined to connect with the overthrow of the old Hea dynasty. It was probably their appearance in Shensi which drove the Shang tribes east. The Jung tribes were themselves driven further east by continual pressure of tribes lying still further

[1] See, for instance, "A Sketch of Chinese History" by Gutzlaff, New York, 1834, and, for that matter, see our latest "History of China," by Boulger, London, 1881. The same remarks apply to his first three chapters.

back in Central Asia. The Jung tribes are supposed to have been a mixed people, and one element of them was the White Race to which we belong.[1] Other writers tell us that the main stock of the Jung was the same as the Turks.[2] They certainly were a very warlike people, their name came to be the equivalent of warriors. They followed on after the Shang tribes, and we find them at a later date composing the larger portion of the so-called barbarian tribes surrounding the Chinese states.

According to the faint voice of tradition, about the twelfth century B. C., we find another wave of people advancing eastward through Shensi destined to take the lead among the Chinese tribes. These are variously called the *Djows*, *Tchous*, and *Chows* mostly by the last name. La Couperie tells us that they were a division of the *Tek* race who amalgamated with the Jung remaining in Shensi, and that the *Tek* tribes, afterwards called Tih tribes, seem to have been a Turkish stock. This makes them out a very much mixed people.[3] Kingsmill concludes that the Chows were at first Aryans forced from their home in Western Asia by the pressure of the Turkish tribes, which started the great migration of the Aryan tribes, some to India, and some to the east. They settled first in Shensi, but, owing to the pressure of the Turkish tribes in their rear, they gradually forced their way among the settled Chinese tribes and finally succeeding in establishing a sort of supremacy.[4]

Here seems to be a good place to make some general remarks on the, so-called, aboriginal tribes of China. It is

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1 La Couperie introduction to "Amongst the Shans," xxxix.

2 Such, we are told, was the opinion of Klaproth. See Kingsmill "Early Hist. of the White Huns" in J. R. A. S., 1878, p. 289.

3 "Amongst the Shans," p. xxxviii.

4 See his article already referred to in J. R. A. S. for 1878.

evident from the foregoing, that China from the earliest times has been the meeting place of wave after wave of people. We must note the significant fact that, while the first wave was Turanian, the subsequent ones, such as the Jung and the Chows, were greatly modified by Aryan blood. (This will be referred to later.) We have been accustomed to hearing these aboriginal tribes spoken of as barbarian, but these accounts come to us through Chinese sources. This is a difficult matter to come to any satisfactory conclusions about, but the tendency of modern researches is to regard these aboriginal tribes as belonging in the first instance to the White Races, though they have been greatly mixed with the Yellow Races.[1] It seems that these tribes, under various different names, are now found in the western and south-western provinces of China. The evidence is that from the very earliest times they have been gradually pressed in that direction by the spreading Chinese, who subdued some tribes and assimilated them among their mixed population, but crowded still other tribes among the hills and mountain fastnesses of Si-Chuen and Yunnan. Many of these tribes are yet independent and breathe defiance to the Chinese government. The two provinces of Kwang-si and Kwang-tung formed an independent government under the name of "The Two Kingdoms of Yueh" until about two centuries ago, when they were finally brought under the imperial dominion.[2]

Of late years, this section of China has been traversed by two travellers and thus considerable knowledge has

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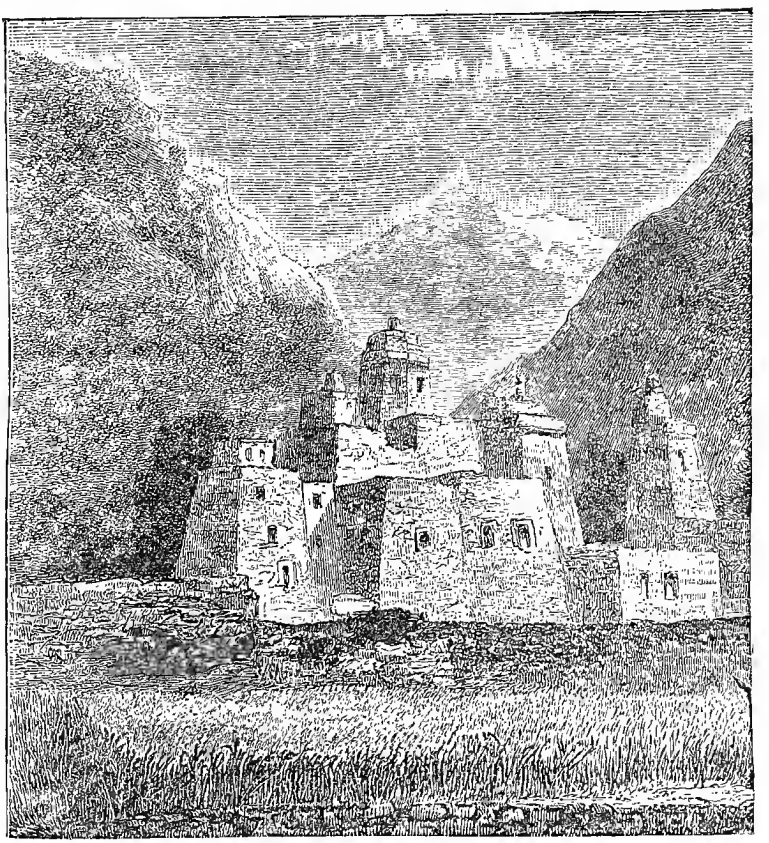
1 See La Couperie: "Beginning of Writing Around Thibet" in J. R. A.S. for 1885, compare with "Amongst the Shans," p. xxix. But see also Keane in Stanford's "Asia," p. 713, where we are cautioned on this point. Also Reclusc: "Asia," p. 210. Also Gill: "River of Golden Sand," p. 123.

2 Colquhoun: "Across Chryse," London, 1883, Vol. I., p. 227.

been gained as to these people. Capt. Gill, who crossed the western portion of China, near the Thibet border,[1] speaking of the *Man-tzu* tribes in western Si-Chuen, tells us that there are in that section altogether eighteen of these tribes each under the rule of its own chief. They have



Man-tzu Village.

been subject to great persecution from the Chinese. "Perched like an eagles' eyrie on the tops of the almost inaccessible hills, or like wild birds' nests on the faces of

1 "River of Golden Sand," London, 1883.

perpendicular cliffs, there were many villages of the Man-tzu and down below on the banks of the smiling river, there were the blackened ruins of many another once peaceful hamlet. In one place, close to the ruins of some Man-tzu buildings, that I could plainly see had been burnt not very many years ago, there was a new and flourishing Chinese village, where the Chinese, having ousted the aborigines, had established themselves."[1] He tells us, in one place, of a tribe known as the White Man-tzu, numbering three and a half millions, always ruled by a queen.[2]

From other sources, we learn that the same tribes, called the *Mo-so*, still form the majority of the inhabitants in Western Si-Chuen. They at one time ruled quite an extensive stretch of country. Kublai Khan found this very state of Mo-so-man in Western Yunnan and conquered it in the thirteenth century A. D.[3] The epithet "savage," applied to the Man-tzu is not justified, for we learn that they till the land, weave textile fabrics and build houses with towers and supports. We give this profile view of a Man-tzu aborigine of North Yunnan and call special attention to the finely formed features.[4]

We have also many interesting details of the native inhabitants of Yunnan.[5] It seems that the majority of the inhabitants in Yunnan belong to the aboriginal stock, some are said to be subdued, that is conquered by the Chinese, others are regarded as wild or independent. It is said "that it is only in the cities of Yunnan that one sees the Chinese. The people of the country districts are all aborigi-

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1 Ibid, p. 102. 2 P. 123.

3 La Couperie's article already referred to in J. R. A. S., 1885, p. 454 *et seq*.

4 Taken from "Across Chryse."

5 A. R. Colquhoun, "Across Chryse," in two volumes, London, 1883.

nes." In the country, many incidents combine to remind the traveler of European lands, men carrying themselves with self respect, with faces showing frankness and intelligence, noses straight and well formed, and hair inclining to brown; women dressed neatly, modest looking and often what might be called handsome.

In the center and southern parts of Yunnan we meet with principally three divisions of the aborigines called the Lo-lo, Pai and Miao. In the north-western part of Yunnan are the Si-fan, shown on page 440. The next illustration shows us types of the Lissou, inhabiting the same section of country. In all these cases, we must notice the absence of features typical to the Yellow Races.

Man-tzu of North Yunnan.

All these aboriginal tribes have been for centuries crowded into the mountainous countries of South-western China, they present in their costume and appearance a pleasing contrast to the Chinese. They are cultivators, herdsmen, and, over quite a large section of country are entirely independent of Chinese. They have good hearts, are simple and sincere, not only are they unlike the Chinese in their virtues, but also in their physique and energy.[1] The only kind of writing known, at present, to exist among these aboriginal tribes, is a symbolical picture writing, exactly in the same stage of development as the symbolical

[1] This account is extracted from "Across Chryse."

writing of the Indian medicine men. They are only understood by the sorcerers.[1]

Types of the Si-ban.

Returning now to the Chows, we conclude that they were an invading conquering, people from the west, who, in

Types of the Lissou.

a measure, reorganized the ancient government, probably

[1] J. R. A. S., 1885., p 461.

extended its boundaries some, but they still continued very small as compared with China of to-day, this is supposed to have happened about the end of the twelfth century B. C. The closing centuries of this dynasty lie within the period of authentic history, but, as its light only reaches back to about the eighth century B. C., it is evident that we

Map of China.

know but little of its first three centuries. In order to illustrate the China of the Chow dynasty, we have indicated its extent on the map. It "lay between the 33rd and 38th parallels of latitude, and extended over no more than por-

tions of the provinces of Pih Chih-li, Shanse, Shense, Honan, Keang-se and Shautung."[1]

The supremacy enjoyed by the Chows is certainly very hard to describe. They established a very loose sort of confederacy. We cannot discover that the *Wang*, which is the native title of all the ruling chiefs of this dynasty, had any very great power. There seems to have been a board of six greater officers, who doubtless were to be consulted before any important step was taken.[2] Then there were six ministers. The minister of war is spoken of as commanding "the six hosts." All this seems to point to some division of the conquering tribe or tribes into six parts.[3] The conquerors proceeded to divide the conquered territory among themselves probably paying some regard to the divisions already established. The work already quoted from[4] mentions the division into nine provinces under pastors. However, we can detect no further reference to the nine states, and are of the opinion that this section has reference to the old tradition of the nine provinces of Yu.[5]

Be that as it may, Chinese authorities give an account of the occurrences in the kingdom of Chow from the earliest times down to the fourth century B. C. under thirteen states.[6] These tribes were to be free, but any in-

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1 Douglass "China," p. 10. The Chows clearly appear in the Shoo King at the head of a confederacy of the surrounding tribes to crush the previously existing confederacy under Shang and Yen. See the "Speech at Muh," Sec. 24. On this point Guignes remarks, "this conquest of China was effected by foreigners on the west of China."

2 "The Officers of Chow," Sec. 5 and 6.

3 From the fact that this governing board of six was divided into two exactly equal divisions the officers of each having the same title, only in the one case distinguished as "grand," and in the other as "juniors," we might decide that the Chows was a tribe of two phratries and six gentes. However it is not best to come to any positive statements.

4 "The officers of Chow," See 13. 5 "Tribute of Yu."

6 Prolegomena to Ch'un Ts'ew, p. 113.

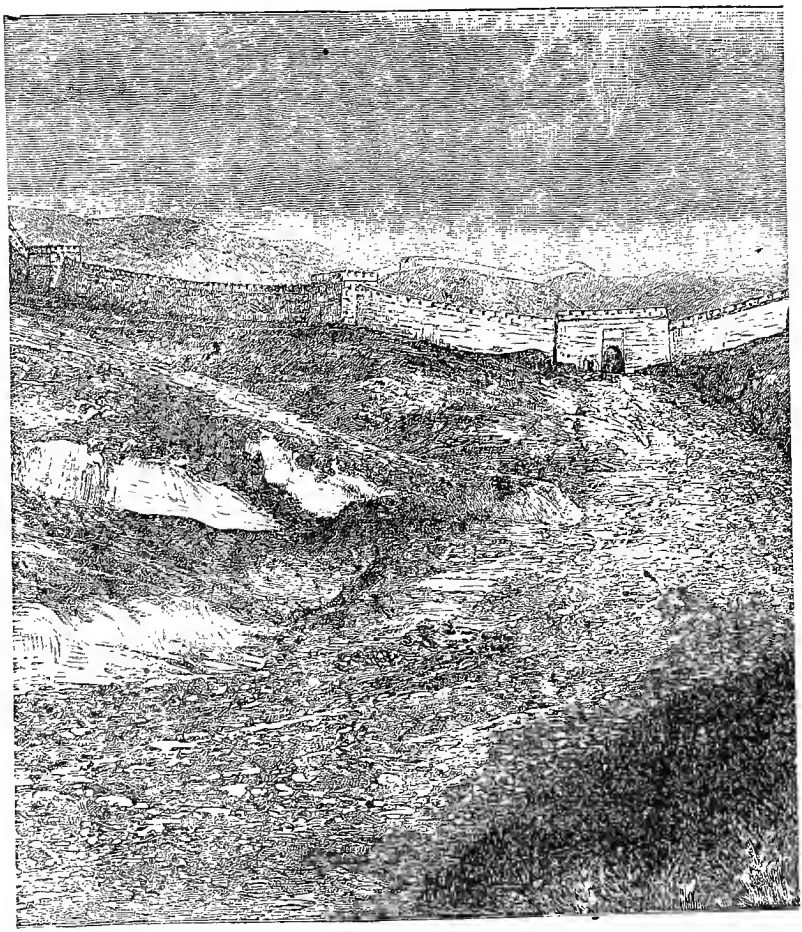
fringement of one state on the other was to be checked by the royal power. Such an arrangement as this was sure to fall through before long. One tribe, becoming strong in numbers, would rob its weaker neighbor of its territory, or perhaps destroy its independence altogether. Hence it is, expecially during the closing centuries of this dynasty, that we are presented with a picture of a singular state of political affairs

The imperial or royal power existed, but in name only. Each separate tribe stood ready to make war on the others, if they thought their interests would be furthered. As providing some relief against the prevailing anarchy, we meet with a singular device of *presiding states*. That is to say, the strongest state, for the time being, was really at the head of the confederacy, and, in fact, exercised royal authority, though the chiefs of the Chows still reigned as emperors, or Wangs, and nominal fealty was rendered them. Five such "presiding states" come before us during a period of two hundred and forty years, covered by Confucius' annals. How many there were before that time, we do not know, but, at the very earliest period, we read of "chiefs of regions." It is evident that all that was wanted was for some one state to gain sufficient strength to subjugate the others, an event which was sure to happen in time.

We must remember that the China of the Chow dynasty has reference, still, to but a small section of country. We know comparatively nothing of the tribes and people inhabiting the larger portions of China. Some of the barbarian tribes coming before us are of interest. First the Jung tribes whose origin we have already glanced at. They were to be free in their own internal affairs, and any in- there were, no one can say with certainty.[1] These tribes

[1] Legg "Classics," Vol. IV., Part I., p. 130.

seemed to have assisted the Chows when they first overthrew the Shang dynasty. They seemed to occupy territory around and right in the midst of the settled tribes. They aided now this state and now that and were ready to



Chinese Wall.

strike on their own account whenever the prospects seemed good. They were especially abundant to the west and south-west. The Tih, or Turkish tribes, on the north and northwest were a constant source of danger. The eastern

barbarians are also mentioned, and especially the *man* barbarians to the south. Some of these barbarian tribes, as their culture advanced, took upon themselves more settled forms of government, and became known as states of of the Chow dynasty; and, from such beginnings, finally appeared the state which gave rise to the first proper "Empire of China."

Here we must point out the difference between the extension of political power and the extension of their culture. Their political power during the first ages remained very feeble; their higher culture, however, was spreading among the surrounding tribes and leavening the whole mass. Consequently, there were growing up, along the borders of the loose confederacy of states belonging to the Chow dynasty, other states or confederacies organized in an analogous manner. These states were but partially Chinese in ethnology. They, in some cases, claimed and were allowed equal rights with other states and were admitted to the confederacy with them. Some held entirely aloof and maintained their independence in the very midst of the Chinese for centuries.

Thus, for instance, to the south of the Chow states, comprising the territory along the Yang-tse-kiang there had been gradually growing up the *Ts'oo* state. This was composed of the most diverse elements. It became a great power among the surrounding tribes, and finally held a most important position among the later states of the Chow dynasty. Yet their constant boast was "we are man-y," that is "southern barbarians." Other states of the Chow dynasty were taunted with being barbarians.[1] What we have to say of *Ts'oo*, on the south, might be repeated in

[1] Legg: Vol. V., Part I. p. 118.

regard to *Ts'in*, on the west. These two virtually non-Chinese states, after subjecting the other states to their power, finally engaged in a struggle for the supremacy, and the result is that, about 250 B. C., the state of Ts'in succeeds in reducing all the states under its control, and then first appeared what might be called an empire in China.

We are not here concerned with writing a history of China, so we need not dwell much longer on this part of our subject. We have given this brief review of early

Chinese Types.

China so as to clear the mind of some misconceptions. Although we have brought it down to the rise of the Ts'in dynasty and the foundation of an empire in China, we must understand that many centuries came and went before China of to-day appears on the scene. We are apt to speak of China as a country enjoying peace, prosperity, internal unity and a high degree of Civilization from the most early period. But in fact, we know but little of its

ancient history except of a few states along the Hoangho, and of these we know nothing with certainty beyond the eighth century B. C. Their ancient culture has been greatly exaggerated, and if it be true that early China is the best result of the Civilization of the Yellow Races, they are not capable of accomplishing very much.

We are now ready to draw some conclusions as to the part that the Yellow Races took in advancing Civilization. We are all fond of repeating that man is capable of unending progress. We conceive this saying to be both true and false. It is not true of man, the individual, since the period soon comes when his powers droop under the weight of advancing years, and finally death closes the scene. The race is much like the individual. There is a necessary limitation to its powers. The part played by the Black Races was, in the aggregate, very great and most important. The Yellow Races represent a great advance over the previous accomplishments of the Blacks. Tribal society and government was brought to its highest excellence under their guidance, but they nowhere succeeded in establishing a true political society and government. This was a task they were never able to accomplish, and only recently has the idea of a nation occurred to the Chinese.

Even to this day in China, we see the plainest traces of previously existing tribal society. There we see clearly that the evolution of society agrees exactly with what we have already pointed out; it has been from the communal family to the tribe, from the tribe to the gens. The tribe has disappeared, nor have we any evidence of the phratry. The gens, however, is a living institution, all its members bear a common name, (Hsing) marriage is not allowed between its members, that is between persons of

the same name, they have a common ancestral temple, and have their own gods, and the members have certain privileges, such as participation in common funds and in common lands. "At stated periods, members of the gens meet at the family temple, and after the performance of prescribed rites, such as prostrations and burning incense to the tablets, arrangements are made with regard to the disposal of the temple funds, and the proceedings wind up with convivialities, in which the partaking, by males, of a meal laid out before the tablets is an essential."[1]

The joint-family is likewise an existing institution, called the *men*. Instances are known where a men consists of two hundred individuals. In such instances, a large space is enclosed by a wall, and the family buildings are thus protected. In the center is the building occupied by the house-father, and it is important to notice that his authority is not arbitrary but is checked by his council. Of course, the size of the joint-family depends on the wealth it possesses, it may consist of but one couple, but its members have rights to the common property from whence they can not be deprived. We have seen that the process of Civilization consists in bringing to the front individual rights and duties. In China, these rights and duties are yet in groups. There is, properly speaking, no such thing as a will, the property is in the group not in the individual. The group is the legal unit. Individual ownership of land is of modern origin, the ancient rule is still largely in force, and the land belongs to the joint-family or the community.[2]

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[1] See an interesting article on "Chinese Laws and Customs" in J. R. A. S., 1883, p. 221.

[2] Our authority is the article already mentioned by C. Gardner, M. R. A. S.; H. B. M. Consul at Ichong.

The Yellow Races seem to have preceded the Whites in point of time. We can at least say that the spreading White Races found the Yellow Races everywhere before them. So we may perhaps assign to the Yellow Races the beginning of much of our present Civilization; such, for instance, as the art of hieroglyphic writing, agriculture, the digging of canals and clearing of land, as in ancient Chaldea and China, also the arts of metallurgy.[1] But we have to observe that they soon reached the limits of their powers in all these matters. The peculiar claim of the Whites is not that they invented all these arts, or took the first steps in them, but they so greatly improved what was laid before them.[2] They greatly influenced the culture of the White Races through the religious field, not in the line of philosophical belief, that is beyond them, but in the field of mythology. Their religion was Shamanism, an advance over the Fetichism of the Black Races. Their priests were all magicians. But they had quite a rich field of mythological lore, and this they transmitted to the White Races. Thus Brahmanism in India developed the mythology of the Dravidians; the Semites of Western Asia, the mythology of the Accadians; and the Persians, that of the Turanian tribes of Media.

Excepting the first steps, the begining of our present culture, the Yellow Races have played but a small part in the history of Civilization; and, at present, they constitute the non-progressive races of men. And the probabilities are that they never will contribute much to further human progress. It is the old story of brain force as opposed to brute force. In the long run, it is brain force which rules the world and sways the destinies of men and wrests from

1 See interesting remarks "Archiv für Anthropologie" for 1885.
2 On this point see Prof. Tylor, "Nature," Vol. 28, p. 11.

nature her secrets, which, rightly used, advance the material interests of humanity. The White Races represent the brain force of the world. The Yellow Races the brute force. The day for brute force is past. Asia and Europe will never again feel terror at the mention of a Ghengis or a Tamerlane.

It remains for the future to show whether the Yellow Races are capable of accepting and profiting by the superior culture of the Whites. Japan, which is often referred to as an instance of a Yellow Race waking from the slumbers of centuries and making marvelous progress in modern Civilization, is, in several respects, an exceptional country. It, in one important respect, differs from China. It is now about settled that the aboriginal inhabitants of Japan have a large element of White blood in their ethnology.[1] Owing to their insular position this has not been drowned out by wave after wave of Mongolic people as in the case of China, therefore, we can scarcely reason from the one case to the other. We can not fully share the hopeful views of some on this point. We fear they do not sufficiently take into consideration the question of race. Probably before another century rolls around, this question will be solved one way or the other. We have now reached an important point in our work. From this on, we have to inquire as to the development of Civilization among the White Races.

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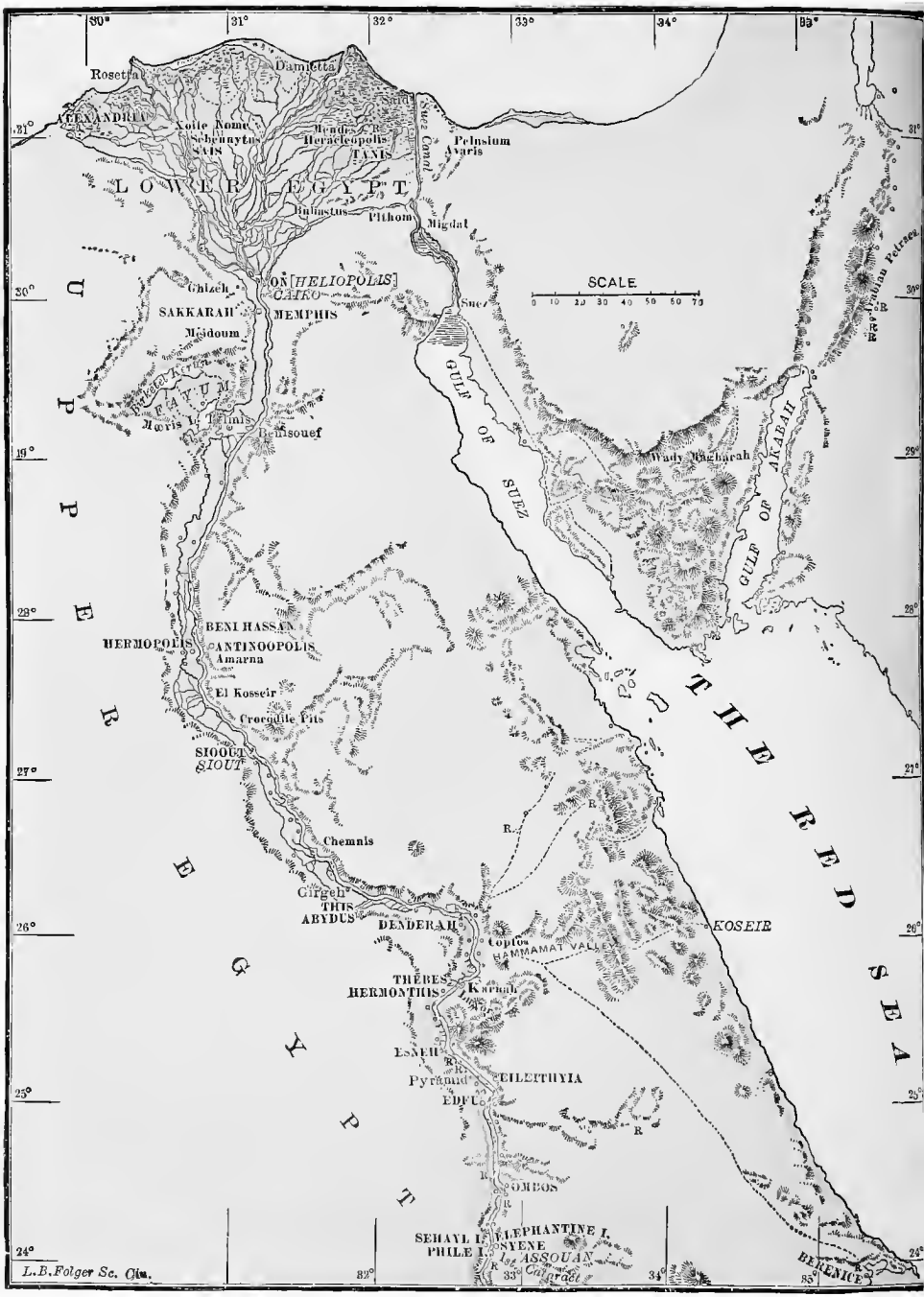
1 From two sources, came the White element in Japan. It is about settled that the Ainos are White. [Flowers in "Nature" Vol. 31, p. 389, Keane in "Nature" Vol. 27, p. 365 and 389. Same author in Standford's. "Asia," p. 712.] The second element is from Polynesian sources. The Polynesians are mainly White. [Keane in "Nature," Vol. 23.]



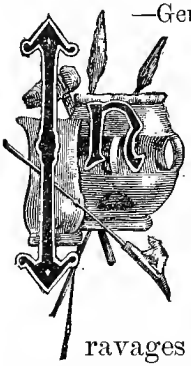
Rosetta
Damietta
ALEXANDRIA
Xoite Nome
Sebennytus
SAIS
Mendes
Heracleopolis
TANIS
Said
Suez Canal
Pelusium
Avaris
LOWER EGYPT
Bubastus
Pithom
Migdal
ON [HELIOPOLIS]
CAIRO
Ghizeh
SAKKARAH
MEMPHIS
Meidoum
Suez
SCALE
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70
Arabian Petraea
GULF OF SUEZ
GULF OF AKABAH
Wady Magharah
FAYUM
Mœris L.
Tilmis
Benisouef
UPPER EGYPT
BENI HASSAN
HERMOPOLIS
ANTINOOPOLIS
Amarna
El Kosseir
Crocodile Pits
SIOOUT
SIOUT
Chemnis
Girgeh
THIS
ABYDUS
DENDERAH
Copto
HAMMAMAT VALLEY
KOSEIR
THEBES
HERMONTHIS
Karnah
ESNEH
Pyramid
EILEITHYIA
EDFU
OMBOS
SEHAYL I.
PHILE I.
ELEPHANTINE I.
SYENE
1st ASSOUAN
Cataract
THE RED SEA
BERENICE
L.B.Folger Sc. Cin.


Map of Egypt.

# CHAPTER VI.

## ANCIENT EGYPT.

INTRODUCTION—Physical geography of Egypt—Prehistoric Egypt—Ethnology of the Egyptians—Semitic influence—Antiquity of Egypt—Chronology of Egypt—Epoch of the Old Empire—The first dynasty—Second dynasty—Opening of the historic era—The Pyramid Builders—Tomb of Nofer-ma—Khufa—Khafra—Men-ka-ra—Ptah-ho-tep—The sixth dynasty—General survey of the six dynasties—The culture of the Old Empire—Powers of the king—The council—Egyptian Pyramids—Egyptian religion—Animal worship—Ancestor worship—Polytheism—Egyptian Gods—The Myth of Osiris—Egyptian sacred writings—General conclusions.



A GENERAL way, history is said to commence with the Ancient Egyptians. It is not worth our while to dwell on this well-known statement, but let us turn at once to consider this strange country and people. The encroaching sands of the desert, the ravages of time as the centuries have been told off in rapidly passing years, and the vandal hand of conquering man, combined, have destroyed or hid from our sight many of the monumental ruins of her greatness. But there yet remain mournful ruins of surpassing grandeur, pyramids towering in air, temples flanked by long avenues of sculptured sphinxes, tombs brilliant with painted scenes of home-life, or covered with hieroglyphic inscriptions concerning contemporary events, which can not fail to impress us with a sense of a vanished past. In revery, we live again the scenes, when at the word of command mighty armies

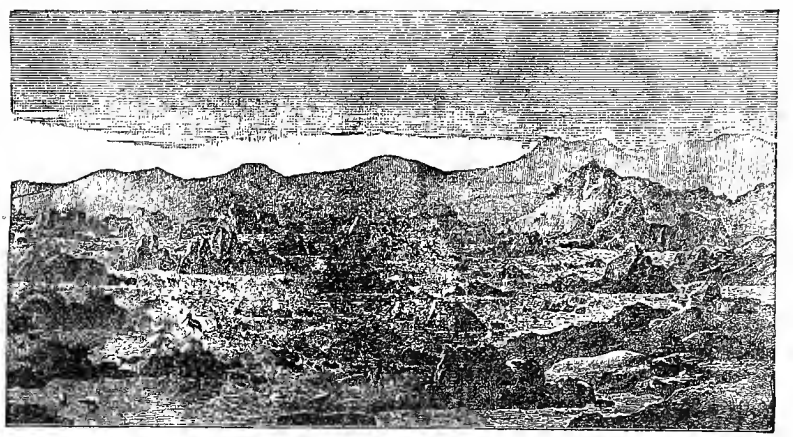
marched forth to carry the terror of the Egyptian name to surrounding people, and, in fancy, we hear the exulting plaudits of assembled thousands when the warrior-king returned in triumph at the head of his victorious forces.

But all this belongs to an almost forgotten past. Civilization, deserting its early home, has experienced a more vigorous growth in other lands, and we, the heirs of this ancient culture, wander along the banks of the Nile, the storied river of Egypt, and seek to understand somewhat of the history of these ruins, inquire as to the nature and extent of the culture that there sprung up in such early and luxuriant growth, and trace the sad steps of its decline and fall. Let us not forget that we are inquiring into the history of the most powerful and brilliant people that stand bathed in the sunrise light of history; but, as the flowers of dawn droop when the sun is higher risen, so did the nations of antiquity decline and fall before the more vigorous nations that came on the stage of action when the light of Civilization and History had stronger grown. Egypt once more illustrates the inevitable cycle of all things human—an infancy of feebleness and growth; a maturity of brilliancy and power; a long, slow decline, with death closing the scene.

When we look at the area of ancient Egypt, we are surprised to see how small it is. In fact, when we review ancient history, we find that all the ancient centers of Civilization were very small in extent. Egypt, Chaldea, Greece, Rome and ancient China are instances. From these, as from a center, an influence extended which affected vast areas of the earth's surface. As all are aware, across Northern Africa there stretches a sandy desert, which is prolonged with occasional breaks nearly across Asia. But in Central Africa is a fertile, elevated section

of country, nearly surrounded with high, and, in places, snow-covered, mountains. Here are located the great lakes of Central Africa, and here is the source of the great river of Egypt, the Nile, which, flowing to the north, receives important tributaries from Soudan and Abyssinia, and finally stretches away across this sandy expanse, flowing through a narrow valley, flanked on either side by a low range of hills—the range on the left known as the Libyan hills; those on the right, the Arabian.

The river, in descending from the more elevated region



Nile Cataract.

of Soudan, in the course of some four hundred miles, makes no less than five descents, which are dignified by the name of cataracts. It is when the last of these is passed that the river enters the confines of ancient Egypt proper. The valley through which the river flows varies in width from two to fifteen miles. At a time not very ancient, geologically speaking, the waves of the Mediterranean washed the foot of the hills near where Cairo now stands. But in the course of ages, the great quantities of sediment brought by the Nile from the highland regions have

formed a wide and fertile Delta. The Nile, entering this Delta, pours its waters through it towards the Mediterranean in seven principal channels, only two of which are at present navigable. Ancient Egypt thus included this Delta and the long and narrow Valley of the Nile, comprising in all an area of little over eleven thousand square miles, between a third and fourth of the size of the State of Ohio.

All are further aware that rain is all but unknown in Egypt, that the fertility of the country depends entirely upon the annual overflow of the Nile, which commences to swell in June, reaching its height in October, about the time of the Autumnal Equinox. Crops can not be grown beyond the limit of this overflow. Now, a moment's reflection will show us how singluarly well adapted to developing ancient Civilization was this Nile Valley. In the first place is the ease with which the country could be defended, thus allowing the tribes settling therein a chance to develop their resources. Beyond this narrow valley, on either side, is a desert expanse; to the west, a sea of shifting sand, with an occasional oasis; to the east, "a barren, rocky, mountainous region, including, only here and there, a few valleys possessing a scanty vegetation, by which a small nomadic population is maintained."[1] The only source of danger seriously to be feared by the Egyptians was from Asia, across the Isthmus of Suez.

We must also consider the fertility of the soil. The life of primitive man was a stubborn battle with the forces of nature for means of subsistence. No great advance was possible until a knowledge of agriculture was obtained. This is, perhaps, the principal reason why the seats of all ancient Civilization were located in fertile

[1] Chisholm: "Two Hemispheres," London, 1882, p. 631.

river valleys. In this respect the Nile Valley is singularly fortunate. As if to atone for the barren scenes around, nature here rewards the labors of man with enormous returns. In Upper Egypt (the narrow valley from Memphis to the first cataract), there grew the dhourra plant, a

Type of Early Egyptian.

species of the millet. Its return was about two hundred and forty to one. In addition to this, there flourished the date-palm. This tree requires little space or labor, and yields an abundant return of nutritious fruit. In addition to the foregoing, other grains can be raised with the

greatest ease.[1] Hence we can see how a teeming population was here maintained, how great armies were raised, and great works executed.

Bearing the foregoing in mind, it is by no means strange that Egypt comes before us, even at the very dawn of history, as a comparatively civilized power, and that its culture bears such strong evidence of indigenous growth. A recent writer sums up the circumstances in their favor as follows: "The wide deserts within which the happy valley was inclosed constituted a vast fortress, within which they were unmolested and undisturbed through long ages; with all the necessities of life supplied in abundance by the bountiful Nile, with the finest climate in the world, freed from the necessity of defending themselves against man or the elements, and surrounded by plenty, which it required only cultivation and industry to secure, everything favored a rapid increase and multiplication, for they had plenty of leisure, more leisure than any other people upon earth at that time, to devote to the arts. Thus it came to pass that they were the earliest among men to attain anything like a highly developed civilization."[2]

The historic period in Egypt is said to open with Menes. But from the very fact that Civilization was then in a comparatively advanced stage, we know that lying back of that epoch is an immensely long period of slow development. Only of late years have our scholars

[1] See Buckle: "History of Civilization in England," Vol. I., p. 60; also, Chisholm: Op. cit., p. 634.

[2] Villiers Stuart: "Nile Gleanings," London, 1879, p. 385. The above is certainly too favorable, as far as climate is concerned. See Chisholm: "Two Hemispheres," p. 633. "In May the suffocating khamsin or simoon begins to blow into the valley from the desert plains on each side of it, raising clouds of fine sand and causing various diseases." We might also question whether this civilization was indeed the first, though, beyond doubt, it was very ancient.

learned to read between the lines, and, by proceeding with caution, we feel safe in outlining, to some extent, this prehistoric period. The first period opening to view shows us both Upper and Lower Egypt in the possession of closely related, independent tribes. The number of these tribes, and the boundaries of the territory they claimed, must have varied from age to age. Just about the time they were being reduced under one government, we know they numbered forty-two, of which twenty-two belonged to Upper Egypt, and twenty to Lower Egypt. In naming these ancient divisions, the Egyptians sometimes used a word representing simply the territory. This word was *he-soph*,[1] used, perhaps, as is our word *county*. In later times, the Greeks used for this purpose the word *nome*, which has generally been employed by writers on Egypt to name these ancient tribal divisions.

Other words were used by the Egyptians also, viz.: *sep* and sometimes *tash*.[2] We would suggest that the latter words meant the people, used in the same way as our word *tribe*. The main thing to be noticed is that, beyond a doubt, each nome was originally the seat of an independent tribe, possessing its own rulers and making its own laws. Their territory, of course, varied in size, but, on an average, each he-soph contained about two hundred and seventy square miles. Being the seat of a fully-organized tribe, each he-soph possessed a central city or citadel, called, in their language, *nut*, where the chief resided, as well as other tribal officials.

At the head of affairs was a ruling chief, the *Hik*. This office is stated to have been hereditary, but it is interesting to notice that it passed, not from father to son,

[1] Sayce: "Ancient Empires," p. 10.
[2] Brugsch: "Egypt," etc., Vol. I., p. 15.

but from uncle to nephew,[1] in the female line of descent. We would expect this statement to be true of the earlier times only. If it remained the custom until the formation of the monarchy, it simply shows how conservative the old Egyptians were.[2] Probably the customs of the different tribes varied in this matter. Each tribe had its own religion and priests, and each he-soph erected its temple of worship in the central city.

Being so largely dependent on agriculture, they, of course, made the most of the limited amount of land at their disposal. As is true of earlier stages of Civilization in general, individual ownership of land was probably unknown, the ownership being in the tribe, and the different kinds of land in the he-soph were carefully distinguished and divided. There was the *uu*, or cultivated land overflowed by the Nile; *pehu*, or marsh land, where they could raise the lotus or papyrus, and flocks of the various water fowl could be kept; and the portion of cultivated land fertilized by the canals.[3]

Who were these tribes? This question speedily resolves itself into another: Who were the ancient Egyptians? for these tribes undoubtedly constituted the principal element in Egyptian ethnology. But this is a question on which our scholars are far from being settled. The most cau-

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[1] Brugsch Bey states that, according to Egyptian law, descent passed from "father to eldest grandson on the mother's side." (Vol. I., p. 16.) As it stands, this is an ambiguous statement. Whose mother's side? If it means the chief's mother's grandson, then this is simply a clumsy way of stating that descent was in the female line, and hereditary in the gens. This would be exactly in accord with what we found true of ancient society in general.

[2] It will, however, be seen, on consulting the outlines of the fourth and fifth dynasties, that there was no rule of descent.

[3] For information on the nomes, consult Sayce: "Ancient Empires of the East," pp. 10-11. Brugsch Bey: "Egypt Under the Pharaohs," Vol. I., p. 15. Maspero: "Geschichte Der Morgenlandischen Völker im Alterthum," pp. 18–19. Harkness: "Egyptian Life and History," p. 11.

tious among them prefer to leave it an open question. It seems to us, however, that we can determine in what direction the probabilities lie. We shall probably not be greatly in error if we assume that these primitive tribes belonged to the Yellow Races of men, probably near akin to the Turanians of Chaldea. We will, as briefly as possible, give a few reasons for this conclusion. In the first place, we have found, in times preceding the dawn of history, a vast population of nomadic tribes in Southwestern

Type of Egyptians of the Earliest Period.

Asia, who, in all probability, belonged to the Turanian branch of the Yellow Race. It would certainly be strange if they had not passed across the Isthmus of Suez and possessed themselves of the Delta and the Valley of the Nile. As further proof, is the name borne by Egypt in the earliest times. It was the land of *Kem* or *Kami*.[1] In the mind of the later Egyptians, this may have referred solely to the soil; but we question if in the first place it did not refer to the inhabitants, in which case we have to notice the presence of the phonetic element represented

[1] Brugsch: "Egypt," Vol I., p. 10.

by *k*, and recall what we found true of the Turanian tribes in Western Asia.

If our suggestion that these Turanian tribes were collectively known as the Cushites be a sound one, then we have the further fact that a large amount of ancient tradition refers the first settlement in Egypt to the Cushites.[1] From anthropological evidence alone, many modern authorities have maintained that they belonged to the Caucasian Race.[2] This is, however, a very vague statement, and it does not rest on demonstrated facts.[3] On the whole, we think the greater probabilities are that they were Turanian tribes, mixed, in the first place, to some extent, with black tribes whom they probably found in possession of the country, and, subsequently, to a greater extent, with Semitic tribes, as we will soon show.[4]

But we must bear in mind that we are speaking of the tribes previous to the arrival of the Semites; for it is our opinion that Semitic tribes succeeded in greatly influencing these Turanian tribes, in some respects similar to their influence on the Accadians. This requires us to go back very far in time, much farther than history goes. We need not doubt that the Turanian tribes for a long

[1] Rawlinson: "Seven Great Monarchies," New York, 1884, Vol. I., pp. 31–36. Bible, Genesis, chap. x. Brugsch: "Egypt," Vol. I., p. 2.

[2] Osborn: "Ancient Egypt," Cincinnati, 1883, p. 15. Wilson: "Egypt of the Past," London, 1881, p. 1. Sayce: "Ancient Empires of the East," p. 6. Brugsch: "Egypt," etc., Vol. I., p. 2. Wilkinson: "Ancient Egypt," 1879, Vol. I., p. 2.

[3] It seems that Hartman, who has carefully studied them, decides that, anthropologically, they belong to Africa, rather than to Asia, after all. He insists on their connection with the Berber type. It is said that Blumenbach held to this view. See Tylor's "Address before the Anthropological Section of the British Association," 1879, p. 385. As to the presence of a Negritian element in the ethnology of the ancient Egyptians, see Rawlinson: "Story of Egypt," New York, 1887, p. 24. He asserts: "The fundamental character of the Egyptians in respect to physical type is Negritic." See, also, article by Bertien, on "The Bushmen and their Language" in J. R. A. S., 1886, p. 79, *et seq.*

[4] As to the Egyptians being a much mixed people, see Tylor's address, already mentioned; also, Maspero: "Morgenlandischen Völker," p. 15.

time held possession of the country. They were slowly winning their way towards a higher stage of culture, making some slight progress in the upward climb leading to Civilization. They gradually approached the stationary stage reached by all members of the Yellow Races. They had a knowledge of agriculture, doubtless for the time advanced, their picture-writing, and their priestly colleges, composed of their Shamans. There were probably the usual scenes of tribal warfare. Now one tribe, owing to some circumstance in its favor, succeeds in reducing some of its neighbors to tribute, only to experience the same fate itself at a subsequent period. Owing to priestly influence, the picture-writing approached the hieroglyphic stage, and finally assumed a fixed form; and in this matter probably each tribe varied from the others.[1]

Wooden Statue from near Memphis.

We have suggested the idea of a Semitic influence.

[1] Villiers Stuart: "Nile Gleanings," p. 387.

Let us inquire into this matter a little. That some time in the past there was some sort of connection between the ancient Egyptians and Semitic tribes is, probably, not questioned by those who have investigated the matter. Tylor remarks: "There was mixture between the two races, and, what is most remarkable, there is a deep-seated Semitic element in the Egyptian language only to be accounted for by some extremely ancient and intimate connection."[1] And, speaking of these two languages, Sayce declares that "a relationship of some kind certainly exists between them."[2] This point is, probably, not disputed, and it only remains to decide the nature of this connection. Some solve the problem by declaring that the ancestors of the Egyptians and the Semitic people were the same, in the same way that the Greeks and Romans were descended from the same ancestors.[3]

Others are not ready to admit this. Prof. Whitney especially warns us to be cautious in this matter, showing how much there is yet to be determined before we can come to satisfactory conclusions.[4] Now, as similarities of language simply show social contact, we would suggest that the Semitic element in the language of ancient Egypt is due to a conquest by Semitic tribes from the south. We have assigned the origin of the Semitic people to Arabia (p. 38), but we will also show that Abyssinia has some grounds to be considered their original home. This makes but little difference, since Semitic people are found in both localities. But it does show that ancient Egypt

[1] "Proceedings British Association for Advancement of Science," 1879, p. 385.

[2] "Science of Language," Vol. II., p. 178. For further linguistic evidence, this Vol., p. 39.

[3] This is the conclusion of Maspero: "Die Aegyptian Würden, also Zu den Protosemitischen Rassen Gehoren;" "Morgenlandischen Völker," p. 17. See, also, Müller: "Science of Language," First Series, p. 282.

[4] See his "Life and Growth of Language," p. 253.

was exposed to attacks from Semitic tribes from that source.

Every one knows there is a great amount of tradition to the effect that the culture and population of ancient Egypt was derived from the south. As a rule, our modern scholars reject these traditions as of no account,[1] yet they have not been by any means disposed of. It is undoubtedly true that the ancient Egyptians represented Abyssinia as the home of their gods. This can only mean that the ruling element in their population came from thence. A series of ancient bas-reliefs represent an expedition to Abyssinia. The Egyptian commissioner is represented as landing and immediately entering into conversation with the chief of the country, who receives him with every mark of friendship and respect. The people of Abyssinia are represented with the same red complexion, dress and appearance as those of Egypt. We are to notice also that, among the hieroglyphics, occur the giraffe and dog-headed ape, animals native of Abyssinia but not of Egypt. The dog-headed ape was even worshiped in Egypt.[2] It is very difficult to explain all this on any other supposition than that there was considerable truth in the old tradition.[3]

Scribe of the Oldest Period.

The suggestion we have made obviates many difficulties. The probabilities are, we think, that the ancient

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[1] Maspero: "Morgenlandischen Völker," p. 12, *et seq.* Wilkinson: "The Ancient Egyptians," Vol. I., p. 3. Osborn: "Ancient Egypt," p. 14. Lenormant: "Ancient History," London, 1879, Vol. I., p. 202. Brugsch: "Egypt," etc., Vol. I., p. 3. [2] Villiers Stuart: "Nile Gleanings," pp. 286–9.

[3] See, also, Poole, in "Contemporary Review," 1881.

Egyptians were, at the bottom, Turanian, possibly somewhat mixed with the black tribes whom they first found in possession of the country. As we have several times pointed out, the Yellow Races lay the foundation of culture, but it requires the presence of White Races to carry that culture forward to any degree of perfection. In this case, the Semitic tribes from the south, invading and conquering the valley, constituting themselves the ruling class, but more or less completely fusing with the mass of the people, took up this already stationary Civilization and culture of their subject tribes and started Egypt forward on the great career she was destined to fill.

Where two people, conquerors and conquered, thus live together, a fusion sooner or later takes place between them, and the resulting culture combines the elements of the culture of both people, though in an unequal degree. In matters of religion, the priesthood of the Turanian tribes, who always occupied a most important position, apparently wielded the same influence on Egypt that they did in Western Asia generally. Down to the very last, they remained a strong, compact body, exercising a great influence on the affairs of the country. We detect, also, the presence of a ruling aristocratic element as well as the common people; representations, we think, of the Semitic and Turanian tribes.[1] In language we are presented with a grammar agreeing with the Semitic grammar, but disagreeing in both structure and vocabulary;[2] and, in points where it disagrees, it approaches the Turanian languages of Asia.[3]

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[1] That there are from the earliest times two well marked physical types in Egypt is admitted. See Rawlinson: "Story of Egypt," p. 25.

[2] Sayce: "Science of Language," Vol. II, p. 178.

[3] Rawlinson ("Ancient Egypt," Vol. I., p. 115) thus describes the language of Egypt: "Speaking generally, the Egyptian language may be described as an agglu-

We have thus spent some time outlining prehistoric Egypt. We may be sure that this period covers a very extensive portion of time. Of late years, we begin to, here and there, catch glimpses of this period. In hieroglyphic inscriptions, it is referred to as the time of *Horshesu*. It is even possible that some of the monumental ruins go back to this epoch, and one manuscript is thought to have been written at that far-away time.[1]

Whether any of the existing monuments date back to this mythical period is yet undetermined. Prof. Sayce is of the opinion that the Sphinx at Gizeh and the so-called granite temple situated near belong to this mythical time.[2] But Mr. Petrie shows very good reasons for not accepting this view.[3] However, as during this time the country was comparatively civilized and manuscript writing was in vogue, we know no good reason why we should not hope to discover monumental ruins, such as temples and tombs, or even manuscripts, that will throw no little light on this yet dark point.

We have, at present, no means of determining how far back in time this prehistoric period extends. We know nothing as to its beginning and nothing with certainty as to its end, or, in other words, when history begins. What we are reasonably sure of is that Upper Egypt was becoming more of a united country. The tribes were forming a closer union. Near the center of Upper Egypt, about

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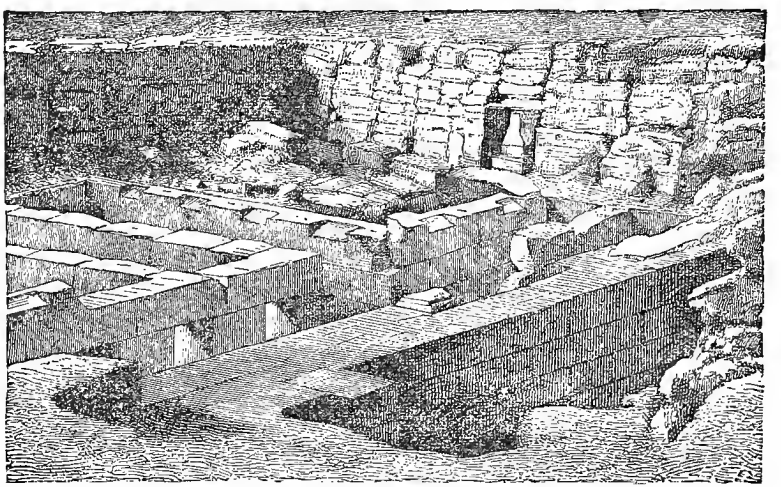
tinate monosyllabic form of speech, presenting analogies on the one hand with Turanian, on the other with Semitic tongues." He then proceeds to show that while the grammar is Semitic, its vocabulary has its main analogy with the Accadian, Mongolian and other Turanian tongues. See our remarks on Hamitic language, p. 38. Latham remarks of the Coptic, the modern representative of the ancient Egyptian: "The Coptic has long been recognized as preëminently agglutinative." ("Elements of Comparative Philology," p. 603.)

[1] Wilson: "Egypt of the Past," p. 3. [2] "Ancient Empires," pp. 21, 22.

[3] "Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh," London, 1885, pp. 49 and 65.

three hundred and thirty miles from Cairo,[1] was the eighth nome of Upper Egypt, called *Teni*.[2] Its capital city was *Theni*, called by the Greeks *Thinis*. This ancient city possesses for our purpose a great deal of interest. It has long since disappeared, and its location is not known with certainty. The modern town of Girgeh is supposed to be built over the ruins of the ancient city.[3] The necropolis of this nome was at Abydos, some twelve miles farther up



Temple of the Sphinx.

the river. Here was the most holy spot of ancient Egypt. Here was the reputed tomb of Osiris, the ancient god of Upper Egypt. According to Plutarch, the wealthy inhabitants were brought from all parts of Egypt to be buried at Abydos, in order that they might repose close to Osiris,[4] and in this vicinity, if anywhere, lie, buried in the sands,

[1] Mariette ("Monuments of Upper Egypt") gives the traveling distance as three hundred and seventy miles. Wilson gives the real distance as above.

[2] See Sayce's list in "Ancient Empires," p. 12.

[3] Wilson: "Egypt of the Past," p. 6. Sayce, in "Am. Journal of Archæology" for 1885, p. 80.

[4] From Mariette: "Monuments of Upper Egypt," p. 123.

the monuments and inscriptions which will some day throw a flood of light on what is now Prehistoric Egypt.

For Teni was the home of a populous and powerful tribe. Its location was greatly in its favor. Prof. Sayce remarks, of the rich plain composing its area, that it "is at once one of the largest and most fertile of those in the Valley of the Nile, while it is protected from attack on three sides by the Libyan hills, and on the fourth side by the river. Everything was in favor of the progress of its inhabitants in wealth and power."[1] Such a people needed only the guidance of a warlike chief to extend their sway over the entire valley, bringing one tribe after another under subjection. Such a chief was Menes, the first historical figure in Egypt,[2] who placed his tribe at the head of Upper Egypt and then conquered Lower Egypt as well, thus bringing both countries under one government. To securely maintain his hold on the united country, he built a new capital city, which we will soon describe, twenty miles from the beginning of the Delta proper. This new city was called *Men-nefer*, meaning secure and beautiful, names doubtless significant of its location and appearance. This city was the *Memphis* of history.

The events we have thus briefly outlined mark the commencement of the historic period in Egypt, though some centuries pass of which we have only the briefest notices. It is necessary to spend some time on the question of chronology. A vast amount of research has been given to this question, but such are the difficulties in the

[1] "Ancient Empires," p. 22.

[2] We have spoken of Menes as an historical personage. It is scarcely necessary to remark that there are doubts on this point. The records all speak of him as the first king. It may well be that we are here dealing with a personal name made out of a local one. We will, however, only caution the reader. We may some day be able to decide definitely.

way of a satisfactory solution that nearly every eminent Egyptian scholar differs in his conclusion from the others. Of late years, the tendency seems to be in favor of not coming to any definite conclusion. Back of the seventh century B. C., we must be content to reckon by dynasties, rather than by years. Let us, however, see what facts our scholars have to assist them in reaching their conclusions, and why it is that such diverse results are obtained.

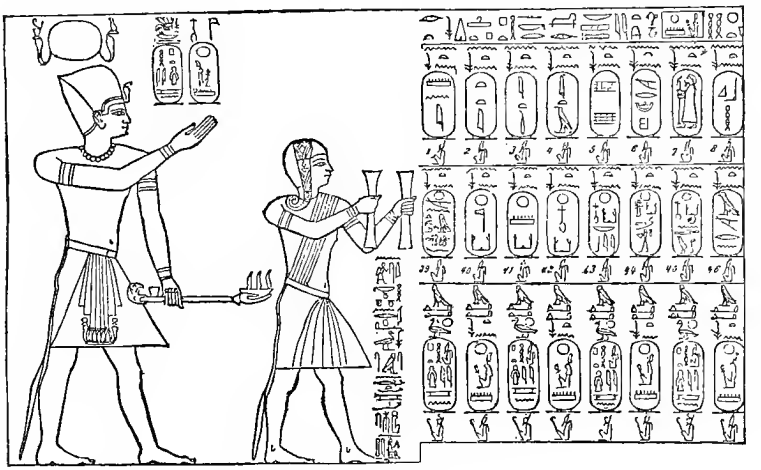
When Ptolemy Philadelphus ruled at Alexandria, near the beginning of the third century B. C., he commissioned Manetho, a priest of Sebennytos, to translate into Greek the records of the Egyptian temples. Manetho made a chronological list of Egyptian kings, dividing them for this purpose into thirty dynasties, giving for each dynasty the names and order of the kings composing it, the length of their reigns, etc. No copy of this work is known to be in existence, and all that we know about it is from meager, and, in some cases, contradictory, extracts made by some of the older classical writers.[1] Two of these, Eusebius and Julius Africanus, profess to give us Manetho's list of dynasties, with the number of years each ruled, and, in some cases, they profess to give us the names and length of reigns of the individual kings of the dynasties.

It is unfortunate that these two accounts do not correspond. It not unfrequently happens that the years of the individual kings, when added together, exceed the number of years that the dynasty is said to have lasted. Furthermore, statements made by these writers, claiming to be taken from Manetho, are often contradicted by the hieroglyphic inscriptions on the monuments themselves. It is plain, therefore, that our knowledge of Manetho's lists can not be relied on. But, even if we had his complete

[1] Such as Josephus, Eusebius, Julius Africanus, and George Syncellus.

work, we doubt whether we could then solve the problem. At the time he wrote, the star of Egypt had forever set. His beloved country had passed under foreign rule; her history was a closed book; all he could do was to pass from temple to temple, compare their various lists and traditions, and settle, as best he could, their contradictions.

When temples were erected from time to time in Egypt, the priest selected or compiled a list of the earlier kings of Egypt. In these lists certain noted kings were



A Portion of the Abydus Tablet.

always included, such as Menes, the first king; Khufa, the builder of the great pyramid, etc.; but in other details the lists undoubtedly varied. At Abydus, for instance, Seti I. is represented as honoring the spirits of seventy-five of his predecessors. It is expressly stated in the preface to the inscription that this list includes the *kings* who had reigned over *united* Egypt, thus throwing out queens and those kings who had ruled only a portion of Egypt.[1] His son, Rameses II., was even more exclusive.

[1] Villiers Stuart: "Nile Gleanings," p. 316. Let it not be forgotten that as

He omits some of his father's ancestors from his tablet. At Karnak, Thothmes III. gives a list of sixty-one kings who preceded him. This is a very exclusive list; about half a dozen names only are selected to represent the first five dynasties.[1] In the tomb of a priest at Sakkarah, dating from the reign of Rameses II., the dead priest passes to the other world in the presence of fifty-eight of the earlier kings of Egypt.

In the museum of Turin is a papyrus, found, probably, in a tomb at Thebes, and dating from the reign of Rameses II.; it is in a fragmentary condition—owing to the ignorant carelessness of the native who found it and of the European who bought it—and consists of a long list of kings, most of the names being, unfortunately, illegible. It was, doubtless, a very complete work, but Brugsch shows that the author arranged these kings according to his own idea of things: "He forgets to give, also, any account of the double reign of two kings, which has been proved beyond all doubt by the inscriptions."[2] It evidently contained, for the period from the seventh to the eleventh dynasty, the names of about forty kings.[3] The tablet of Seti I., at Abydus, gives for the same period about twenty kings.

We must add to the foregoing the fact that, long before the time of Manetho, the Egyptian priests were by no means agreed concerning many details of their earliest pharaohs. As Mariette suggests, "their memories were preserved by tradition rather than by written testimony."[4] We may suppose that Manetho did the best he could to

early as the time of Rameses II. there were contradictory traditions of the earlier kings. (Rawlinson: "Ancient Egypt," Vol. II., p. 28.)

[1] Wilson: "Egypt of the Past," p. 104.

[2] "Egypt Under the Pharaohs," Vol. I., p. 37.

[3] Ibid., p. 109.

[4] Wilson: "Egypt of the Past," p. 54.

compile a list of the kings of Egypt. We may reasonably doubt whether it was possible for him to do so, and we are certain his list has not come down to us as he left it. Let us now look at the matter of contemporaneous reigns and dynasties. It was the common practice for the heir apparent to be associated with the reigning king as co-regent.[1] We must also bear in mind the probability that one dynasty might have been reigning in one part of Egypt, while, in another part, another tribe or dynasty was in the ascendant. It is not at all doubted that such was actually the case, but it is considered that Manetho made his choice between two rival dynasties, considering one only as legitimate, and giving the kings in that line. Of late years, however, we are not quite so sure on this point. It seems to us extremely likely that confusion has come from this source, especially for the earlier periods.[2]

It must be evident, then, that at present we are entirely at sea in regard to the dates of early Egyptian history. Scholars differ very widely as to the date of the conquest of Lower Egypt by Menes.[3] Still, if we can not arrive at positive results, we are at least sure that no petty term of years expresses this date. Villiers Stuart, in his discussion of the Abydus tablet, comes to the conclusion that the *minimum* date for the accession of Menes is 4124 B. C. He says: "I began my in-

[1] Wilson: work cited, p. 10. Brugsch: "Egypt," etc., Vol. I., p. 37.

[2] Such, for instance, as the period from the sixth to the eleventh dynasty, and from the twelfth to the eighteenth dynasty. We will refer to these periods later.

[3] The following are some of the results:

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| Boeckh | 5702 B. C. | Lauth | 4157 B. C. |
| Unger | 5613 B. C. | Lepsius | 3892 B. C. |
| Brugsch | 4415 B. C. | Bunsen | 3623 B. C. |
| Mariette | 5004 B. C. | Maux | 2362 B. C. |

See Winchell's discussion of the subject in "Preadamites." He gives a list of nineteen "results" arrived at by different scholars, ranging from 5867 B. C. to 2575 B. C.

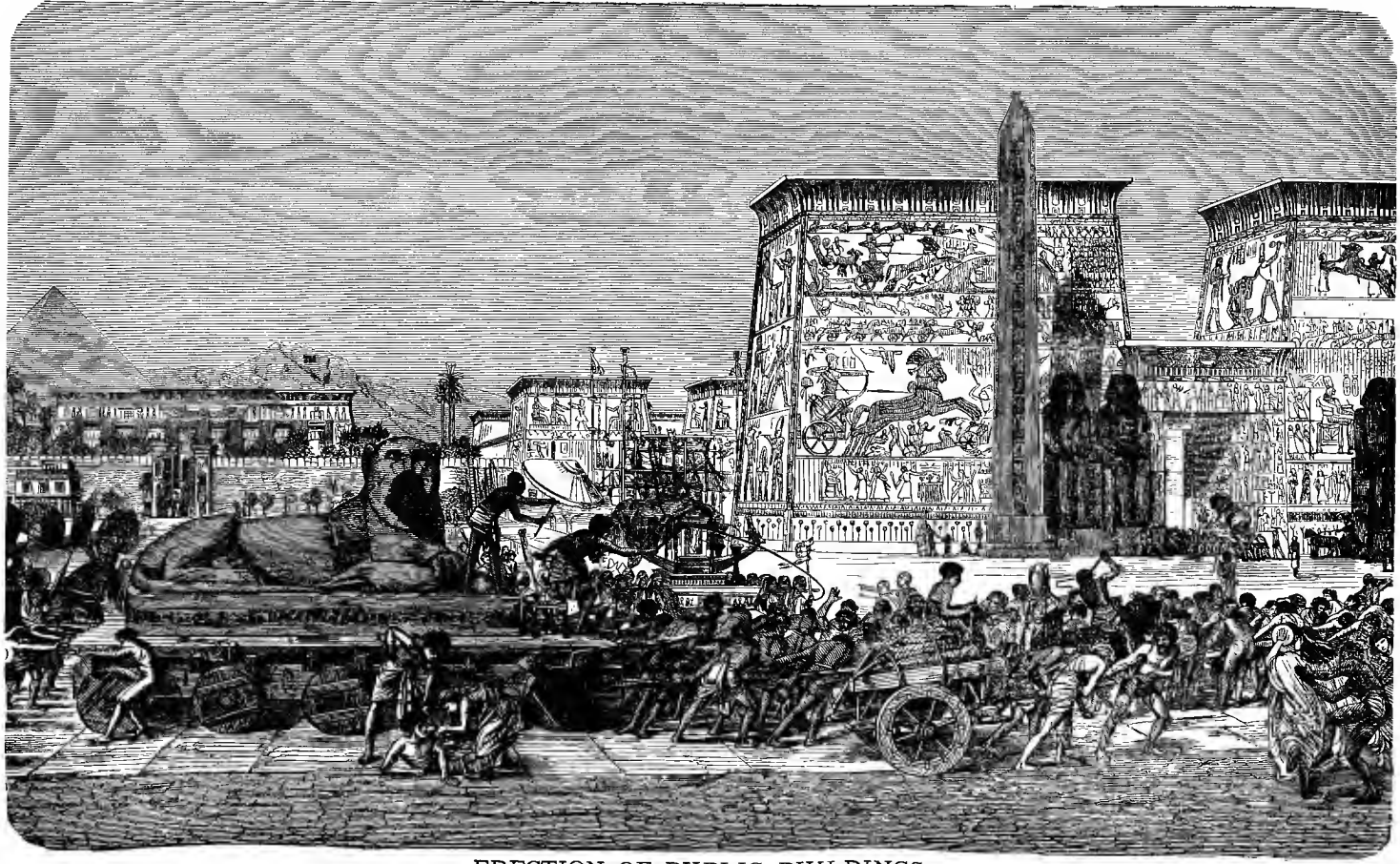
quiries into Egyptian chronology with a strong prejudice against the remote dates claimed, but, after carefully sifting all the evidence I could get at, both from books and from monuments, I can come to no other conclusion." Mariette, who spent a life-time in exploration and study in Egypt, and who carefully considered every side of the question, thinks this event must have occurred upward of fifty centuries before Christ. Prof. Sayce, after remarking that Mariette was exceptional authority on these matters, adds: "But those who have sailed up the Nile, and observed the various phases through which Egyptian art has passed, will be inclined to think that he has rather fallen short of the mark than gone beyond it." [1]

We would advise the reader to consider this question as yet open. While the results of future discoveries may establish a date no farther back than twenty-three or four centuries before Christ, yet the probabilities are, if anything, stronger that, as investigation proceeds, this date will remove even beyond Mariette's estimated time.[2]

We have now arrived at that epoch in Egyptian history known as the "Old Empire." After an unknown number of years, during which the separate tribes had been feeling their way towards a closer national union, the time had at length arrived when the entire country was united under the leadership of one powerful tribe. The seat of this tribe, the home of its worship and culture, was the eighth nome of Upper Egypt, Tenai; but Menes, their tribal chieftain, after securing his conquests, built the city of Memphis, which he made the seat of government for the united country. It is agreed on all sides that he

[1] "Ancient Empires," p. 23.

[2] For an excellent discussion on Egyptian chronology, see Rawlinson: "Ancient Egypt," London, 1881, Vol. II., chap. xii.



ERECTION OF PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

chose an advantageous site for his new city, which was to command both the provinces of Upper and Lower Egypt.

To make it both "secure and beautiful" (the meaning of the name it bore, Men-nefer), the services of the learned men were called into requisition. Traditionally, he is supposed to have built the great dyke still existing, called the dyke or wall of Cocheiche, which diverted the course of the Nile, which formerly ran near the Libyan hills, more to the eastward. On the territory thus gained, he is supposed to have built his new city, with its temples, fortifications and palaces. This city was extended and adorned by the various kings of the earlier dynasties until it became one of the most celebrated cities of ancient times; but at the present day all that remains of it are low mounds of ruins, the *debris* of ancient houses and temples. We have a description of the ruins as they appeared in the middle ages, written by an Arabian physician, in which he declares that "its ruins still offer to the eyes of the spectators a collection of wonderful works, which confound the intellect, and to describe which the most eloquent man would labor in vain."[1]

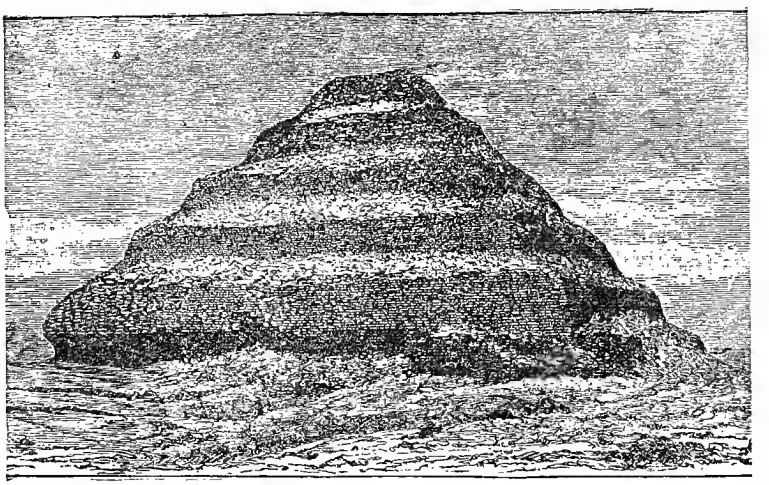
The period of Egyptian history known as the Old Empire generally includes the first ten dynasties, and extends over a period of not far from two thousand years. However, all is confusion before the fourth and after the sixth dynasty. It will be seen that this whole period is one of immense antiquity. According to Mariette, the sixth dynasty came to an end thirty-five centuries B. C.[2] But this date is subject to change, as our views on early Egyptian dates generally change. According to Manetho,

[1] Brugsch: "Egypt Under the Pharaohs," Vol. I., p. 45.

[2] See table in "Monuments of Upper Egypt," p. 22.

the first dynasty comprised a period of three hundred and five years, and a list of nine kings.[1]

We know very little of this first dynasty. It would have been very strange indeed if there was not more or less of disorder, during its course, caused by tribes trying to shake off the authority of the tribe of Tenai. Such a state of affairs seems indicated in the names of some of the kings. The tablet at Abydus, carved by Seti I., gives



Pyramid of Sakkarah.

for the third and fourth *Atoto* and *Ata;*[2] Manetho gives *Kenkenes* and *Unephes* for the same two. A possible explanation suggested by Mariette is that these kings were contemporaneous. Perhaps, for the time, some tribe or confederacy disputed with the Tenai tribe for supremacy; yet the difficulties of deciding on this point are certainly great. We have some reason for supposing that Ata built the stepped pyramid at Sakkarah. This is only a

[1] Brugsch: "Egypt," etc., Vol. I., p. 54. The number of kings and duration of the dynasty vary. See Sayce, work cited, p. 277.

[2] We follow the reading of Prof. Sayce. ("Ancient Empires," p. 283.)

few miles from Memphis, and is, perhaps, the oldest monument of Egyptian art remaining.

We have no record of any foreign wars of the first dynasty, and almost no knowledge of the internal affairs. We need not suppose the three centuries, more or less, of this dynasty were one long period of peace. There were, doubtless, invasions to repulse and rebellions to crush, yet we know nothing of them. Doubtless, advance in Civilization took place. We have seen that one pyramid, perhaps, dates from this dynasty. Certain papyri, found at Thebes, make references to kings of this dynasty. A recipe for making the hair grow is said to date from the reign of Teta, the successor of Menes. Recipes for the curing of leprosy, contained in a papyrus of Rameses II., were said to have been "discovered" in the time of Sapti, the fifth king, and two chapters of the "Ritual of the Dead" are supposed to date from this same early period. Thus it will be seen that, though we call this dynasty historic, after all but little is known about it.

It is necessary to explain somewhat as to a change of dynasty. At the present day, we understand by the word *dynasty* a reigning family whose members succeed each other by right of hereditary succession. When, by reason of revolution or natural causes, such a ruling house comes to an end and a new reigning house is chosen, a new dynasty is inaugurated. To illustrate from English history, the present dynasty is Hanoverian, since they rule by right of hereditary succession from the electress, Sophia of Hanover, on whom the crown was settled by the "act of succession" in the reign of William the Conqueror. As in the case just quoted, a change of dynasty may be provided for and take place in a peaceful manner. Now, the kings of Egypt have been divided into divisions called

dynasties; but a few moments' reflection will show us that it does not necessarily follow that our definition of the word *dynasty* can be applied to them.

The whole conception of a dynasty must remain unknown to a people in a tribal state of society. Of necessity, it can arise only when society has reached a very advanced stage of development. Tribal lines must be removed and the whole people become fused in one. Now we know almost nothing of the state of society amongst the primitive Egyptians; but the presumptions are altogether against there being a state of society such as we naturally picture to ourselves when we talk about dynasties, in the modern sense of the word. The condition of affairs, as regards the ruling house, must have been about as follows: Menes was the ruling chief of the tribe located in the Tenai nome. This tribe succeeds in subjecting all Egypt to its rule. Now, from what we have found true of ancient society in general, no doubt this office of chief was originally elective, the various gentes of the tribe electing their chief as occasion required. The constant tendency of custom is to change this elective office to an hereditary one. No one knows what was the relation between the early kings of Egypt. The son might have succeeded his father in office. The probabilities are that he would do so if he were acceptable to the tribe. We may be equally sure the tribe would reject him and elect another chief if he were not acceptable. There is certainly a large amount of tradition to the effect that the office of king in ancient Egypt was elective.[1]

A change of dynasty, then, in ancient Egypt, must mean that some tribe or confederacy has overthrown the ruling tribe, and their chiefs appear to view as kings of

[1] Wilkinson: "Ancient Egyptians," Vol. I.

Egypt. This result, which we arrive at by simply reasoning on the condition of ancient society in general, is borne out by eminent Egyptologists. Brugsch-Bey, after remarking that the nomes remained in a degree independent, and, consequently, were often at war with each other, continues: "The disastrous results of such feuds sometimes affected even the whole dynasty. The reigning family had to descend from its throne and give up the country and crown to the victorious prince of a nome; hence, not unfrequently, arose the changes of dynasty."[1]

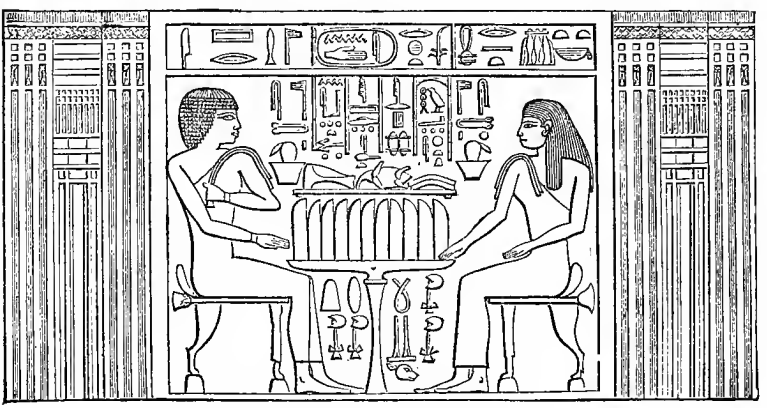
The first dynasty, whose few traditions we have now glanced at, is said to have come to an end with the ninth king. It is called a Thinite dynasty, from the name of the nome or tribe. The second dynasty is also called Thinite. Some suppose there were two branches of the family of Menes, and one, failing direct heirs, was succeeded by the other. We think an explanation more in accordance with the unsettled state of affairs can be given. That the times were turbulent seems shown when we consult respective lists of kings of this dynasty. The Abydus tablet gives us five kings. In the preface of this tablet, we must remember, it was stated that kings of United Egypt were given. The Sakkarah tablet gives seven kings, but only three of these are manifestly the same as those given in the Abydus tablet.[2] Who were these other four kings, and why is it that Seti left them out of his list? Did they rule a part of Egypt only? Prof. Sayce points out one inscription that seems to show the name of a king not down on any of the lists. These examples show that, in the first place, our knowledge of

[1] "Egypt Under the Pharaohs," Vol. I., p. 17.

[2] See Sayce's list: "Ancient Empires," p. 283.

these far-away times is scanty, and, second, that there was considerable confusion.

The records are very scant indeed. In the course of some three centuries no war is mentioned, yet, beyond a doubt, they were almost continually at war. In this connection, we might refer to the meanings of the names of the early kings. In nearly every case these names are just such as would be adopted by warrior chiefs generally. We have Menes, "the constant," or "the firm," "he who resists;" Tota, "he who beats;" Kakau, "the bull of



Sculpture from the Tomb of Senta.

bulls," also "the most manly;" Senta, "the terrible;" Huni, "he who strikes," etc.[1]

We have a monument of the time of Senta. It is a sculptured slab of limestone, forming a part of the door of the tomb of one of his priests.[2] A priest and priestess are seated opposite each other, with an ornamental pedestal table between them, over which are placed meat offerings. The columns of hieroglyphics on the wall back of the table enumerate various funeral gifts, including linen

[1] Brugsch: "Egypt," etc., Vol. I., p. 56.

[2] Found more than two hundred years ago near Memphis, and presented to the Ashmolian Library, Oxford, England. See Wilson: "Egypt of the Past," p. 49.

garments for the mummy. The name of Senta is in the oval in the border above.

Two extracts from Manetho's work concerning this dynasty have come down to us. According to the first extract, it would seem that the worship of the sacred bulls was inaugurated under Kakau. The second extract states that under King Baienneter females were made eligible to the throne. With all due regard to the authority of Manetho, the probabilities are that neither of these extracts is worth anything historically. The probabilities are that Manetho explained, according to his views of what was probable, expressions he found on the old monuments. In regard to the worship of bulls and other animals, we need only remark that, in accordance with what we found true of primitive religion generally, such worship is simply a survival of a more primitive superstition. The probabilities are all against it being a new custom inaugurated by Kakau, of the second dynasty.[1] Further than this, the probabilities are that, long before the time of Kakau, the bull, apis, was worshiped at Memphis. The stepped pyramid, described some pages back, probably built by Ata, of the first dynasty, was perhaps erected in his honor.[2]

With regard to the second extract, we think it equally valueless. Egypt presents us with a strange mixture of Turanian and Semitic culture, as we have already pointed out. As far as the laws of descent are concerned, they may have tenaciously clung to some of the old principles of female descent. Perhaps this is the source of the old

[1] On this point, see Tiele: "Egyptian Religion."

[2] Harkness: "Egyptian Life and History," London, 1884, p. 15. The smaller chambers of this pyramid were intended to receive the mummified apis. We are bound to say there is a question whether these smaller chambers are as ancient as the rest of the structure. (Wilson: "Egypt of the Past," p. 26.)

notion that the children of a queen or royal princess were eligible to the throne, no matter whether her husband was of royal blood or not. "But if, on the contrary, a king married a lady of a noble family, either Egyptian or foreign, the children . . . did not entirely possess a legitimate right to the crown."[1] This is a plain indication of the survival of the old rule in a state of society where we would not expect to find it. It was not a new rule, and from the nature of things each dynasty must have made its own rules.[2] We simply refer to these extracts from Manetho to show with how much care we must examine what is said of ancient Egypt.[3]

The third dynasty is called Memphite. We conjecture that the colony at Memphis at length becomes independent of the tribe at Tenai. There is, as usual, a good deal of discrepancy between the lists of Manetho, as we have them, and the monumental lists of the kings of this dynasty. Manetho, as quoted by Africanus, mentions nine kings; the Abydus tablet gives six;[4] the Sakkarah tablet four, and two of these are different from the Abydus tablet. Now, whether we adopt the suggestion that each temple made its own list and selected those kings who favored that temple, or believe that we see in this confusion evidence of contemporaneous dynasties, one thing is evident—that we have no certain knowledge of these far-away times.

We have, however, now arrived at the opening of a

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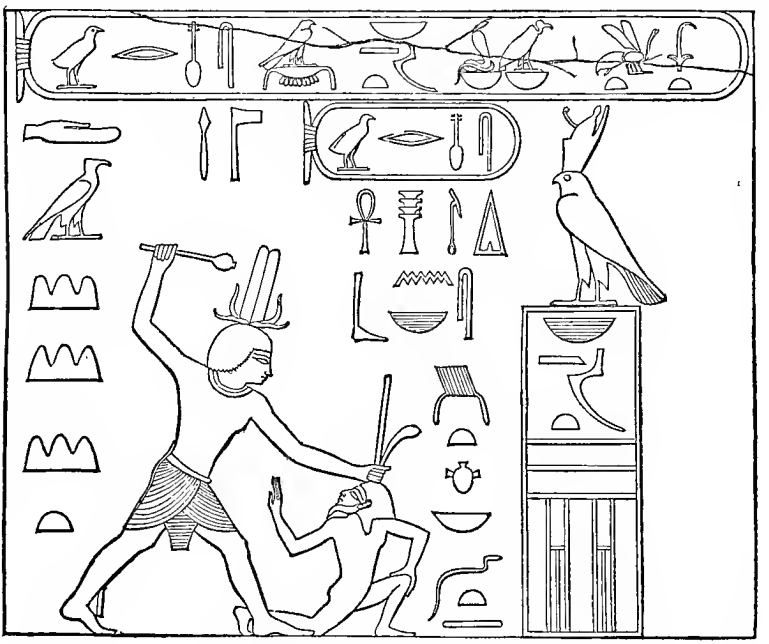
[1] Brugsch: "Egypt," etc., Vol. I., p. 61.

[2] See Bunsen: "Egypt's Place," etc., Vol. II., p. 107.

[3] Rawlinson observes: "It can not be said that any facts are really known of these monarchs." Of the few traditions he says: "Their value would be slight, even were they to be depended on; as the case stands, it is difficult to assign them any value at all. . . . No doubt Manetho found these traditions in Egyptian authorities; but his credulity was great, his critical discernment small, his diligence in research less than might have been expected."

[4] See Sayce's list.

new epoch in Egyptian history. We are able to speak with more certainty, because we have inscriptions and contemporaneous monuments to help us on our way. The first three dynasties are very shadowy indeed. We can but dimly perceive that we are dealing with a confused, semi-mythical period. With the fourth dynasty, we walk in the clearer light of monumental history. The first



Tablet of Seneferu at Wady Magharah.

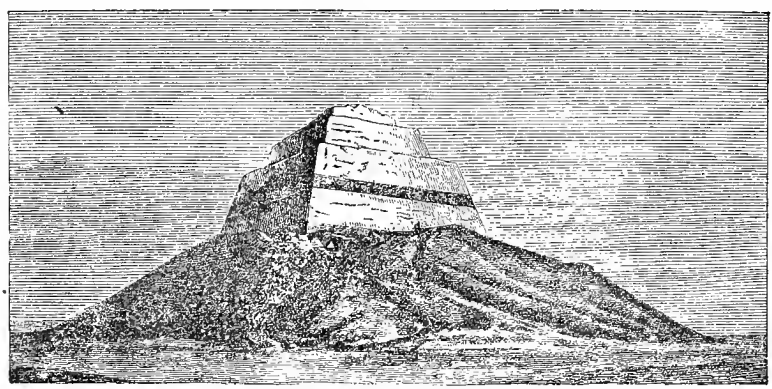
king of this dynasty, Seneferu, is, by the majority of authorities, placed as the last king of the third dynasty;[1] but it seems there is uncertainty on this point.[2] Manetho heads this dynasty with a king whom he calls Soris. There seems to be no doubt that the immediate prede-

[1] Sayce: "Ancient Empires," p. 283. Brugsch: "Egypt Under the Pharaohs," Vol. I., p. 55.

[2] Rawlinson: "Ancient Egypt," Vol. II., p. 46; "Story of Egypt," p. 54. Birch: "Ancient Egyptians."

cessor of Khufa, Manetho's second king of the fourth dynasty, was Seneferu, since the same queen was the favorite wife of both.[1]

The fourth dynasty is also called Memphite. We do not understand the nature of the revolution which placed some other tribe at the head of affairs, but it is clear a change has taken place. Not only do we emerge into the light of history, but we see many indications that Egypt has entered on a new stage of action. Her kings are no longer named by some simple title expressive of personal



Pyramid of Meidoom.

qualities, but by a number of titles expressive of the dignity of their station. Egypt now becomes a conquering power. Seneferu was "distinguished alike as a soldier, an architect and a patron of literature and art."[2] As a soldier, he led his army into the peninsula of Sinai, attracted thence, probably, by the rich mineral mines and especially the copper mines. The inscription, engraved on the rocks of Wady Magharah, commemorates his victory. The long oval at the top reads, from right to left, "King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of Justice, Van-

[1] Wilson: "Egypt of the Past," p. 62. [2] Ibid., p. 55.

quisher of his Adversaries, S-nefer-r-u."[1] In this section, there can still be traced the remains of the fortress, within which the Egyptian garrison was stationed who held the country so valiantly gained.

We have still another monument of this king. It is the pyramid of Meidoom, shown in the preceding cut.[2] It is considered as probable that the body of this warrior king still sleeps in some yet undiscovered chamber of this secure pyramid.

Meidoom is some forty miles south of Memphis, and we can but wonder why Seneferu should have built his pyramid so far away. His was not an isolated tomb; but a few hundred yards away is to be found a collection of tombs of this dynasty, all of great interest. We will present a cut of one of these tombs; it is that of Prince Nofer-ma or Nefermat. He is supposed to have been a son of Seneferu. It is constructed of immense blocks, laid in regular order and built against the vertical face of a rocky shelf. A large portal opens into a narrow chamber visible from without. It will be seen that every part of the wall is carved with bas-reliefs and hieroglyphics, or with figures represented in mosaics, with colored cement. On the left of the entrance is represented Nofer-ma and his wife—the latter figure but dimly outlined—clasping his right arm. On the left is the prince and his son, only a portion of the child being visible.

At the far end of the chamber he is again represented in company with his wife, their names being sculptured over their heads. Above the doorway, but barely visible, he is contemplating his funeral gifts; the sides of the

[1] Rawlinson: "Ancient Egypt," Vol II., p. 48.

[2] Brugsch, Wilson and Sayce all admit this to be his pyramid. Mariette remarks: "There is some reason to suppose that Seneferu was its builder." Rawlinson thinks the data at hand scarcely sufficient to determine this point.

entrance represent triumphal scenes in his life. The tomb of his wife, but a short distance away, is even more richly decorated, and in paintings a curious and happy scene is spread before our eyes. "The husband is employed in netting birds; the game is conveyed by servants to the princess seated on her chair. At the end of the chamber, the wife, in the presence of her husband, lays her hand upon her breast, as though she would express her infinite

Tomb of Nofer-ma.

devotion to her lord, whilst around we see the preparation for a feast, the slaughter of a spotted antelope and the carrying of the provisions to the banquet table: all this is clearly shown, even though the earthquake has seriously disturbed the massive stones."[1]

In still a third tomb of this group was discovered two remarkable statues, being those of Prince Rahotep and his wife, Princess Nefert. We call especial attention to these

[1] Wilson: "Egypt of the Past," p. 62.

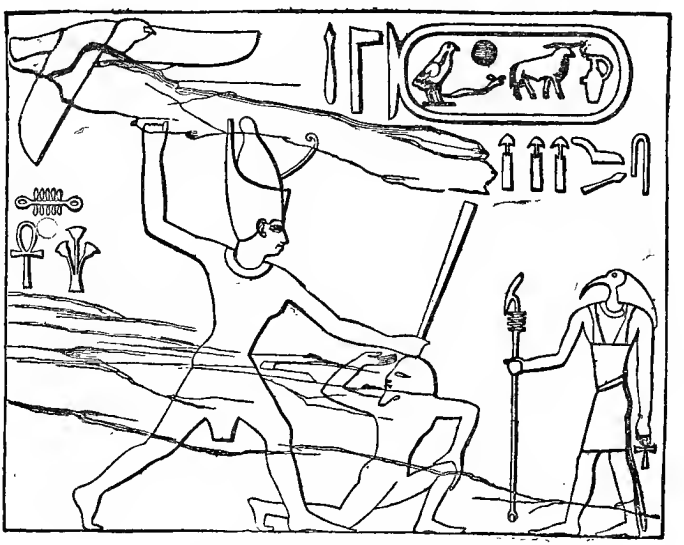
figures, both for the general excellency of the work and the features represented. Villiers Stuart remarks: "On looking at them, one is immediately struck by the European character of the features."[1]

Statues of Rahotep and Nefert.

The other kings of this dynasty emulated the example of Seneferu. Like him, they built for themselves stupendous pyramids for tombs; but as we expect to describe the pyramids more particularly later, we will not attempt it in this place. We wish to remark that the new governing power in Egypt seems to us to display, in several respects, the workings of a tribal state of society. That the ruling tribe dominated over the others is, of course, admitted; but within the tribe itself we have several indications that all stood on a plane of equality. Their chiefs, the kings, were, of course, treated with the greatest of honor and respect; but we doubt if these offices were hereditary. The truth of these remarks will be seen as we outline the history of the fourth and fifth dynasties.

[1] "Nile Gleanings," p. 282.

Seneferu had at least one son who survived him; yet the office of king passed to a third person, who subsequently married Mertetfes, the widow of Seneferu. This king is known to us from the monuments as Khufa, and is the Cheops of history. Some have supposed he was an usurper. The probabilities are that the office of king was elective, and that the ruling tribe rejected the son of Seneferu and chose Khufa in his stead. He is known to be

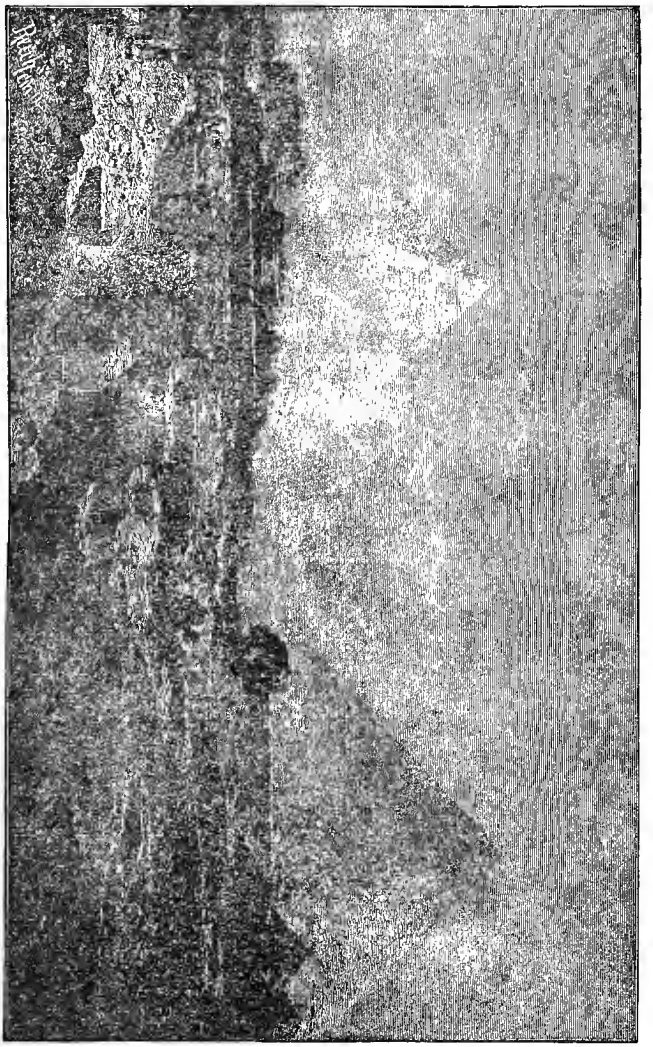


Tablet of Khufa at Wady Magharah.

the builder of the Great Pyramid, and was a warlike prince.

He made at least two expeditions to Sinai, and left the above inscription behind him, carved on the rocks of Wady Magharah, which represents him as striking down the chief of that district. As builder of the Great Pyramid, Khufa comes before us as a king of great ability and power. Passing by, for the present, all questions whether the building of the pyramid was the des-

potic act of a tyrant,[1] or a wise measure, furnishing employment to the people when the overflowing Nile prevented



View of the Great Pyramid and Vicinity.

all other work,[2] it remains true that a large body of inhabitants must have been subject to the ruling tribe.

[1] The view of older writers generally.

[2] Petrie: "Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh," p. 83.

Statue of Khafra.

According to the Abydus and Sakkarah tablets, Khufa was followed by a king named Ratatf.[1] Several monu-

[1] Wilson gives this name as Tetefra; we follow Sayce.

mental evidences of his existence are known,[1] and it is somewhat singular that these two tablets should contain his name if he were not a noted king. In the tomb of Queen Mertetfes, he is not mentioned. It is, therefore, supposed that he reigned but a few months at most.[2] He was followed by Khafra, the Cepheren of Herodotus. Here, again, we must notice that though Khufa had a number of sons, they were all passed by, and a chief not known to be related to Khufa chosen for the office of ruling chief or king. It is, indeed, suggested that he was married to the daughter of Khufa, and reigned in her right.[3] There is not a particle of evidence for this theory. This king was the builder of the second pyramid, bringing, for a portion of this work, granite from the very extremity of Upper Egypt.

We possess a remarkable monument of Khafra; it is nothing less than his statue. His connection with some other structures near the Great Pyramid will be considered in its appropriate place. Among the titles of this king is one of considerable interest, since, though common on later monuments, it here makes its first appearance; that is, *Sa Ra*, or "Son of Ra"—Ra being the sun-god.[4] The successor of Khafra was Menkara, a person not known to be related to Khafra, who had at least two sons survive him. He was the builder of what is known as the Third Pyramid.[5] It is called the Red Pyramid, because its external casing was the red granite of Seyene. The

[1] Wilson: "Egypt of the Past," p. 84.

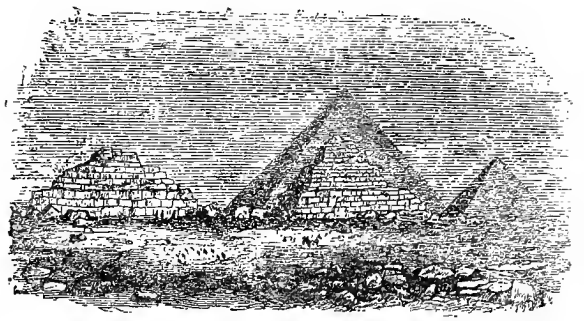
[2] Rawlinson: "Ancient Egypt," Vol II., p. 257. But on this point we can not be sure. We know he had a "prophet" (Wilson, p. 84); so he might have had a pyramid and temple.

[3] Rawlinson: "Ancient Egypt," Vol. II., pp. 61, 62.

[4] Ra was the sun-god of Heliopolis. Perhaps this points to increasing influence of the Delta tribes.

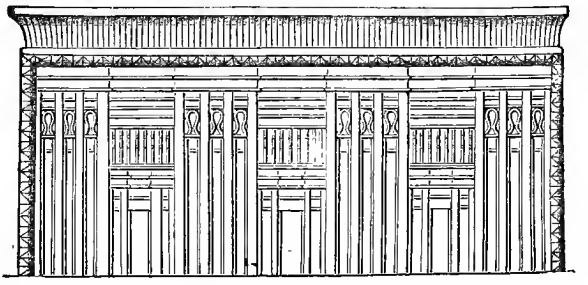
[5] See Petrie: "Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh," p. 63.

design of the pyramid was evidently changed after the construction was commenced; and tradition has it that this was due to a far later sovereign, but tradition is here probably at fault.[1] In this pyramid, Colonel Vyse found the immense sarcophagus of Menkara, and a wooden mummy-case with his hieroglyphics on it. The lid contained, in hieroglyphic writing, the following address to the mummy: "O Osiris, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkara,



View of the Third Pyramid.

Mummy-case of Men-ka-ra.



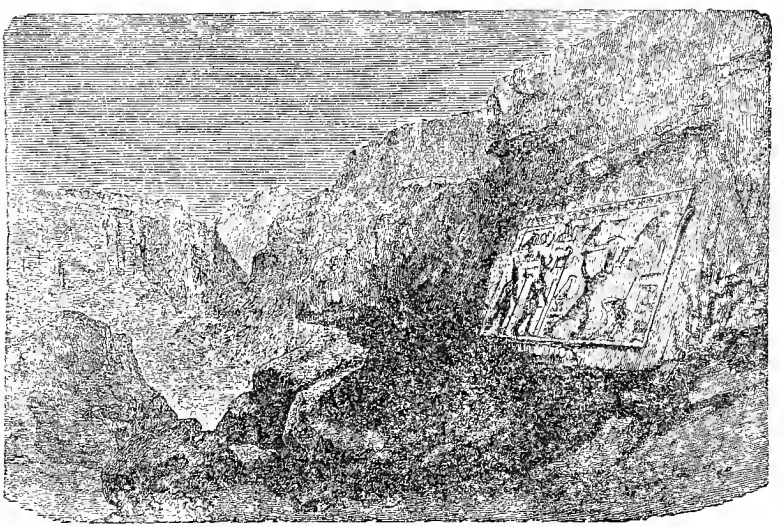
Sarcophagus of Men-ka-ra.

living eternally, engendered by the Heaven, born of Nut, substance of Seb, thy mother, Nut, stretches herself over thee in her name of the abyss of Heaven. She renders thee divine by destroying all thine enemies, O King Menkara, living eternally."[2]

[1] Petrie: "Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh," p. 63.

[2] Rawlinson: "Ancient Egypt," Vol. II., p. 64.

We are now introduced to a long series of years containing but little to detain us. Manetho speaks of a change of dynasty one reign later than the time of Menkara. It is the opinion of some of the later scholars that there was no good reason for him to make such a division. We are, at any rate, ignorant of the revolution, if any occurred. Memphis continued to be the capital, and, as far as we can decide from the monuments, Egyptian



Tablet of Sakura at Wady Magharah.

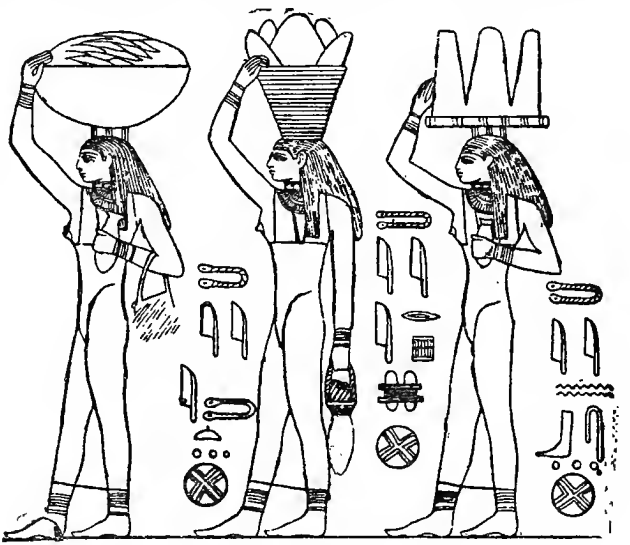
affairs continued in the same channel.[1] Menkara was succeeded by Ases-ka-f, though this name is also spelled differently, some preferring to call him Shep-sesk-af.[2] He also built a pyramid which was called "Keb the Cool."[3]

In Manetho's fifth dynasty we have a list of nine kings. The monuments give us the names of ten. We have but little to say of this dynasty. A tablet at Wady Magharah

[1] Rawlinson: "Ancient Egypt," Vol. II., p. 68.

[2] Sayce and De Rouge prefer the former term; Brugsch and Rawlinson the latter. [3] Sayce says this was the Brick Pyramid; others think it not yet identified.

represents the second king, Sakura, as a conqueror in that section. The fourth king of this dynasty, Nofer-ar-ka-ra,[1] gave his daughter, Nefer-ho-tep, in marriage to a man by the name of Ti. His tomb, discovered at Sakkarah, was brilliantly illustrated with scenes of his life. We present two views of the same. The first represents a procession of his female slaves, each carrying some article of his property; the second, a procession of donkeys, laden with



Scene from the Grave of Ti.

panniers of grain. The load of the second donkey is about falling, and we notice what energetic steps the men servants are taking to prevent the threatened catastrophe. Other scenes represent Ti hunting and fishing in the Nile.[2]

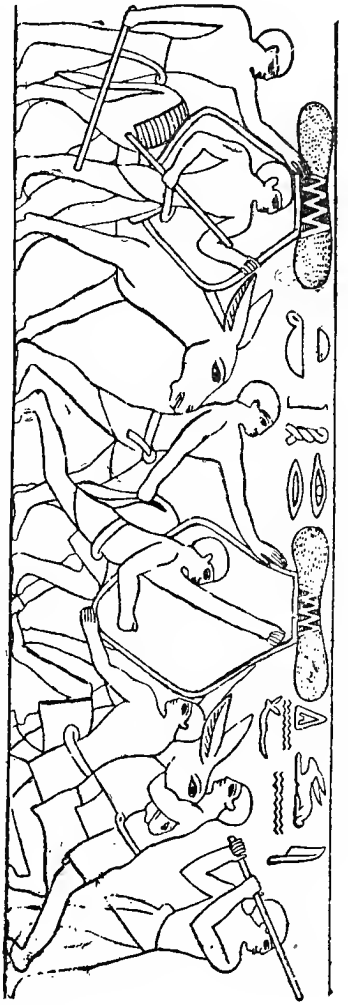
We have a picture of the eighth king of this dynasty, Men-kau-hor, found on a slab built into one of the walls of the Serapeum at Memphis. The reign of the ninth king, Tat-ka-ra, is of interest to us, since, in a tomb of this

[1] See Sayce's list, p. 284. The spelling varies in different authorities.

[2] See Villiers Stuart: "Nile Gleanings," Chap. vi.

period, was found the most ancient manuscript known to us, written by Ptah-hotep, the son of some former king. It is called the "Precepts of Ptah-hotep." It was written when its author was a very old man, and is a treatise on philosophy.

One of its most beautiful passages is as follows: "If thou art become great after thou hast been humble, and if thou hast amassed riches after poverty, being because of that the first in thy town, if thou art known for thy wealth and art become a great lord, let not thy heart become proud because of thy riches, for it is God who is the author of them for thee. Despise not another who is as thou wert; be towards him as towards thy equal." And here is another full of practical sense: "Let thy face be cheerful as long as thou livest; has any one come out of the coffin after having once entered it?"[1]



Scene from the Grave of Ti.

With the tenth king of this dynasty, Unas, about whom but little is known, the period of Egyptian history commencing with Seneferu comes to a close. It is the first

[1] Wilson: "Egypt of the Past," p. 108.

historical period of Egypt proper. During this entire period, we have not one instance in which it is known that a son succeeded the father. We have several instances in which we are sure that surviving sons of a deceased king were passed by and another person elected to the office of king. The probabilities are that this office was elective. The kings are generally spoken of as ruling over Upper and Lower Egypt. Whether this be a fact or not is another thing. Certain it is that all the historical monuments are located near Memphis, though, as we have seen, they worked the copper mines at Wady Magharah, and they also brought granite from Seyene. Still we are not sure of the extent of their territory.[1]

Men-kau-hor.

The sixth dynasty opens up a new chapter. The Turin papyrus regarded Unas as closing an important period of history. It then gives the number of kings up to that time and the years of their reign. Manetho seems to be in some uncertainty as to the name of this

[1] See Rawlinson: "Ancient Egypt," Vol. II., p. 98.

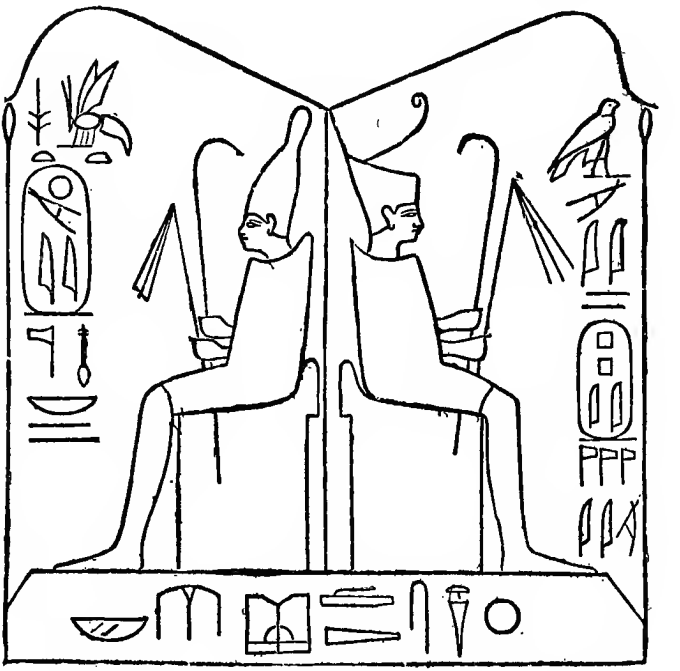
dynasty. He calls the fifth dynasty Elephantine, and the sixth dynasty Memphite, thus indicating that there was considerable difference between these two dynasties. The monuments, as read by modern scholars, change this order somewhat. As we have said, we can detect no reason for dividing the kings from Seneferu to Unas into two dynasties; for all we can see, they were both Memphite. But the so-called sixth dynasty has its seat of power further up the river. It is no more Memphis and its neighborhood alone, but it is in an especial manner Middle Egypt, which, henceforth, reveals to us recollections of the kings.[1] It is certain that the kings of the sixth dynasty sometimes visited Elephantine, whether they came from there or not.[2]

It is to be noticed that the invasion comes from the south. There was undoubtedly a period of confusion preceding the ushering in of the new ruling tribe. It is doubtless for this reason that a discrepancy occurs between the various lists of kings.[3] The first great king of the new dynasty, perhaps the first to securely unite the country under his rule, was Pepi, though he was also called Merira. We have one tablet in which two representations of him appear, seated back to back, one named Pepi and one Merira. With the sixth dynasty we have the first historical evidence of a united Egypt, and Pepi appears as the first great warrior. His name has been found on a carved block at Tanis, in the north-eastern part of the Delta, and the rocks of Seyene are also covered with his inscriptions.

We find Pepi exercising authority over the Negro

[1] Brugsch: "Egypt," etc., Vol. I., p. 96. Rawlinson: "Ancient Egypt," Vol. II., p. 97. [2] Inscriptions of Una, in "Records of the Past," Vol. II., p. 4.
[3] See Sayce's list, p. 284.

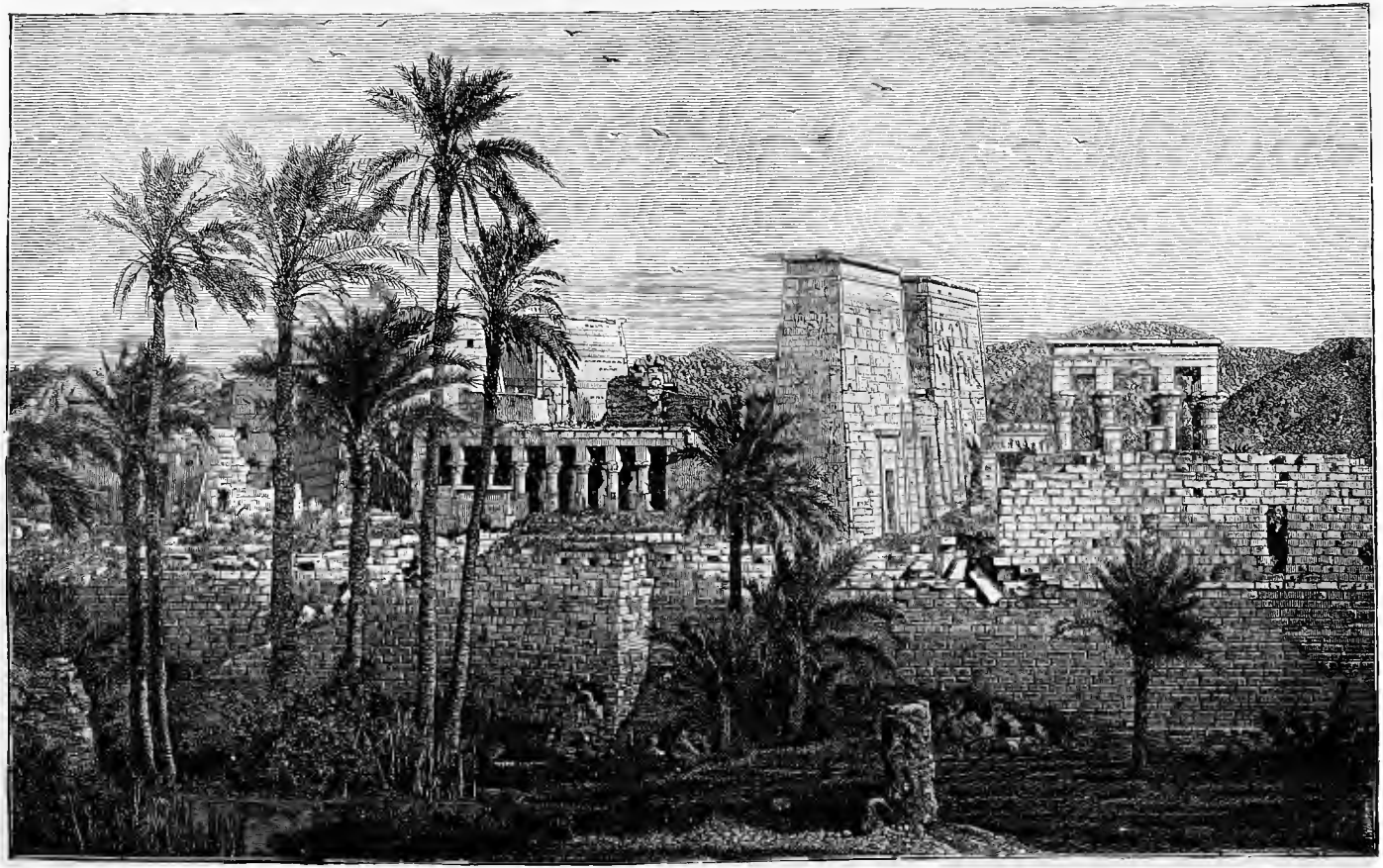
tribes of Soudan. A large part of his army was composed of recruits gathered from thence. Considerable speculation has been indulged in as to when this conquest of Soudan occurred, and why it is that we do not hear of it at an earlier date in Egyptian history. We doubt whether Soudan was ever under the rule of the Memphite kings.



Tablet of Pepi.

It might have been long subject to the tribe at Elephantine, and perhaps this explains why it was that this tribe from the extreme south was able to subjugate all Egypt.

We have already pointed out that we need not be sure of the extent of authority of the Memphite kings in the Delta. Certain it is that King Pepi gathered an army to complete his conquests in that section. We find him subduing and driving out tribes from the Delta. These



502 RUINS—ISLAND OF ELEPHANTINE.

were probably Semitic tribes from Western Asia, or they may have been Hittite tribes from Asia Minor. These various details from the life of Pepi are known mainly from inscriptions in the tomb of his principal minister, Una.[1] Another thing we are to notice is that the crown now passes by inheritance, Pepi being succeeded by his eldest son, Mer-en-ra.

All the great empires of antiquity stood on foundations of sand. They failed to grasp the true idea of empire. They kept tribal lines distinct, and demanded of the subjected tribes tribute, while permitting them to conduct their own affairs as seemed to them good. The empire was a loose conglomeration of separate states held together by fear, which would certainly attempt to recover their independence whenever they deemed the occasion propitious. When by such means the ruling tribe was overthrown, a period of anarchy, of a longer or shorter duration, nearly always ensued. Finally some other tribe or people, by a combination of successful circumstances, would succeed in making themselves masters. It is evident that they held this position only by means of brute force. This was at least true for a time; but when a long succession of vigorous princes had administered the affairs of the new empire, the various tribes, grown accustomed to the new order of things, would not be so apt to attempt a revolution.

We have seen that the fifth dynasty was succeeded by a period of confusion, and then the so-called sixth dynasty comes before us. We have just given a brief sketch of Pepi, the great king, perhaps the founder of this dynasty. His successors were by no means his equal. His eldest son, Mer-en-ra, did not reign long. He was succeeded by

[1] See "Records of the Past," Vol. II., p. 3.

Nofer-ka-ra, the second son of Pepi. Of these two kings we know but little, though the latter is supposed to have reigned for twenty years. His successor is said to have been a queen, Nitocris. We have no monumental evidence of her reign, but Manetho and the Turin papyrus both mention her. Tradition has it that she finished the third great pyramid, begun long before by Men-ka-ra; but Petrie's researches seem to contradict this tradition: he decides that the style of work was all of the fourth dynasty.[1]

The reign of Nitocris, if there were such a queen, is supposed to have closed the sixth dynasty, and with it the oldest period of Egyptian history. A period of unknown duration, lasting possibly for some centuries, intervenes, and, during all this time, we know almost nothing of Egyptian history. The monuments are silent, and we can only surmise that there was no strong and stable government in all Egypt. The country was divided into a number of little confederacies. When next the clouds disappear, we are conscious of considerable change in culture. Let us here stop and summarize the history of the older period, and glance at its Civilization.

Of the six dynasties of the older writers, the first three are in no very strict sense of the word historical. None of the monumental lists of the kings agree. We do not know the grounds Manetho had for his divisions. All we need be sure about is that preceding the fourth dynasty was a period as yet but little known, when a line of kings at Memphis ruled a considerable section of Egypt. It is, however, useless to attempt to define the extent of their territory or power. Commencing with Seneferu, we come upon a line of kings, for the existence of which we have

[1] "Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh," p. 64.

considerable monumental evidence. Manetho divides this list into two dynasties; on what grounds it is impossible to say. A time of confusion now ensues, and a tribe from the south, possibly from Elephantine, who seem previously to have subjected Ethiopia, succeeded in reducing all Egypt to their rule. Their great King Pepi is the first king of whose rule in the Delta we have historical evidence. This energetic tribe, for a brief period, averted the downward course of the Old Empire; for only a few reigns pass until the historic light suddenly dies away: the Old Empire is a thing of the past.

Let us now inquire more particularly into the culture of this Old Empire, whose history we have now outlined. If we have difficulty in drawing up an historical outline, we may expect a still greater difficulty in coming to any conclusion as to its culture. In fact, on some points, we know almost nothing with certainty. We have pointed out that the king seems to have been an elective officer. We have no evidence on this point further than what we have already given.[1] He was, of course, an official of great power and importance, and entitled to and receiving very great respect and honor. We learn in one place that ordinary people, at least, were expected to prostrate themselves before the king.[2] The authority of the king is generally represented as being absolute; but we believe Prof. Sayce is right when he asserts that "affairs were really managed by an organized bureaucracy."[3]

The council, that constant phenomenon of tribal society,

[1] The Prissi papyrus, speaking of the accession of Senefern, says: "Then was *raised up* the holiness of King Seneferu." The language seems to indicate some mode of election As to classical traditions, see Wilkinson: "Ancient Egypt," Vol. I.

[2] Inscription from the tomb of Ptah-ases, at Sakkarah, of the fourth dynasty.

[3] "Ancient Empires," p. 85.

was undoubtedly in existence, but it must have varied under each dynasty. We catch glimpses of a council of thirty at a later era.[1] Each subordinate nome appears to have been free to govern its own affairs, and we may be sure that the usual workings of tribal society were here to be seen. They were compelled to yield tribute to the ruling tribe, and to furnish their complement of soldiers in case of war; but we may be reasonably sure that, in matters of religion and law, the ruling tribe neither claimed nor exercised any authority. In times of war, the king appeared as commander-in-chief, but his council of thirty accompanied him, and probably exercised some sort of authority over him.[2] The soldiers of the subjected nomes were probably immediately under their own tribal officers, but all superior officers were members of the ruling tribe.[3]

Of course, the great monuments of this period are the pyramids. They have been described so often that we need only make some general remarks in reference to them. The pyramids are simply the final development of the tombs of a simpler age. The first material made use of in Egypt for building purposes was undoubtedly wood. All buildings composed of this material long since disappeared, yet in the oldest and most archaic form of stone structures the ornamentations there displayed are clearly copies of wooden structures. Here, for instance, is the door of a tomb near the pyramid. The forms here carved in stone are simply copies of what previously existed, in a natural state, in wooden structures.

The Egyptians, along with their other religious notions,

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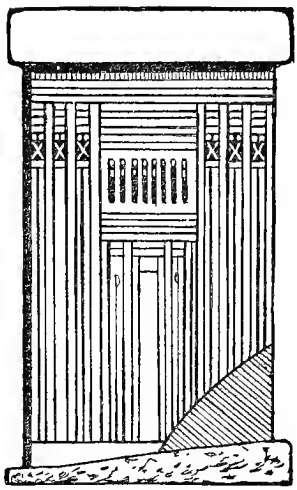
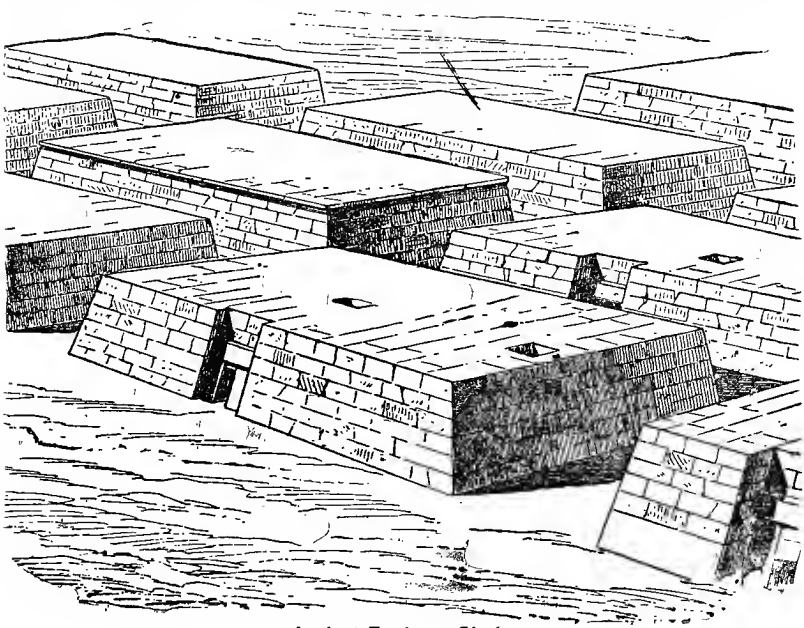
[1] Birch: "Egypt from the Earliest Times," xviii. [2] Ibid.

[3] This appears in the account of the army gathered by Una for Pepi; but supply the reading in note 1. ("Records of the Past," Vol. II., p. 5.)

undoubtedly believed that the future life was to be, in the main, a continuation of the present. Hence their anxiety to build enduring tombs, and to carve and paint on their walls a history of the life of the deceased; for this tomb was to be the eternal home of the departed, and the scenes there portrayed would constantly recall to them happy events in earthly life. So the tomb of the first period took its rise. To make it enduring, they used stone before they thought of using it in other structures; and, as we have seen, the doorways are carved to imitate wooden ones. Such a tomb always consisted of three parts. The first part is

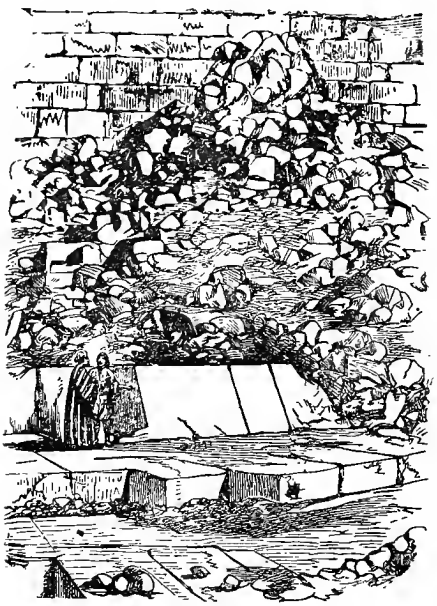


Doorway of a Tomb, Carved to Imitate Wood.



Ancient Tombs at Gizeh.

the small building rising above the ground. This was the ornamented part. In this place relatives assembled from time to time, bringing offerings for the deceased, to whom they prayed for protection, for Ancestor worship was strongly developed amongst the ancient Egyptians.[1] The body was not buried in this part of the tomb. A rectangular and vertical well opens in some corner of this building, the depth of which varies. At the bottom is the subterranean mausoleum, where the mummy was placed; but we are concerned with this external part, the mastaba. The pyramid is this mastaba, greatly enlarged, the sloping sides carried nearly to a point, and mainly built solid throughout. They were built as tombs for the Egyptian kings, and their greater size and magnificence were due to the exalted station of the king.

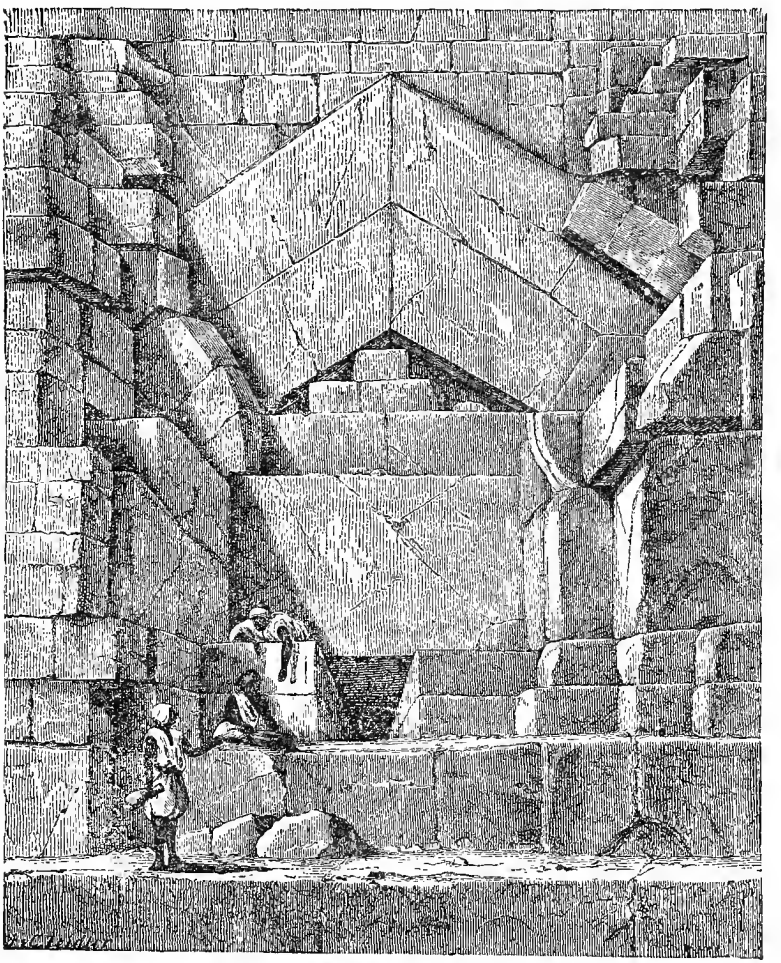


Outer Casing-Stone of the Great Pyramid.

The stepped pyramid at Sakkarah[2] gives us the idea of how pyramids were built. In the complete pyramid, when the structure was brought, by this succession of smaller superimposed platforms, nearly to a point, a facing was added, composed of finely-cut polished stones, which left the outer surface one uniform slope throughout. This has mainly fallen, or rather it has been removed to erect

[1] Rawlinson; "Story of Egypt," p. 58. [2] See cut, p. 478.

other buildings with. Each pyramid contains one or more chambers, in one or more of which kings were buried. True to the original form of the tomb, this

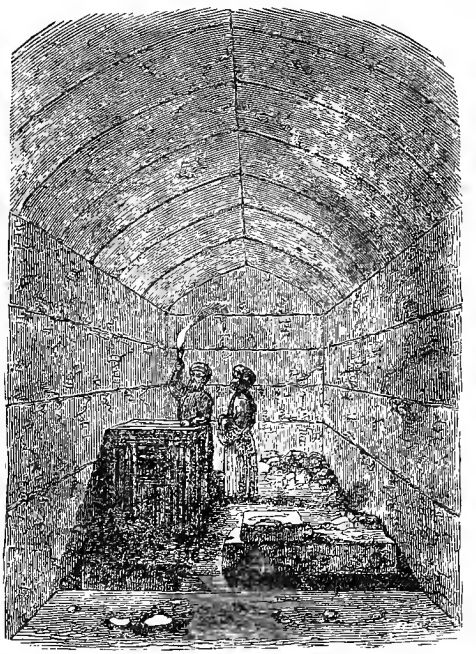


Entrance to the Great Pyramid.

burial chamber was sometimes excavated in the rocks on which the pyramid rested. This was the case in each of the great pyramids. A sloping passage-way, lined with

finely cut and polished granite, led from the surface to this sepulchral chamber. This is a view of the burial chamber in the third pyramid.

Once some seventy pyramids were to be found strewn along the desert from Memphis to Meidoom. Each of these was the tomb of a departed king. None of the elements of Egyptian chronology gives a person a clearer idea of the passage of a long lapse of years than this array of pyramids. We must remember that the building of pyramids went out of fashion about or before the eleventh dynasty; before that time, then, at least seventy kings reigned in Egypt of sufficient strength and importance to rear for themselves these stately tombs.[1] They vary greatly in size.



Tomb Chamber in the Third Pyramid.

The pyramid of Khufa, known as the Great Pyramid, is the largest, and was reckoned as one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World. It has been described so very often that we will simply content ourselves with giving in a note some of its dimensions, and other items of interest concerning it.[2]

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[1] See Villiers Stuart: "Nile Gleanings," p. 316.

[2] For a view of this pyramid, see page 491. The dimensions taken from Petrie's

The three greater pyramids are close together. In connection with the second pyramid, that of Khafra, some other structures deserve mention. We have seen that ordinary tombs were provided with a memorial room, where the survivors met to pray to their ancestors, and to bring them offerings and sacrifices. When the mastaba was converted for the kings into a pyramid, small tem-

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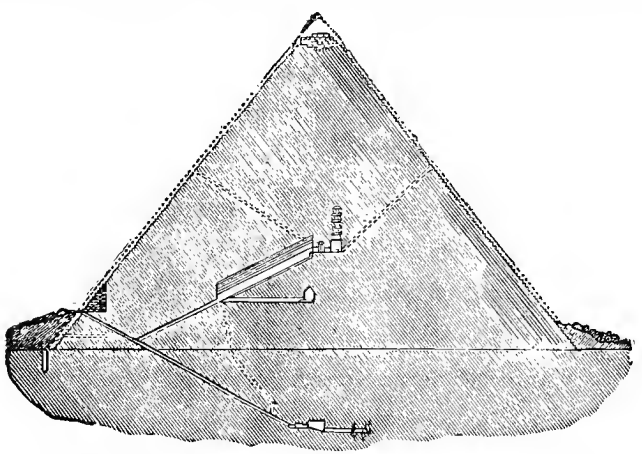
excellent work, "The Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh," are as follows, expressed in British-Imperial inches:

| | |
|---|---|
| Length of north side | 9069.4 inches. |
| Length of south side | 9069.5 " |
| Length of west side | 9068.6 " |
| Length of east side | 9067.7 " |

The height is 5776 inches. Around the entire pyramid there was a limestone pavement, varying in width from 529 to 628 inches; in thickness, from 17 to 27 inches. On the east side was a section of basalt pavement—blocks of basalt laid on a pavement of limestone. This section of the Great Pyramid gives us an idea of



Plan of the Great Pyramid.

the construction of the chambers and passages. The door-way, of which a view has been given, was entirely concealed by the casing, since the Arabs, near the beginning of the eighth century, forced a passage-way nearly one hundred feet in length through the solid masonry of the pyramid before striking the passage-way, following which they found the door-way. Some of the blocks used in the lower part of the pyramid are of very great size, weighing upwards of fifty tons. A great number of theories have been maintained in regard to this pyramid. Later scholars have so utterly rejected them that it is not worth our while to consider them.

ples were built in the immediate vicinity, where the dead kings were worshiped as gods. Such a temple probably stood on or near the basalt pavement of the Great Pyramid.[1] There was, similarly, a small temple in front of each of the second and third pyramids.[2] We might remark, in passing, that the priesthood of such a temple was a position of high honor. From the temple in front of the second pyramid a graded causeway, over a quarter of

The Sphinx of Gizeh.

a mile in length, and about fifteen feet in width, conducted to a second temple situated near the Sphinx, which has occasioned a great deal of discussion as to its age. We have already mentioned it as a possible monument of the age preceding Khufa.[3]

There seems to be some question, also, whether it be a temple or a tomb.[4] We have all evidence that the graded way leading from the temple of the second pyramid was

[1] Petrie: "Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh," p. 50.
[2] Mariette: "Monuments of Upper Egypt," p. 69.
[3] See page 467.
[4] See Mariette's discussion: "Monuments of Upper Egypt," p. 72.

lined with tombs.[1] It was in connection with this temple that the statue of Khafra[2] was discovered, and it is quite probable that this temple was also built by him.

All are further aware that in the immediate neighborhood of the three pyramids there is located that remarkable monument, the Sphinx. This is a natural rock, to which has been given the form of that mythical animal. The head has been sculptured to represent the head of an Egyptian king. Where the natural rock itself was not sufficient, rather clumsy masonry pieced it out. The body has been almost entirely buried in the sand. At present, its age has not been authoritatively determined. Mariette decides that it is older than the reign of Khufa;[3] but the ground of this decision rests on a tablet found in a temple of the twenty-first dynasty, and Petrie shows that we can not rely on it.[4] So we may be very doubtful whether the Sphinx be really a monument of the Old Empire.[5]

As to the customs, manners, mode of life and other details of their home culture, our information is solely derived from the painting on the walls of the tombs of their principal men. Rather than make any long comments on this branch of our subject, we prefer to let the cuts speak for themselves. Those thus far presented are scenes from tombs of the Old Empire.[6]

We now approach an important yet difficult portion of our inquiry; that is, the religion of the Old Empire. It is important because, as we have seen, the religious culture of a people is a good index of the general culture. It is difficult because there are so many conflicting views

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[1] See Petrie, work cited. [2] See page 492.

[3] "Monuments of Upper Egypt," p. 71. [4] "Pyramids of Gizeh," p. 65.

[5] More recent authority still seems to be in favor of the more ancient date. (See Maspero, in "American Journal of Archæology" for 1886.)

[6] Tombs of Ptaḥ-hotep, etc.

as to what was Egyptian religion. We will attempt to give a general outline of this earliest period. Let us first make some general remarks on this subject. Unless we are completely in error in regard to the development of primitive religion in general, there must once have been a time when each tribe of the primitive Egyptians had a religion of its own, for religion, at an early stage, is always tribal. Though closely related tribes, as the Egyptians undoubtedly were, have much in common, yet the gods they worshiped must have been tribal gods, and the gods of one tribe were not supposed to have any interest in the gods of another.

We have also spoken of the mixture of people in Egypt and the probable conquest of a Turanian population by a Semitic people from the south. This mixture betrays itself in matters of religion and culture; for we certainly have, in the case of Egypt, a strange mixture of the lower and higher forms of religion. A few moments' reflection will show us the truth of this. Every one knows that one of the strangest features in Egyptian religion was animal worship. This is surely a survival of the lower stage of religious conception. We have seen that there are several lines of savage thought leading to the worship of animals. Among these, one of the most prominent is the totemic system. As people approach Civilization, and descent passes into the male line, this form of worship tends to disappear. Its survival amongst the cultivated people of Egypt is certainly very strange.

We have pointed out, also, the prevalence of Ancestor worship. On this point there seems to be no question amongst our modern investigators. As we have seen, the earliest tombs were provided with chambers, in which the members of the family met from time to time "and went

through various ceremonies—sang hymns, poured libations and made offerings—which were regarded as pleasing to the departed, and which secured protection and help to such of their descendants as took part in the pious practices."[1] Further, their idea of a future state was that it was to be a continuation of this life. So, quite naturally, the king, after death, takes his place among the gods, and temples are erected where he might be worshiped. As a necessary corollary of this Ancestor worship was a belief in a multitude of spirits—some evil, others good; and, to protect the living from the malevolent actions of the former, magical songs, holy writings and potent names were to be employed.[2]

All this was not peculiar to the Egyptian tribes, but was simply survival from savage philosophy in general. But, along with all this, we come upon a higher form of religious conceptions, due, probably, to the influence of another people. This is the stage of Polytheism, attained through Nature worship; that is to say, the gods are nature gods. And here we must not be surprised at the great confusion that meets us, for each great dynastic change, implying, as it does, a change of masters, means a change in the state religion; a new set of tribal gods are elevated to the supremacy, at least a new chief god is placed at the head of affairs. Nor is it at all singular to find these nature gods confounded, more or less, with the animal gods of the earlier period. Thus, for instance, Osiris was worshiped in one place as an ape; in another, as the bird bennu; in a third, as a sparrow-hawk, etc.[3]

It is impossible for us to more than give a mere outline

[1] Rawlinson: "Story of Egypt," p. 58.

[2] See "Magic Papyrus," in "Records of the Past," Vol. X. See, also, Sayce: "Ancient Empires of the East," p. 61.

[3] Tiele: "Egyptian Religion," Boston, 1882, p. 46.

of Egyptian polytheistic belief. It is fully in keeping with the development of Polytheism from Fetichism, to find that the oldest Egyptian gods were simply the earth and sky. Man everywhere, as we have seen, conceives the visible sky and the earth as the greater gods. The Egyptians, however, transposed the gender of these gods; whereas, while most of the primitive people conceived the sky as masculine and the earth as feminine, a different custom existed in Egypt. The god Seb represented the earth.[1] He is spoken of as the "father of the gods," or the "leader." The heavens took the form of a goddess, variously called Nu, Nut or Nu-tpe. She is spoken of as the wife of Seb. Her titles are, "the older," "the mother of the gods," "the mistress of heaven" and "the nurse."[2] It is not mere chance that, in examining a primitive Polytheism, we come once more upon the conception of the earth and sky as the first great gods, the parents of all the other gods.

Seb.

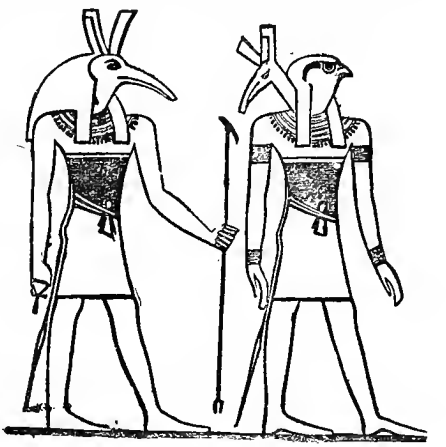
The Goddess Nut.

This is not the only parallel brought

[1] Tiele: "Egyptian Religion," p. 66. Harkness: "Egyptian Life and History," p. 39. The earth was masculine also among the Accadians.

[2] Rawlinson: "Ancient Egypt," p. 382.

to light between Egyptian Polytheism and other polytheistic systems. The night-sky, or darkness, is personified and considered as a god before the bright sky of day;[1] so, in Egypt, one of the most ancient gods of the list is Set, who was primarily the night;[2] but when dualism became a part of Egyptian religion, this god became the representative of evil. It is important to notice that Set was a Turanian god.[3] One form of his name was Suteckh,[4] and this was the god of the Hittites.[5]



Set.

No two people develop throughout in the same way. The ancient traveler, Diodorus, was struck with the fact that the Egyptians spent so much time over their tombs. It is, perhaps, not surprising that the god of the under world assumed such an important position in their mythology, and became, in fact, their supreme god, at least during the continuance of the Old Empire. In their choice of this god, we detect the principle on which they proceeded. The land of disembodied spirits was across the western deserts; when it was night here, it was day there, and so the sun of night, Osiris, became the god of Amenti, the home of the dead.[6] Osiris bore many titles,

[1] See Goldziher: "Mythology Among the Hebrews," p. 62.

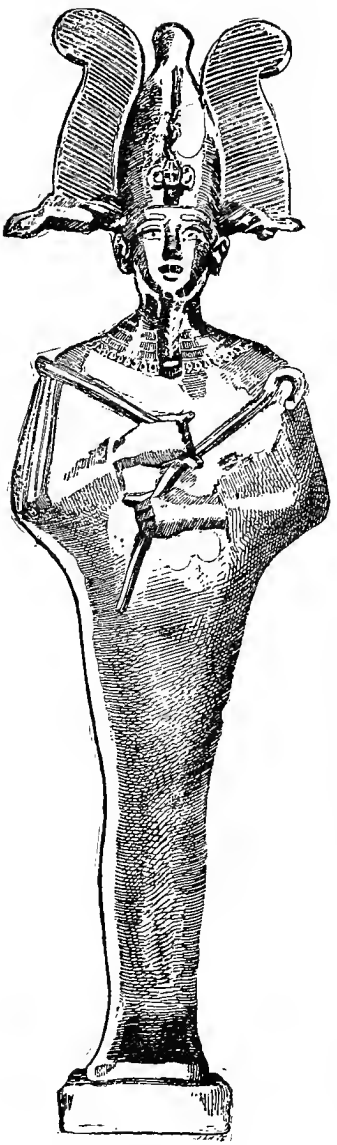
[2] Sayce: 'Ancient Empires," p. 65.

[3] Lenormant: "Ancient History," Vol. I., p. 320.

[4] Rawlinson: "Ancient Egypt," Vol. I., p. 39.

[5] Wright: "Empire of the Hittites," p. 76. He is usually represented with an animal head.

[6] Sayce: "Ancient Empires," p. 60. Tiele: "Egyptian Religion," p. 44, note.



Osiris (Louvre Bronze).

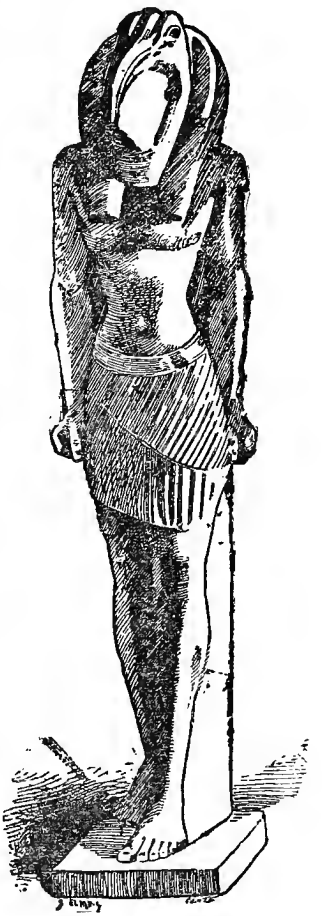
all expressive of his superior station. He is called "Chief of the Gods," "Lord of Life," "Lord of Eternity," etc. In process of time, when Set became the personification of evil, Osiris became the personification of good. He is, therefore, styled "the manifester of good," "full of goodness and truth," "the beneficient spirit," etc.[1]

We are not surprised to find that the moon, also, becomes a most important god. He is called Thoth, and, by a process quite natural, we can understand how he becomes, in a special manner, the god of learning; for science begins, for nomadic people, in observation of the heavenly bodies, and with some accurate measurement of time, and observation of the moon must have been first in both cases. Hence, we understand the old story that Thoth invented draughts and won the five intercalary days. That is to say, as more accurate measurements of time were made, it was discovered that, to complete the year, five more days were necessary. Hence it is that, as god of all science, he was supposed to have invented

[1] Rawlinson: "Ancient Egypt," Vol. I., p. 355.

letters, and so he was the one who inspired the writings of the holy books. We also see why it was that he was the god of the priests, and so the god of the religious. He it was who helped worthy mortals to pass the judgment seat of Osiris.[1]

In opposition to Seb, the god of darkness, we have the god of light, Horus, from *Har* or *Her*, meaning the most exalted, the highest. Originally, he was, we think, the day sky.[2] It is not strange, then, that, to represent this god, various names and titles were used. He did not always represent the sun, for the sun and the moon were sometimes spoken of as the eyes of Horus. As god of light, we have a representation of him destroying the great serpent of darkness, Apap. We must remember that in the name Horus was included a whole class of gods.[3] At Heliopolis, he was especially worshiped as Har-em-akhu—*i. e.*, "sun on the horizon"—and the Sphinx is, perhaps, a symbolical representation of this conception.[4]

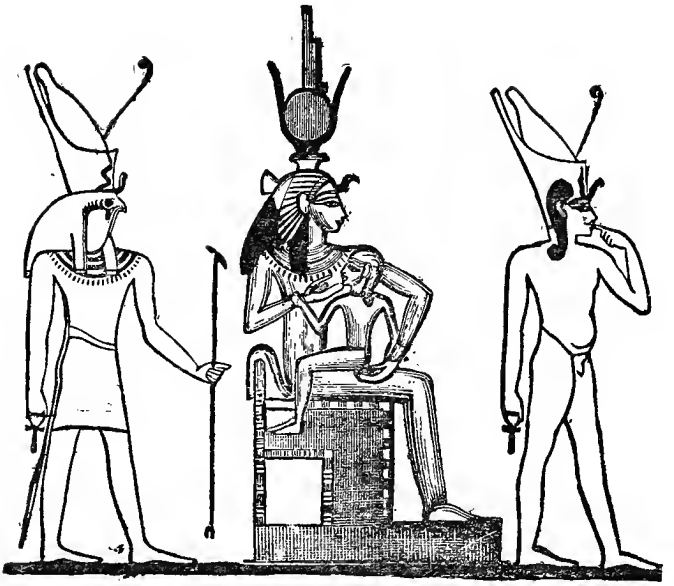


Thoth (Louvre Bronze).

By the side of the three greater gods we have now described, there are also three goddesses, who have much in common, and who are often confounded. These three are Isis (the dawn), Nephthys (the evening glow), and Hathor (the

[1] Tiele: "Egyptian Religion," p. 64. [2] See Tiele, p. 52 *et seq.* [3] Tiele.

[4] The inscription on the Sphinx, addressed to Thothmes IV., says: "Behold me, my beloved son Thothmes; I am thy father, Har-em-akhu."



Three forms of Horus.

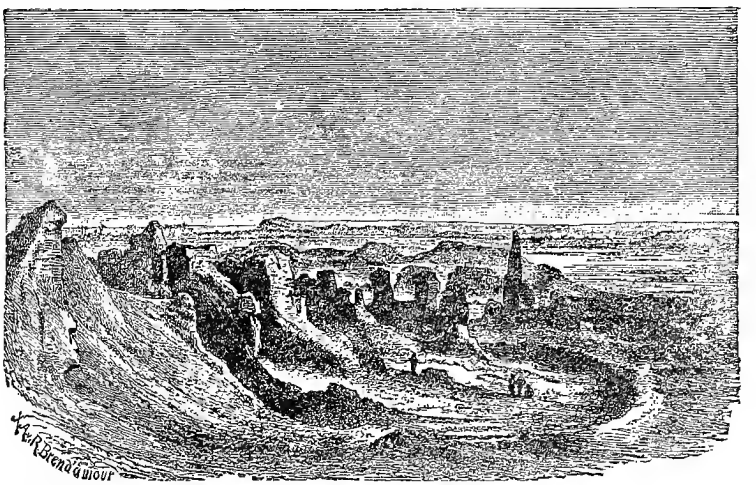
Horus Destroying the Serpent of Darkness.

nether world, the abode of Horus). Isis is generally regarded as the wife (and sister) of Osiris; Nephthys, of Set; and Hathor, of Horus. But the utmost confusion prevails in this matter.[1]

We have noticed that there were two main divisions of Egypt—Upper and Lower Egypt—and that they differed in quite a number of particulars. This distinction showed itself in matters of

[1] See Tiele.

religion as well. This is not at all singular, when we reflect on the probable development of these two sections. In each there probably arose two strong confederacies, contending for the mastery, and so in each there would be developed what we might call a state religion. The religious center of Lower Egypt appears to have been Heliopolis, a city near Memphis, generally called On or An. There was, as we would expect, much similarity

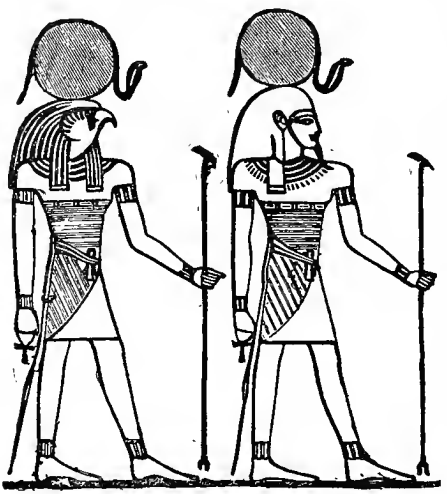


Ruins of Heliopolis.

between these two religions, since the people were closely related ethnically, and had the same elements to work upon. The main difference was this: the people of Upper Egypt had elevated to the rank of supreme god Osiris, the sun of night, the god of the underground world. The people of the north worshiped, as their principal god, Ra, the sun of day. In other respects, the two systems had much in common. Horus was common to them both. Osiris was regarded as the same as Tum, the sun of night of Lower Egypt, and he was frequently confounded with him.[1]

[1] Tiele: "Egyptian Religion," p. 76.

When the two sections became united, there was union of these two religions. As stated, they were but two slightly different forms of the same mythic conceptions. "Upon the same extremely ancient monuments on which we read the names of Osiris and Isis, there occurs, in brotherly union with these, that of Ra, the chief god of On (Heliopolis). The place he takes in the Book of Dead is in no way less honorable and important than that assigned to Osiris. They are there confounded with each other: now the one, now the other, being the greater; now the one, then the other, being mediator."[1] The ancient Egyptians clearly enough understood that there was, in effect, but little difference between the two systems.

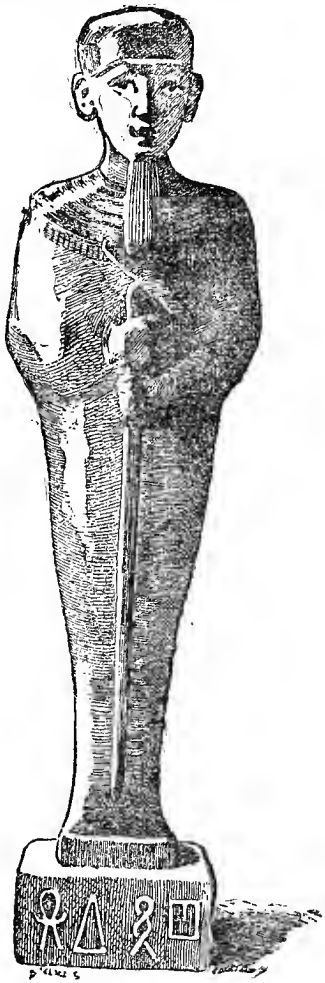


Ra of Heliopolis.

We have now given an outline of the chief gods of the Egyptian pantheon under the Old Empire. These gods were nature gods, and their worship was extended far and wide over united Egypt. Along with them, there were, of course, local tribal gods. We need not stop to learn about many of the latter. We must, however, mention Ptah, the local god of Memphis, who, when Memphis became the capital of the New Empire, became a god of great celebrity. It is difficult to say what, if any, cosmogonic principle he represents. Local and tribal gods may have arisen from

[1] Tiele: "Egyptian Religion," p. 75.

other sources than the forces of nature. The temple of Ptah, at Memphis, was a magnificent structure.



Ptah (Louvre Bronze).

Many have heard of the myth of Osiris and Isis. It is worth our while to examine it, since it will once more illustrate to us how mythic stories originate. Osiris is said to have been an ancient king; Isis, his sister and queen. His brother, Set, or Typhon, desiring to seize on the kingdom, forms a conspiracy to murder Osiris. He succeeds in his purpose, and the body of Osiris, put in a chest, is flung into the Nile. Isis and her sister, Nephthys (the wife, by the way, of the assassin), fill the air with their lamentations. Isis sets out to discover her murdered husband's body. She succeeds in her quest, and, finally, after numerous mishaps, buries him in a stately tomb. Meanwhile Horus, the son of Osiris, sets out to avenge his father's death. The conflict with Set was long and obstinate, but Horus was finally successful. Osiris had indeed become lost to earthly life, but he ruled as king in the nether world.

This is but another form of the story of the conflict between light and darkness, in which mankind, in the infancy of the world, delighted to indulge. It is the poetic

statement that the old sun of day has finally been put to death by oncoming night. Isis, "the morning dawn," and Nephthys, "the evening glow," have wept for their husband and brother, and the heavens have wept with them, until all the sky is suffused with redness. In the meanwhile, Horus, the god of light, has entered on a vigorous campaign against night, and finally is triumphant. Does not day finally triumph over night?

Every nation of antiquity had a collection of writings which they regarded as sacred. In every case these writings form a collection of very different ages and of unequal merit. Egypt is no exception to this rule. Their sacred writings are known to us as the "Book of the Dead." Some chapters are acknowledged to be very old, but the greater part, as it now exists, consists in additions and commentaries on the few ancient sections. It is really a collection of magical papyri, a knowledge of which will enable the deceased one to overcome the many obstacles in the way of attaining eternal bliss. Such was its magical virtue that copies were buried with the dead, or the coffin was covered with inscribed texts. The end of the first chapter promised the reader all manner of blessedness if he would but commit the book to memory. So it became customary for the people to learn it off by heart. Probably some portions of this book were in existence in the time of the Old Empire.

We have now tried to give a fair and measurably full account of the religion of the Old Empire. Quite a number of scholars have insisted that the ancient Egyptians believed in one only God, who had no beginning and would have no end; in a word, that the original faith in Egypt was monotheistic, from which high level the people gradually sank to Polytheism, and then to animal worship.

From all that we can see, this is the exact reverse of the facts of the case. The worship of animals, the strong fetichistic element in their faith, and the belief in magic, are but survivals from the first stage of belief. They had arrived at an advanced stage of Polytheism. Their gods were nature gods. They were the fetich gods of the first stage, now become disassociated from their material objects. But the constant tendency of Polytheism is towards Monotheism. The only question is, how far had the Egyptians progressed in this direction? It is evident, to say the least, that no high conception of God had been formed. Nothing worthy of being dignified as Monotheism existed under the Old Empire.[1] We call especial attention to the fact that in religion, also, we see before us the result of a mixture of two people and two cultures.[2]

We are now to bid good-by to the Old Empire of Egypt. The pyramids still uprear their lofty forms, proud memorials of her palmy days. We gaze on the funeral inscriptions in her tombs, and read the doings of princes and chief men. After all, we see but a dim picture, distorted by the mists of upwards of forty centuries that have rolled by since the last king of the sixth dynasty sat

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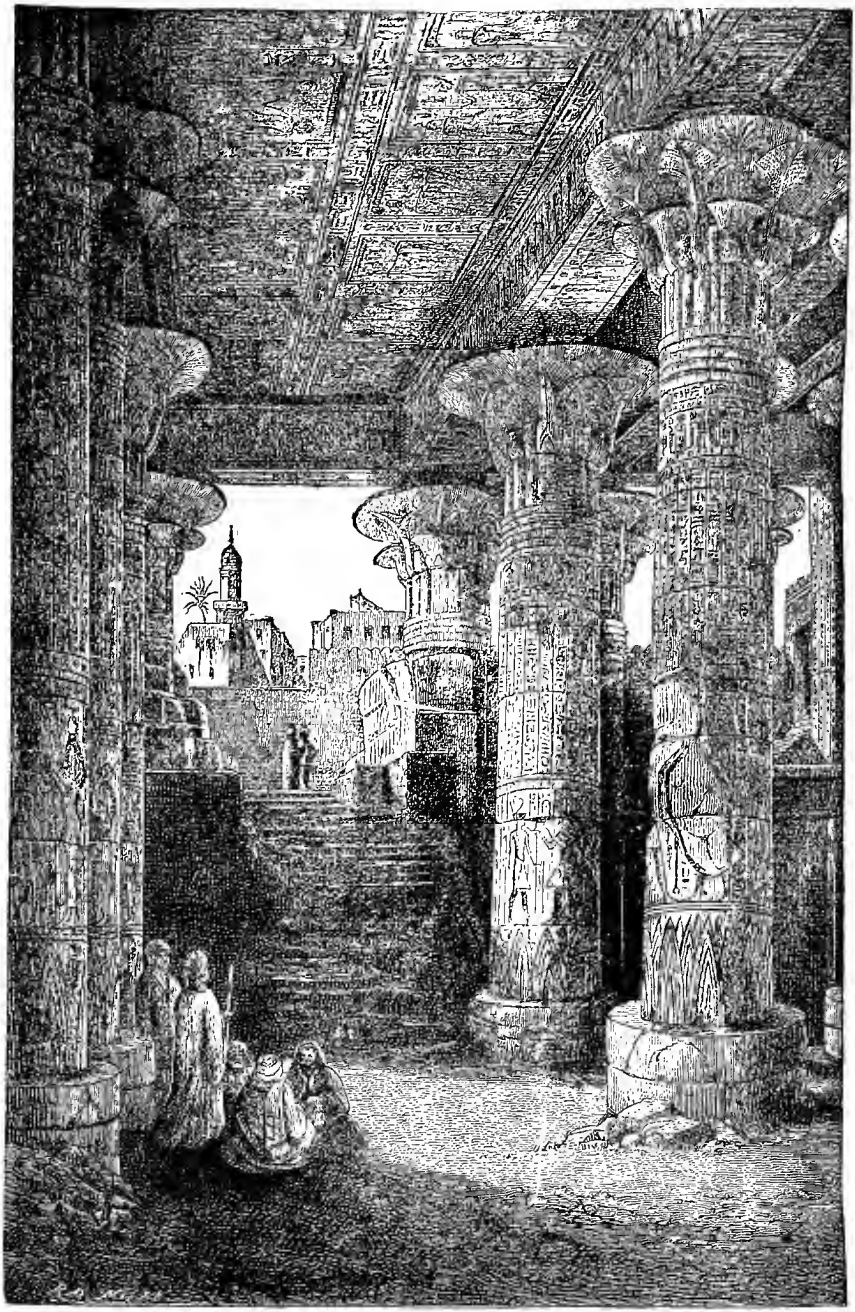
[1] For authority for taking the higher view of Egyptian religion, see Lenormant. ("Ancient History of the East," Vol. I., p. 318.) He supports the "degradation" view of Egyptian religion; also, Wilkinson ("The Ancient Egyptians," Vol. I., p. 471); also, Rawlinson ("History of Ancient Religion," Vol. I., p. 313). On the other hand, see Mariette-Bey ("Monuments of Upper Egypt," p. 24). He shows that from the monuments we have no support for this theory. "They nowhere speak of one invisible God." Sayce ("Ancient Empires of the East," p. 58) contents himself with remarking that the "exact character of Egyptian religion is a matter of dispute." For a discussion of this whole subject, we would refer to Tiele's work: "Egyptian Religion," Chap. ix.

[2] We do not here refer to the supposed fact that the priest had one religion and the common people another; we think there is very little ground for that idea (Tiele, p. 217: "A mere fancy of modern times"); but to the fact that we see a singular mixture of comparatively high and very low religious ideas, ranging from animal worship to almost Monotheism.

on her throne. Other empires have come and gone, a new world has been discovered and settled, since that time when Pepi gathered his armies to subdue the insolent tribes of the Delta. Yet the Nile placidly flows on as of yore, the Sphinx still confronts the rising sun, and the pyramids of Gizeh keep watch and ward over Cairo, as they once did over Memphis, the city of Menes. So, no doubt, the river will continue to flow, and the monuments remain in existence, until the present nations of the earth, if they exist at all, will be so changed that the historian only can reconstruct the past. But let us hope that the course of human progress will ever be upward and onward, and that the people of forty centuries hence can point out wherein their Civilization as greatly exceeds ours as ours does that of Egypt under the various dynasties of the Old Empire.



528 HALL OF COLUMNS.

# CHAPTER VII.

## EGYPT CONTINUED.

THE period of darkness—Rise of Thebes—The eleventh dynasty—The Middle Empire—The twelfth dynasty—Amen-emhat—The Obelisk kings—The Fayoum—Amen-emhat III.—The thirteenth dynasty—Religion of the Middle Empire—Civilization of the Middle Empire—The story of Saneha—The interval of time between the twelfth and eighteenth dynasties—The Hyksos invasion—The Shepherd kings—The Hittites the Shepherds—The details of this invasion—The culture of the Hyksos kings—The seventeenth dynasty—Expulsion of the Hyksos—The eighteenth dynasty—Invasion of Asia by Egypt—Queen Hatsu—Thothmes III.—Khuen-aten—Peculiarities of his reign—Culture of the eighteenth dynasty—Religion—Rise of the New Empire—The nineteenth dynasty—Seti I.—Rameses II.—The results of his wars—The decline of Egypt.

THE SHIFTING clouds of almost prehistoric times, through the rifts of which we have here and there caught glimpses of what is known as the Old Empire of Egypt, close down on the country near the end of the sixth dynasty, and for an unknown period of years, variously estimated at from one hundred and sixty-six to seven hundred and forty years.[1] We are almost completely in the dark in regard to Egyptian history. In our opinion, this period of time is nearer the shorter estimate than the longer one. The sixth dynasty was not able to weld the rival tribes into one compact whole. Finally, even the semblance of authority over the united tribes ceased, and they resumed their independence; only, we must understand, that here and there con-

[1] For various estimates, see Rawlinson: "Ancient Egypt," Vol. II., p. 123.

federacies composed of a few tribes, uniting for self-protection, were probably formed.

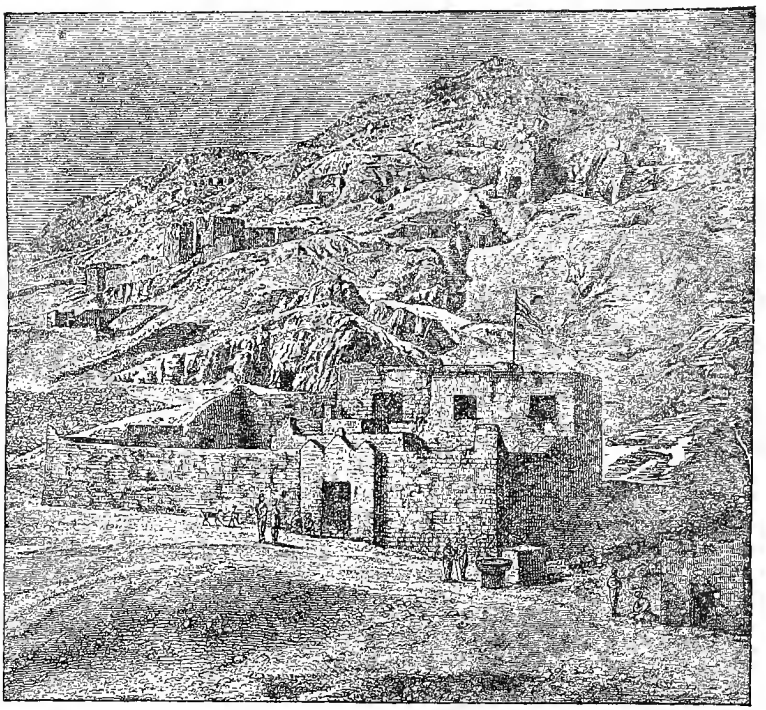
In short, the same fate had befallen Egypt that befell many another Oriental monarchy resting on tribal foundation. The political power of the ruling tribe had become weakened or dissipated. The empire, thereupon, disintegrated into its original elements. It is historically a blank, because no national monuments were erected; all were local and tribal. The time, whether long or short, was necessarily full of stirring events to the various tribes. There must have been the usual scenes of tribal life—the weaker tribes banding together to defend against the aggressions of the stronger. In the Delta, the tribes were exposed to invasions from both Asia and Libya. Probably various confederacies were formed to resist these assaults. The confused lists of the ruling chiefs of these various confederacies formed the dynasties from the sixth to the eleventh. Several of them are admitted by all scholars to have been contemporaneous.

It is supposed that Memphis was the head of one confederacy, and that the kings of the seventh and eighth dynasties of Manetho ruled there. All that we have to guide us are the names of the kings. Taking the Abydus list, it is noticed that the names have a resemblance to the names of the Memphite kings, such as Nefer-ka-ra, or some slight variant.[1] It is considered as quite probable that, while these kings were reigning at Memphis, another confederacy was at the head of affairs in the Delta. Its headquarters were in the Sethroite nome, in the north-eastern part of the Delta. Its capital city was afterwards known as *Herakleopolis Parva*, or Little Herakleopolis.[2]

[1] Wilson: "Egypt of the Past," p. 121.

[2] This is the view of Bunsen: "Egypt's Place in History," Vol. II., p. 243. (See,

This would be just where we would naturally expect to find another center of power. Here the ninth and tenth dynasties of Manetho are supposed to have ruled, while the seventh and eighth ruled at Memphis. We do not know Manetho's reason for dividing these kings into two divisions called dynasties.[1]



Rock Graves to the West of Thebes.

While these confederacies were thus dividing between themselves the power in Lower Egypt, still a third power

also, Rawlinson: "Egypt," Vol. II., p. 122.) Other authorities settle on Heracleopolis in Middle Egypt, about fifty miles south of Memphis. (See Wilson: "Egypt of the Past," p. 121.)

[1] On Manetho's dynasties in general, Rawlinson observes: "It would seem that the Sebennytic priest had made up his mind to have thirty dynasties down to the close of Egyptian independence, and was not very particular how he produced them." ("Egypt," Vol. II., p. 68.)

was growing in Upper Egypt, destined in time to sweep all before it, and to once again reünite the country under one rule, and to raise Egypt once more to the height of power. This new power was situated in the fourth nome of Upper Egypt. The name of the nome was Us, or Uas,[1] the capital city of which was T'Apu, which in Greek became Thebes. This nome was a rich and fertile one. The valley here has an average width of ten miles, through which the Nile flows in a northeasterly direction. "On either side the hills recede, and a broad green plain, an alluvium of the richest description, spreads itself out on both banks of the stream, dotted with dom and date palms, sometimes growing single, sometimes collected into clumps or groves."[2] We, of course, would expect this fertile nome to be in the possession of a rich and powerful tribe—one that would not willingly submit to be ruled from some distant point. We would naturally expect, therefore, that when the Old Empire went to pieces this tribe would be one of the very first to establish its independence, and set about the pleasing task of reducing the neighboring tribes under its yoke.[3]

The kings ruling at Thebes are said to belong to the eleventh dynasty, and the question is, how far were they contemporaneous with the other dynasties at Memphis and Herakleopolis? In other words, what was the length of time from the close of the sixth dynasty to the rise of the eleventh at Thebes? In our judgment, there are not reasons for thinking it very long. In our opinion, some of the more recent scholars have come to the wrong con-

[1] See Sayce's list: "Ancient Empires," p. 12; or, see map in Oncken's "Allgemeine Geschichte." [2] Rawlinson: "Ancient Egypt," Vol. II., p. 125.

[3] It may be that Thebes itself was not in existence during the Old Empire. Rawlinson thinks it was: "Egypt," Vol. II., p. 126. But see Tiele: "Egyptian Religion," p. 121. Lenormant: "Ancient History of the East," Vol. I., p. 213.

clusion in regard to the evidence of a change in culture observed in Thebes under the eleventh dynasty. Mariette observes: "When, with the eleventh dynasty, we see Egypt awake from her long slumber, all old traditions appear to be forgotten; the proper names used in ancient families, the titles of functionaries, the style of writing, and even the religion, all seem new."[1] Prof. Sayce also argues, from the same standpoint, that probably several centuries have elapsed.[2]

It seems to us that a very simple answer can be made to the foregoing. The various tribes of the Egyptians, though closely related, were by no means all the same. Each must have had its own laws, religion, culture and customs, and, in many small details, may have varied from the others. They may each have had special forms of hieroglyphic writing.[3] It is not at all improbable to suppose that they were even slightly different ethnically. Both Lenormant and Sayce think that the physical type of the Egyptians, from the eleventh dynasty down, is different from that of the Old Empire.[4] Whether or not other writers accept this view[5] is immaterial. The type may well have been different, because the ruling tribe was different. The tribe at Thebes, having such clear traditions of a southern origin, may have been slightly different ethnically. As to the great difference in art, it is sufficient to point out that M. Maspero claims to have established that there is no difference between the art of the sixth and that of the eleventh dynasty.[6]

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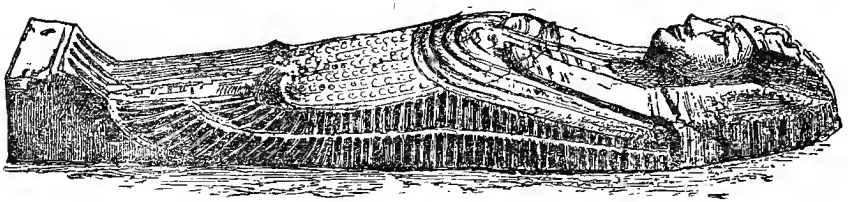
[1] From Lenormant: "Ancient History of the East," Vol. I., p. 213.
[2] "Ancient Empires," p. 28.
[3] See Villiers Stuart: "Nile Gleanings," p. 387.
[4] "Ancient History," Vol. I., p. 212. "Ancient Empires," p. 6.
[5] On this point, see Rawlinson: "Egypt," Vol. II., p. 123.
[6] "American Journal of Archæology," 1885, p. 81.

We therefore think we are justified in saying that, within a comparatively short time after the disappearance of the Old Empire, three confederacies ruled in Egypt—the most southern one at Thebes, the middle one at Memphis and one in the northern part of the Delta. There may have been others, but, if so, their names and locations are unknown. The struggle now lies between these three powers as to which shall finally prevail and rule the whole country; but it is quite probable that this struggle for the supremacy was preceded by a long period of quiet, and we can finally see that when it arose the main competitors would be the confederacy at Herakleopolis and Thebes. Memphis would certainly be crushed between



Coffin of Antef, of the Eleventh Dynasty.

the two. The supremacy finally remained with Thebes, and we enter with the history of the eleventh (Theban) dynasty into the history of what is known as the Middle Empire of Egypt.

The Middle Empire furnishes us with three dynasties of kings. In the first of these three, or the eleventh dynasty of Manetho, we have a succession of kings who mainly bore the name of Antef or Mentu-hotep.[1] Judging from their names, Tiele concludes that their original town must have been Hermonthis, to the west of the Nile,

[1] It is generally stated that these names came alternately—that is, first Antef, then Mentu-hotep, etc. (Birch: "History of Egypt," p. 60.) But see Rawlinson's remarks. ("Egypt," Vol. II., p. 127.) Wilson thinks the Antefs should be set off by themselves into a separate dynasty. ("Egypt of the Past," p. 125.)

generally known as the southern An. The local god of this town was Mentu; hence the meaning of the name Mentu-hotep—*i. e.*, "united with Mentu." This god Mentu was also the war-god of the Thebans.[1]

Their chief city appears to have been Coptos, in the valley of the Hammamat, which contained not only rich stone-quarries, but commanded the route to the Red Sea from Thebes.[2] The local god of Coptos (from which word, by the way, comes our modern word Coptic) was Chem, who in one inscription is named "god of the mountainous tract." As to the number of kings belonging to this dynasty, there is considerable confusion. Manetho gives sixteen; the Turin papyrus mentions six.

From what faint light we have of this subject, we notice, what we would naturally expect to find, a gradual growth in power. Of the first king of this series known to us, it is said that he used no cartouch, and was simply a nobleman, without more title than any other head of a great Egyptian family.[3] The second king of this series has a royal cartouch, but it is said that his title was not the equivalent of the word king.[4] But under the fourth king, Mentu-hotep II., we have reason to believe that all of Upper Egypt, at least, was brought under their rule.

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[1] That is, of Thebes, under the eighteenth dynasty. At the time of which we are now speaking, Mentu was simply a form of the sun, bearing the strongest resemblance to both Amen and Chem, the other local gods of the Thebiad. (See Tiele: "Egyptian Religion," p. 124.)

[2] Other authorities locate them at Thebes to start with. Those who take the above view generally conclude that Thebes was founded by the kings of the eleventh dynasty. (See Tiele: "Egyptian Religion," p. 21 *et seq.*)

[3] Maspero: "Morgenlandischen Völker," p. 94. Yet this is certainly too strong a statement. His mummy wore a royal diadem, on which was the royal serpent (Bunsen: "Egypt," etc., Vol. II., p. 232), and he called himself "King of the Two Egypts." (Rawlinson: "Egypt," Vol. II., p. 127.) This may be an exaggeration ("Story of Egypt," p. 97), but it is evident he was something more than a mere "local chieftain."

[4] Ibid. See, also, Sayce: "Ancient Empires," p. 28.

In this tablet, carved on the rocks of Konosso, near Philæ, it is shown that his dominions extended over at least the whole of Upper Egypt. He is represented as worshiping Chem, the special god of Coptos.

Tablet of Mentu-hotep.

The last king of this line was Sankh-ka-ra. The most important event in connection with his reign was a commercial expedition to Punt. The location of Punt has been much discussed. Brugsch-Bey, who has studied this point, thinks it must be on the African side of the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden.[1] This land was to the Egyptians a "holy land." According to an obscure tradition, this was the original home of many of the gods. Amen was the king of Punt, Hathor the queen. Horus was honored as the holy morning star which rose to the west of the

[1] "Egypt Under the Pharaohs," Vol. I., p. 114.

land of Punt.[1] We have already referred to the meaning of this tradition.[2]

The nature of the revolution which put an end to the eleventh dynasty and ushered in the twelfth is as yet unknown. The seat of the new power was Thebes: so we know that at this time—probably long before—Thebes was an important place. The local god of Thebes was Amen or Amun.[3] The name of this god appears as part of the name of a number of the kings of this dynasty; of the seven kings, no less than four are called Amen-emhat. There seems to have been a period of disorder intervening between these two dynasties. The first king, Amen-emhat I., left for the guidance of his son a letter of instruction. Speaking of the unsettled times preceding his reign, he says: "There was no stability of fortune, neither for the ignorant nor the learned man."[4] Then he tells him, further, of attempts made on his own life, and how he vanquished all before him.

We are inclined to the opinion that Amen-emhat I. was at the head of some subject tribe, for, in this same letter to his son, he says: "My image lives in the hearts of men, for I have made those that were afflicted free from their affliction, and their cries are heard no more."[5] However this may be, the new king was an energetic one, and after some years of warfare,[6] and firmly establishing his power in the Thebaid, he set out to consolidate and extend the conquests of the preceding dynasty. Here again he was successful, and Egypt, from Elephantine in the south to the marsh regions of the Delta,[7] acknowledged his rule.

[1] Brugsch: "Egypt," Vol. I., p. 115. [2] Page 465.
[3] Tiele: "Egyptian Religion," p. 121.
[4] Maspero: "Records of the Past," Vol. II., p. 12. [5] Ibid., note 4.
[6] Wilson says "ten years." ("Egypt of the Past," p. 135.)
[7] "Records of the Past," Vol. II., p. 12.

He tells his son that he "stood on the boundaries of the land and kept watch on its borders." In the Isthmus of Suez, he built a wall, or at least a chain of fortresses, to "keep off the Sakti;"[1] and a fugitive of that period, fleeing from Egypt, was in alarm when he arrived at this place, and speaks of "seeing the watchers upon the wall in daily rotation."[2]

Probably the work of this king, in various building operations throughout Egypt, illustrates the renewed life and Civilization of the country as strongly as anything else. There are grounds for supposing that he commenced the great temple of Karnak.[3] Fragments of a granite statue have been found there with his name engraved on them. He also worked the quarries of Hammamat and Tourah, near ancient Memphis. He repaired many of the ancient temples, especially that of Ptah at Memphis. His statue has also been found at Tanis (Zoan), where he constructed a temple. The features of this statue represent him with a flat and broad nose, lips thick and smiling, mouth large and cheeks plump.[4] He built himself a palace,[5] which he thus describes: "I built myself a house, adorned with gold; . . . its roof was painted blue, the walls in it . . . and the passages are of stone, (connected with) metal hooks; . . . the bolts are of artificial men-metal, . . . made for eternity: time shrinks before it."[6] He also built a pyramid, known as Ka-nefer, meaning "lofty and handsome." A most interesting and impor-

[1] "Records of the Past," Vol. VI., p. 135.

[2] It was probably this line of fortresses that gave rise to the Hebrew name of Egypt—viz.: Mizraim.

[3] Most authorities state this. Tiele states that the second king laid the foundation.

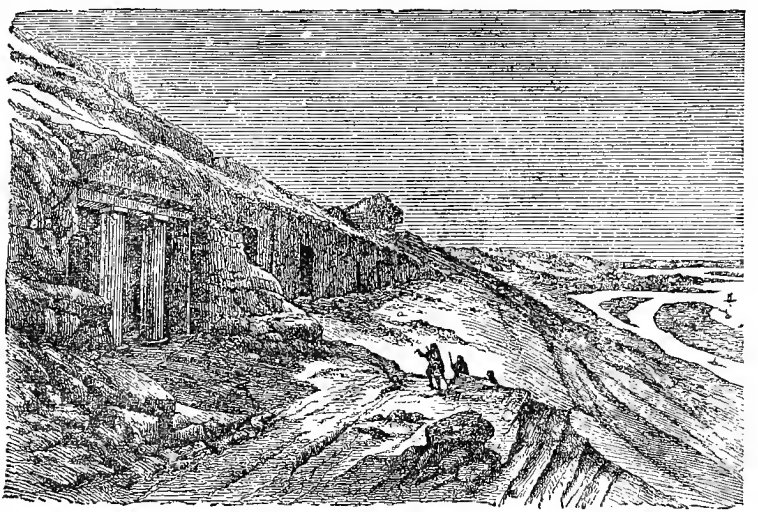
[4] Wilson: "Egypt of the Past," p. 137.

[5] "Supposed to have been situated at Heliopolis." (Rawlinson.)

[6] "Instruction of Amen-emhat," in "Records of the Past," Vol. II., p. 14. Rawlinson translates *men*-metal by iron.

tant inscription of this king is now in the Louvre. It records the destruction of Hittite places on the very borders of Egypt, showing that, as far back as the beginning of the twelfth dynasty, this people were pressing upon Lower Egypt. This has an important bearing on the question of the nationality of the so-called Hyksos kings, soon to be considered.[1]

His successor, Usurtasen I., firmly established the power of Thebes, and advanced Egypt to a high point of

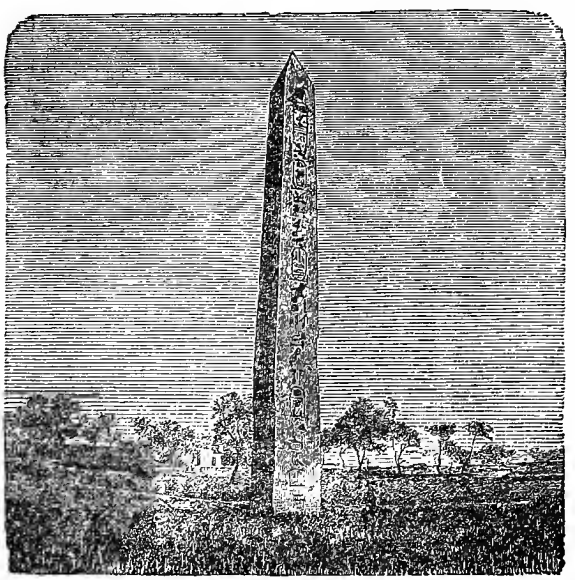


Tomb of Ameni at Beni-hasen.

ancient Civilization. He reigned conjointly with his father—there seems to have been some friction between these two joint-kings,[2] and possibly Amen-emhat was assassinated by orders of his son.[3] The most important foreign work of Usurtasen was the complete subjugation of Ethiopia. His principal general in this undertaking seems to have been the chief of the sixth nome of Upper

[1] Wright: "Empire of the Hittites," p. 47.
[2] See "Records of the Past," Vol. II., p. 13.
[3] Birch: "Egypt from the Earliest Times," p. 63.

Egypt, and bore the name of Ameni. On his tomb at Beni-hasen was carved a full account of his warlike deeds. Usurtasen imitated his father in repairing and building temples and public monuments. At Thebes, he continued the building of the temple begun by his father. Monuments of his time have been found at Abydus, the Fayoum, and the Delta. At Tanis, his portrait has been found among some of the ruins. On, or Heliopolis, was, however, the scene of his principal labors. He repaired or completed the building of the great temple of the sun at that place. An old papyrus gives us some details of the council convened by the king to consider this subject, and contains the address of the king.[1]



Obelisk of Heliopolis.

As the pyramid was a great monument of the fourth dynasty, so the obelisk was the most striking monument of the twelfth. The great Obelisk of Usurtasen was erected at On in the Delta. The obelisk had long been known in Egypt, probably, as a religious emblem, and was employed as far back as the time of Khufa.[2]

[1] Brugsch: "Egypt," etc., Vol. I., p. 130.

[2] Wilson: "Egypt of the Past," p. 83; also, pp. 127, 128.

But the first of any importance, in point of size, dates from the reign of Usurtasen. The one represented in the cut was one of a pair guarding the entrance to the great sun temple. Its companion fell long years ago.[1] Its height is sixty-seven feet four inches. The hieroglyphics on the sides give us various titles of the king and the Egyptian date of its erection. Another obelisk of this king now lies broken and prostrate in the Fayoum.

We can not do more than give a brief outline of this dynasty, and so can not give an account of each king's life. Of this dynasty, there were some seven kings who ruled Egypt for about two centuries. This entire period is one of the most glorious in Egyptian history. Egypt was respected abroad; there was peace at home. During this time, Nubia was conquered, and the peninsula of Sinai again made a subject country. The principal cities were adorned with temples and other public monuments. The strength of the central government was sufficient to insure peaceful relations between the various nomes. One of the kings of this dynasty carried through to a successful termination a gigantic engineering operation; it was nothing less than the erection of a great reservoir in the Fayoum, in which to store up the waters of an unusual overflow of the Nile, to be used when the inundation was defective.

This king was Amen-emhat III.[2] The Fayoum is a great depression in the level of the desert to the west of

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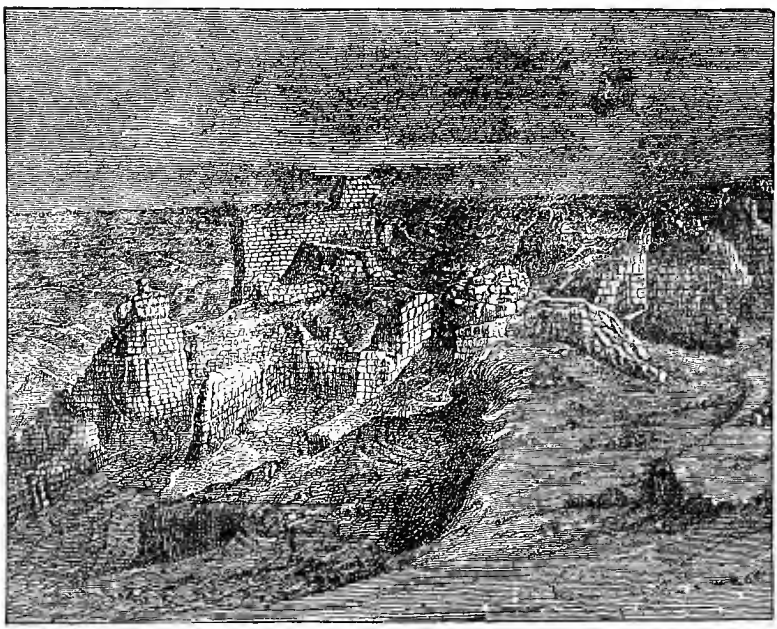
[1] Wilson: "Egypt of the Past," p. 127.

[2] This is usually so stated. But see Maspero: "Morgenlandischen Völker," p. 112, in which he shows that probably he was only carrying out plans of the earlier kings. Amen-emhat I. and Usurtasen I. both erected monuments in the Fayoum. Amen-emhat III., however, selected that nome for his favorite site, and erected there his pyramid.

the Nile, about fifty miles south of Memphis. Here, by means of embankments and canals, he formed a reservoir, with a superficial area of from seventy-five to one hundred square miles. The canal leading to this lake was cut, part of the distance, through the solid rock. An immense dyke formed one of the boundaries, which is estimated to have been twenty-seven miles in length, thirty feet in height,



The Labyrinth.

and, in places, two hundred feet in width at the base. A system of sluices and flood-gates distributed the water when needed.[1] One of the names of this lake was Mi-uer, which became Lake Moeris of Greek tradition.

The formation of this reservoir made this Fayoum district a most important one, and here Amen-emhat III.

[1] See Rawlinson: "Ancient Egypt," Vol. II., p. 160 *et seq.* Brugsch: "Egypt Under the Pharaohs," Vol. I., p. 168 *et seq.*

built himself a magnificent palace, a view of the ruins of which is here presented. Later writers called this building the Labyrinth,[1] and a number of wonderful stories have grown around it. Lepsius, writing of these ruins in 1843, observes: "An immense cluster of chambers still remains, and in the center lies the great square where the courts once stood, covered with the fragments of large monolithic granite columns, and of others of white hard limestone, shining almost like marble."

The most glorious period of the Middle Empire comes to a close with the twelfth dynasty. Before passing on to consider the more troublous times that follow, when a second long period of almost complete historic darkness settles down over the land, we must glance at the changes noticeable in the culture of the people. In matters of religion, the principal change seems to have consisted in the elevation of the once local gods of the Thebaid to the supremacy. As there were three important towns in this section, viz., Hermonthis, Coptos and Thebes, so we have to consider the local gods of each place. We would naturally expect to find a great similarity between these local gods, and also with the gods of the Old Empire, because they arose out of the same mythic conceptions. But each period has a development peculiar to itself. If we only reflect that this whole period was one of internal prosperity, and that agriculture made great advance, we need not be surprised to learn that the fertilizing powers of the various solar aspects (and so of the gods arising from them) were dwelt upon.

[1] After the death of Amen-emhat, this palace was converted into a temple, and called *Lope-ro-hunt—i. e.*, Temple-at-the-entrance-to-the-sea. It is not strange, then, that the Greeks substituted for this Egyptian title their word *Labyrinth*. (Maspero' p. 112.)

The principal god of Coptos was called Chem, who was also the principal god of Chemnis, or Panopolis, further down the river. As a solar god, Chem was the sun-of-day. Hence he is a Horus-god,[1] and many titles used to designate him admit of ready explanation. Like Horus, he is sometimes styled the son of Osiris or Isis. He is even called the avenger of his father. The same old mythic conception also reappears, and he is called the "husband-of-his-mother;"[2] for is not the sun of day born of the dawn and united to her at sunset? But in accordance with the remark just made, he also represented the fertilizing power of the sun. In this connection, his worship became, in process of time, a corrupt one, and the representations made of him are not fit to be reproduced.

Chem.

What we have had to say of Chem applies in some measure to each of the other local gods of the Thebaid; that is, Mentu of Hermonthis, and Amen of Thebes, though in each case differences are perceptible. Amen of Thebes was destined, at a later date, to become the great god of Egypt, but under the Middle Empire he represented the same conception as Chem.[3] We have spoken of Men or Mentu as the war-god of Thebes; this is probably true of him only at a later date, but Tiele shows that he was really only a local god of the same nature as the other two. One reference to him seems to show that the Egyptians

[1] Page 519. [2] Page 520. [3] Tiele: "Egyptian Religion," p. 123.

were acquainted with the week of seven days.[1] He is worshiped as the father of the child Horus in seven forms.[2] Probably in connection with the worship of all these gods there were licentious practices.[3]

Though we have spoken of animal worship, yet it is well to mention the worship of the crocodile, which assumed great importance during the twelfth dynasty. He seems to have been originally the local god of Ombos.[4] When, by the exertions of Amen-emhat III., the Fayoum was converted into a fertile section, it was placed under the protection of Sebek, the crocodile god; and Lake Moeris became a sacred lake, wherein the sacred crocodiles were kept. The Egyptians had a tradition that the crocodiles deposited their eggs precisely at the limit to which, each

Amen (Louvre Bronze).

[1] This would not be at all singular, since the Accadians had this measure of time. (Page 378.) [2] Tiele, p. 124.

[3] In some instances, in times of war, the female slaves of the conquered were said to be devoted to Mentu. ("Records of the Past," Vol. VI., p. 141.) The meaning of this phrase is unmistakable. [4] Tiele: "Egyptian Religion," p. 134.

Sebek.

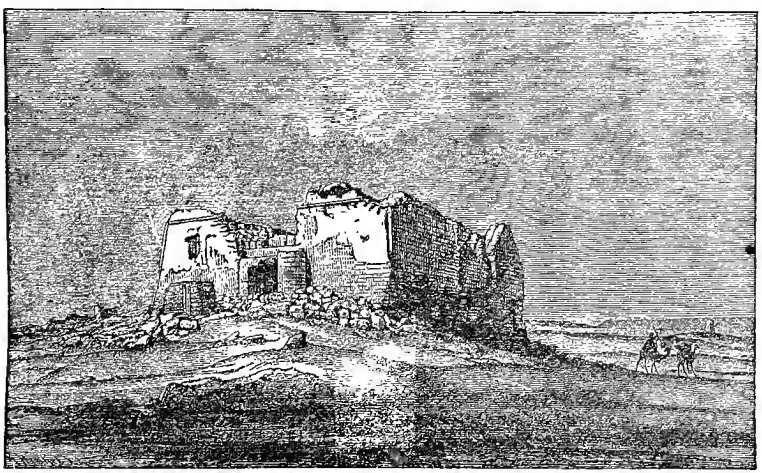
year, the inundation would attain. Hence, it was inferred that it was one of these animals that, as king of the river, regulated the overflow.[1]

It has been observed, by those who have studied the matter, that the Civilization of the Middle Empire was of a much more practical kind than the culture of the preceding epoch. The resources of the empire were not spent in building imposing pyramid tombs for the kings, but in works of public utility. Arrangements were made for keeping a record of the annual overflow of the Nile. A great reservoir was prepared to store up the surplus water of an excessive inundation, against the time of a deficiency. An extensive system of canals lined the western bank of the Nile, capable of irrigating a large extent of country. It was also a commercial age. Exploring expeditions were made to Punt. New trade routes opened. Wells were dug for new caravan routes. Commercial relations were established with Nubia and Eastern Africa. All this must have conduced to the increase of national wealth.

In regard to political power, we think we can detect a change. We have referred to the nomes of Egypt as evidence of a division into tribes. The constant tendency of advancing Civilization would be to sweep away these tribal marks. No doubt the long supremacy of Thebes would do much to bring about such a result. As the power of

[1] Villiers Stuart has left an interesting account of his visit to the crocodile mummy pit, where the mummies of thousands of embalmed crocodiles were stored away. ("Nile Gleanings," Chap. viii.)

the ruling tribe became more and more firmly established, the independence of the nomes would gradually sink. The kings would more and more arrogate to themselves the power of appointing the chiefs of the nomes, or of enlarging or diminishing the powers of the same. The kings of the twelfth dynasty seem to have freely exercised such an authority.[1]



Ruins of Fayoum.

One of the most interesting literary productions is contained in a papyrus at Berlin, and is known as the Story of Saneha.[2] Saneha seems to have been a person of some importance under the reign of Amen-emhat I., the founder of the twelfth dynasty. For some reason, but just what is unknown, he fled from Egypt. The details of his flight are quite graphically told. "When I was on the point of setting out," says he, "my heart was troubled, my hands shook, numbness fell on all my limbs." He,

[1] On this point, see Maspero: "Morgenlandischen Völker," p. 116. This state of affairs appears from the inscriptions in the tombs of Ameni and Khumhotep, at Beni-hasen.

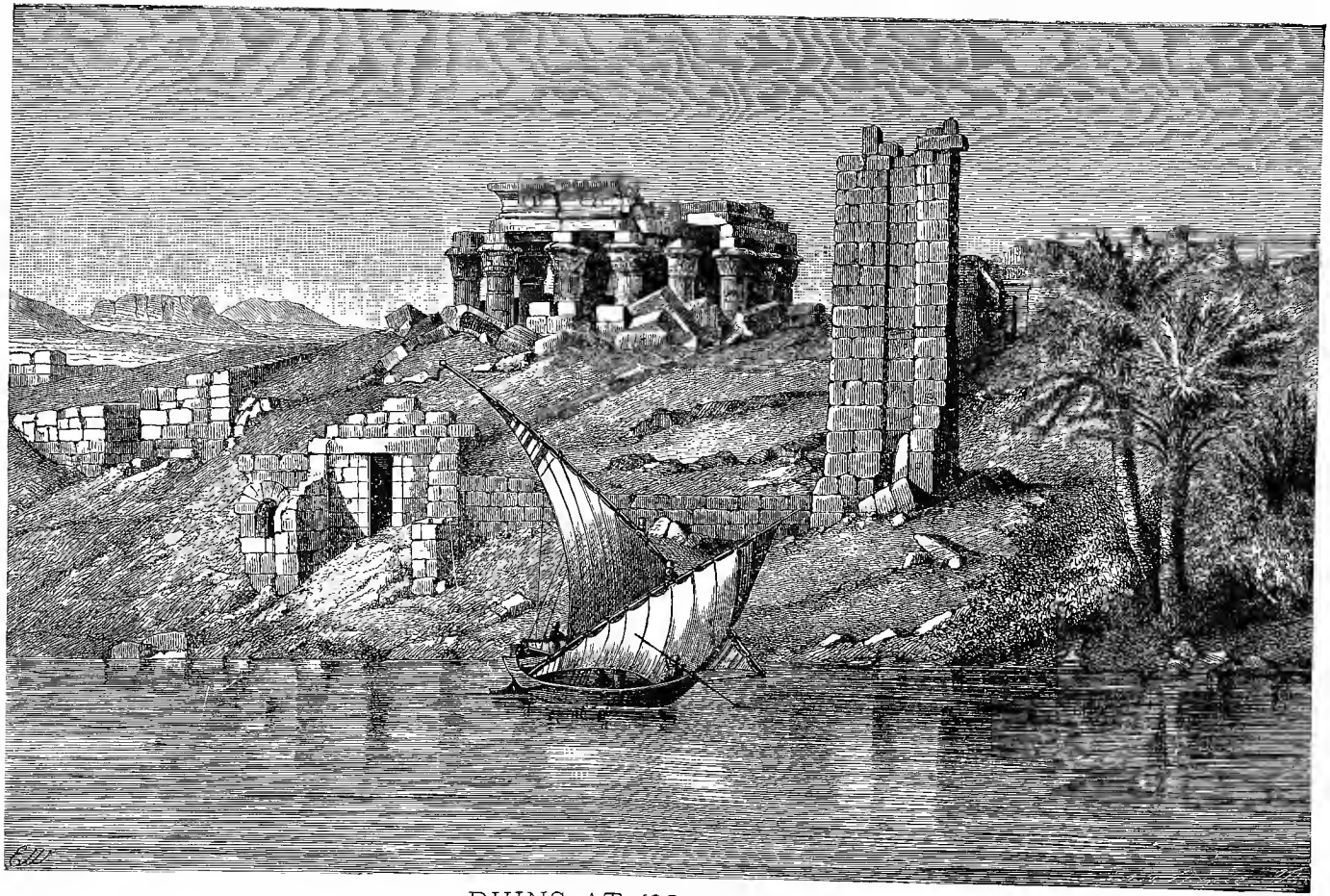
[2] See "Records of the Past," Vol. VI., p. 135.

however, "simulated a herb-seller, in order to travel," and got along very well until he reached the "fortress which the king had made to keep off the Sakti,"[1] where he was "in alarm, seeing the watchers upon the wall in daily rotation." However, he passed them by in the night, and fled into the desert, where "thirst overtook me in my journey; my throat was parched; I said, this is the taste of death."

But this was the darkest hour of his flight. He soon fell in with a Sakti,[2] who took him from place to place, and finally before a king. Unfortunately, we do not know who this king was, nor where he ruled. We are simply told: "It was a good land; *Aam* was its name: there was fruit *tabh* in it, and the fruit *aru*. It abounded in wines more than in water. Its honey was plentiful, and its palms; all its trees were fruit-bearing. There was barley in it, and wheat; there was no limit to its cattle." Seneha's lines had indeed fallen to him in pleasant places, and he was soon on the high road to fortune. He was given the king's oldest daughter for wife; he became a person of great consequence. He says of himself: "All men respected me. I gave water unto the thirsty; I set the wanderer in the way." He became a great chief and warrior.

But, with old age, there came a desire to return to Egypt; hence he addressed a humble prayer to the Amenemhat: "Let god be gracious to him whom he hath raised up, whom he drove into another land; . . . grant me (to return) home. Permit me to show myself. Have I not suffered anxiety? What more is there to boast? (Let me) be buried in the land where I was born. Let there be a fortunate lot hereafter; grant me pardon."

[1] This was the fortress-wall of Amen-emhat I. The Sakti were Asiatic people.
[2] Probably a Bedouin.



RUINS AT KOM-OMBOS.

This the king was graciously pleased to grant. He tells him: "Behold that which thou hast done. Thou shalt not be called to account for what thou hast said, or hast not said, in the assembly of the young men." He even urges his return. He promises him: "If thou comest to Egypt, thou shalt see a house prepared for thee. If thou dost homage to the Great House (*i. e.*, Royal House), thou shalt be numbered amongst the counselors." He reminds him: "Thou hast arrived at middle age; thou hast passed the flower (of youth). Think upon the day of burial, of the passage to Amenti."

Saneha is almost overpowered by the king's goodness. He assembles his household around him, divides his effects among his sons, sets off to Egypt, where he is received with honor, and basks in the sunshine of royal favor until the day of his death. Quite in accordance with Egyptian thought, he felicitates himself on his tomb. "I built myself a tomb of stone amongst the tombs of the chief officers. His Majesty chose its site. The chief painter designed it, the sculptors carved, the chief purveyor who was over the upper country brought earth to it; all the decorations were of hewn stone." Such is the end of one of the oldest stories of adventure and travel in existence. Its perusal tells us considerable of the home life of the Egyptian people in the palmy days of the twelfth dynasty.

The twelfth dynasty did not long outlast the reign of Amen-emhat III. Two short reigns, neither of them noted—the last supposed to be that of a queen—close the series, and we are once more face to face with a break in Egyptian history, a time of obscurity, doubt and confusion, to elucidate which our scholars are not yet able. Neither do we know how long it was. When next the

historic light breaks on the scene, we are in the presence of the eighteenth dynasty of Manetho. We are confident that most important events have happened in the meantime, and know that Egypt itself, during a portion of the time, was in the hands of victorious foreigners.

Let us see what we can learn of this time of confusion, make the most we can of what few gleams of historic light illume the scene. In the midst of so much that is unknown, let us be cautious in statements. Probably at some time our scholars will possess the means for reconstructing this period. A number of Egyptologists have held that while the thirteenth dynasty ruled at Thebes the fourteenth dynasty held power at Xois in the Delta; but others still claim to have shown that the kings of the thirteenth dynasty ruled all Egypt.[1] As far as we know, Manetho's list contains no mention of the names of the kings of the thirteenth dynasty.[2] The Abydus tablet likewise omits all names from the twelfth to the eighteenth dynasty.[3] The Turin papyrus gives the names of more than one hundred and fifty so-called kings of this dynasty.[4] The Karnak tablet gives a selected list of ten kings, most of whom are also mentioned in the Turin papyrus.[5]

It is noticed that, taking this last list, the names of most of the kings indicate that they were worshipers of Sebek, the crocodile god. They are called Sebek-hotep, meaning united with, or servants of, Sebek. Now Sebek had become the great god of Fayoum, and there, as we have shown, Amen-emhat III. had taken up his residence,

[1] For first view, see Wilson: "Egypt of the Past," p. 176. Rawlinson: "Ancient Egypt," Vol. II., p. 175. For contrary view, see Brugsch: "Egypt," Vol. I., p. 185. Sayce: "Ancient Empires," p. 16.

[2] Though he does state that it consisted of sixty kings and held power for four hundred and fifty-three years. [3] Stuart: "Nile Gleanings, p. 316.

[4] See Sayce's list, in "Ancient Empires," p. 285.

[5] See Brugsch's comparison of these lists, in "Egypt," etc., Vol. I., p. 193.

and it is quite probable that he had there transferred the seat of government.[1] The last queen of the twelfth dynasty was Sebek-nefru-ra; perhaps from her descended the Sebek-hoteps of the thirteenth dynasty.[2] However, for reasons we have given, this result does not necessarily follow. Now, if we are at all right in the above suggestions, we can see at a glance that trouble was in store for Egypt. The power at Thebes would not at all relish the idea of the seat of government being removed to the Fayoum. Neither would the priests of Amen, Chem and Mentu, a powerful body, acquiesce with equanimity in the elevation of the god Sebek to the supremacy. Hence, we need not wonder that when, at a later date, Thebes was once more the center of power,

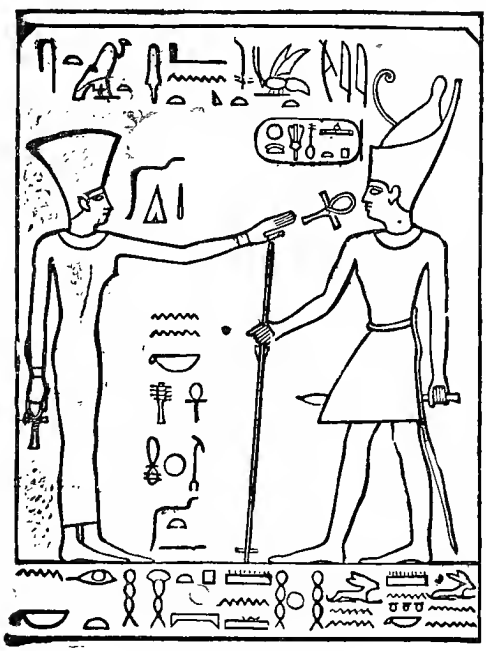
Granite Statue at Tanis of a Sebek-hotep of the Thirteenth Dynasty.

[1] The early Grecian writers declare that the Labyrinth was the place of meeting of the nomes for both religious and legal purposes (Poole, in "Contemporary Review," 1879); that is to say, there was the seat of government.

[2] This is so stated by most authorities. See Brugsch: "Egypt," etc., Vol. I., p. 187. Villiers Stuart points out a singular relationship between the names of the kings of the eleventh and thirteenth dynasties. ("Nile Gleanings," p. 92.)

there should be manifested a determination to blot out, as far as possible, all historic monuments of the thirteenth dynasty, Fayoum itself being not even named in the lists of Egyptian nomes.

It is supposed, however, that for a long time the Sebekhoteps ruled all Egypt. The fifth king of the Karnak list[1] left granite statues inscribed with his name at Tanis, in the Delta. The next king left various tablets in Upper Egypt (one near Philæ is here given), while the next king left his statue at Bubastis, in the Delta, also on the island of Argo, farther south than the Egyptian power had previously extended.[2] These scattered monuments, which are all we have of these kings, are sufficient to show that they ruled an extensive territory. Yet, as we have indicated, there was undoubtedly discontent, and so it is, perhaps, not singular that another disintegration of power took place.



Tablet of Nofer-hotep.

In short, a new confederacy was forming in Lower Egypt. Xois, in the Delta, was the new seat of power, and the confederacy of which it was the head, threw off

[1] The twenty-first of the Turin papyrus.

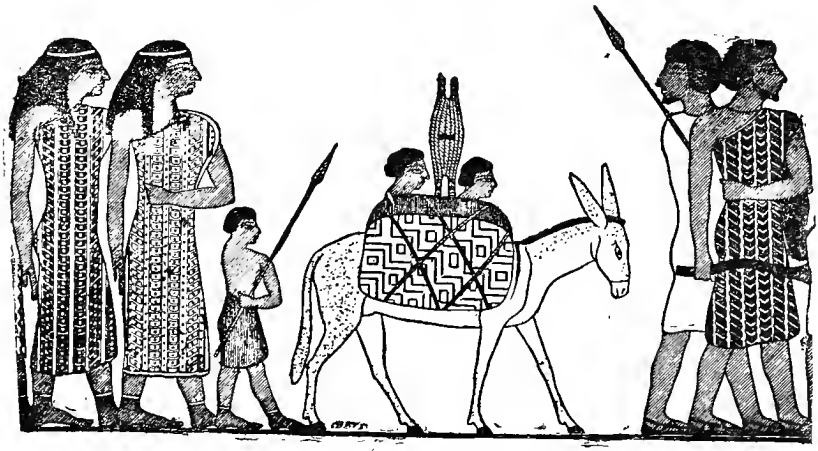
[2] Rawlinson: "Ancient Egypt," Vol. II., p. 176.

the yoke of the thirteenth dynasty, and, in its confused lists, are the names of the kings of the fourteenth dynasty of Manetho. We know really nothing historically about this confederacy. We can, however, see that the country thus divided into two hostile sections would be an easy prey to foreign conquest; and, just about this time, a danger long threatening Egypt from the east suddenly assumed greater proportions, and a conquering host was at her doors, before which Egypt sank to the condition of a subject country.

We have before pointed out that the greatest danger threatening Egypt was from Asia, by way of the Isthmus of Suez. In our opinion, the inhabitants of the Delta possessed from the earliest times more of the Asiatic element than the inhabitants of Upper Egypt. There was, probably, from time to time, immigrations and attempted invasions from Asia. Perhaps from this cause is due the historical *lacuna* between the sixth and eleventh dynasties. The strong hands of the Theban kings of the eleventh and twelfth dynasties controlled affairs in the Delta as well as the other parts of Egypt. A fortress-wall was built, as we have seen, by Amen-em-hat I., to keep off the Sak-ti or Asiatic tribes; yet, from time to time, bands of these people ensconced themselves on Egyptian territory. In the tomb of Khum-hotep, we see a band of thirty-seven, who have but just arrived, and ask for territory on which to live.

United Egypt was able to keep back the tide; but divided, and perhaps hostile, Egypt could not stem it. From obscure statements made by Manetho and a few monuments, we know that while the thirteenth and fourteenth dynasties were dividing Egypt between them, they were both suddenly overwhelmed by an invasion of

nomadic tribes from Asia. All Lower Egypt seems to have been completely subjected. Upper Egypt remained nominally under the rule of the Theban kings, conditioned, however, on the payment of tribute to the conquerors. As yet, we know but very little about these invaders. Manetho calls them Hyksos; that is, "shepherd kings." A number have derived this word Hyksos from the words Hik-shasu; that is, "kings of the Shasu or Bedouins." But the probabilities are rather in favor



Arrival of a Semitic Band in Egypt.

of the view that the Hittite confederacy was the real power that conquered Egypt; but, of course, among their allies were representations of numerous Semitic tribes.[1]

[1] On this point consult Lenormant: "Ancient History," Vol. I., p. 230; Rawlinson: "Ancient Egypt," Vol. II., pp. 190–1; Sayce: Work cited, p. 32; where it is said that the leaders of the Hyksos were, perhaps, Hittites, or at any rate not Semites. Brugsch-Bey, after a long discussion, comes to the conclusion that the Hyksos were Semitic Syrians ("Egypt," etc., Vol. I., p. 235); but he, himself, points out one of the most serious objections to this view (Ibid., 254–5). Stuart Poole, also, in "Contemporary Review," Vol. XXXIV., p. 576, concludes they were Semitic tribes. At the time of the twelfth dynasty, we know the Hittites were confronting Egypt on the east. ("Empire of the Hittites," pp. 47–48–99.) Mariette admits that at least one of the Hyksos dynasties was Hittite. (Ibid.) As far as we can judge, from the physical representations from time to time coming to light in the Delta, the physical type of the Hyksos was the Turanian, rather than

But we are destitute of almost all details of this conquest. The seat of their power was the Delta, and their principal city was Tanis. According to tradition, Memphis was their first capital city. At a subsequent stage, Tanis (the Biblical Zoan) was the seat of their power, and there many monuments of them have been discovered. The last king made Avaris his capital. From the earliest times, this seems to have been an important point. It was strongly fortified and garrisoned, and was, perhaps, the base of operations against Egypt.[1] They seem to have overrun and conquered, not only all Egypt, but some thirty-six districts of Nubia.[2]

But their rule in Upper Egypt was probably never very secure. They seem to have contented themselves with taking tribute. Thebes was the head of the subject nomes of Upper Egypt. As to the nature of this conquest, there is some uncertainty. From Egyptian sources, it seems to have been a cruel one. "Wherever the Hyksos penetrated," says Rawlinson, "they spread ruin and desolation around, massacred the adult male population, reduced the women and children to slavery, burnt the cities and demolished the temples."[3] We are of the opinion that this judgment is too severe.[4] Of course, conquests at that early day, were accompanied by many painful, cruel scenes; but the Hyksos probably treated the Egyptians as mercifully as the latter did those whom they conquered themselves.

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the Semitic. (Robinson: "Pharaohs of the Bondage," New York, 1887, p. 131. See, also, Payne, in "The Century," for May, 1887.) In considering the date of this invasion, we must bear in mind the great upheaval of Asiatic folks in Asia, at about the twenty-third century B. C., caused, perhaps, by in-wandering Aryans from Europe. (See Vol. III., This Series, Chap. i.)

[1] This follows from the reading of the first Sallier papyrus.

[2] Sayce: "Ancient Empires," p. 34. [3] "Ancient Egypt," Vol. II., p. 192.

[4] See, on this point, Brugsch's judicious observations: Vol. I., p. 256.

The duration of this foreign conquest is yet an unsettled point. Manetho says they ruled Egypt over five hundred years. There is some slight evidence on which to base this assertion. A slab was found at Tanis of the time of Rameses II., dated in the four hundredth year of the Hyksos king Sut-aa-peh-peh Nubti.[1] Nothing definite, however, is known on this point, and, perhaps, it may be much less than the foregoing.[2] One reason why we know so little on this obscure period of Egyptian history is that when the kings of Thebes again gained the control of the entire country, they set about to destroy, as far as possible, all traces of their former masters. As Brugsch observes: "To destroy the monuments of the opposition kings, to annihilate their names and titles so as to render them unrecognizable, and to falsify historical truth by inscribing their own names, was the endeavor of the kings of the eighteenth dynasty."[3]

Let us briefly note the effect of this conquest on the culture of Egypt. The Hyksos, after conquering Egypt, were themselves conquered by the superior culture of the vanquished. They largely adopted Egyptian civilization. They became, to all intents and purposes, Egyptians. Magnificent temples were raised to the Egyptian gods; they were adorned with statues; avenues of winged sphinxes led up to them. They adopted also the official language and the hieroglyphic writing, and formed their court on the old model. In matters of religion, there was such a strong similarity, both in name and nature, between the Egyptian god Seb and their national god Setech, that

[1] "Records of the Past," Vol. IV., p. 38. But compare Sayce's remarks: "Ancient Empires," p. 33, and note 1, same page.

[2] See Rawlinson's remarks, in "History of Ancient Egypt," Vol. II., p. 198.

[3] "Egypt Under the Pharaohs," Vol. I., p. 257.

they at once adopted him as their god.[1] In other respects, they influenced the culture of Egypt for good. They are thought to have given them some idea of fixed eras,[2] and especially did they teach them how to organize a strong

Hyksos King (Statue from the Fayoum).

central government. In a certain sense, they made the glories of the coming dynasties of Egypt possible.

Of the various kings of the Hyksos dynasty or dynas-

[1] Rather, there was no adoption at all. These two deities were the same. The same mythic conception and elementary name were common to both.

[2] Brugsch: "Egypt," etc., Vol. I., p. 237.

ties, we know, at present, almost nothing with certainty, owing to causes we have already named. Two, at least, and probably others, bore the name of Apapi or Apohis. We have a sphinx bearing the name Apohis on it. We present a front view showing the features. This may be a fair representation of the king of this name. These kings, at least the last one of them, ruled at Avaris, and we read in a fragmentary papyrus that thither was sent the tribute from all Egypt.[1]

Sphinx at Tanis, with the name of Apohis.

We are now about entering on the third great period of Egyptian greatness. Let us glance at our surroundings. Whether the rule of the Hyksos kings extended over several centuries, or was of comparatively short duration, we can see at a glance that there would probably be a complete shifting of power. Out of the confusion, Thebes gradually emerges. It was at the head of the nomes of Upper Egypt, though its kings were subordinate to the Hyksos kings of the Delta. When the clouds began to break away, the seventeenth dynasty was reigning at Thebes. The family name of these monarchs was Taa; the throne name was Sen-ken-en-ra.[2] Three of these kings stand out with more or less prominence, and it is

[1] The first Sallier papyrus, in "Records of the Past," Vol. VIII., p. 3.

[2] On these names Birch remarks as follows: "The names of individuals who lived at the period just before and at the commencement of the eighteenth dynasty, are repetitions of those which appear in the eleventh and twelfth; proving that they belong to the same families, and were probably not separated by any great interval of time." ("Egypt from the Earliest Times," p. 80.) It is well to bear this in mind when theorizing as to the length of the Hyksos rule.

interesting to note their titles. The first was simply Taa; the second was Taa the Great (Taa-aa); the third was Taa the Great and Victorious (Taa-aa-ken). These titles were probably bestowed upon them in consequence of their wars with the invaders.

From what we can gather from the papyrus already mentioned,[1] it seems that the Hyksos king, becoming alarmed at the growing power of Thebes (probably scarcely concealing its determination to be revenged), sought frivolous pretenses for a quarrel. He accordingly dispatched an embassy to Thebes, with a command in reference to religion. The command seems to have been to not serve any other god than Amen-ra. How this embassy was answered, it is impossible to say,[2] but a more exacting message was sent a little later. It seems to have borne reference to wells for cattle. Whatever it was, Sen-ken-en-ra "knew not how to reply to the messenger of King Apapi."[3] He had good reason, however, to fear the consequences, for we read that, when the messenger departed, he "bade summon his mighty chiefs, likewise his captains and expert guides: he related to them the tale entire of the words which King Apapi sent to him concerning them. They were all silent at once in great dismay." The result was war between Thebes and the Hyksos. The kings of the seventeenth dynasty certainly did a great deal towards breaking the power of the invaders, if they did not drive them out entirely. We possess some interesting remains of this period: probably one of the most interesting is the mummified body of Taa-aa-ken, the great and victorious king. But we know now that he himself did not live to

[1] The first Sallier papyrus.

[2] Sayce says the command was complied with; Rawlinson says it was rejected.

[3] "Records of the Past," Vol. VIII., p. 8.

know of his victory. He died in battle. His body is disfigured by his wounds, and there is all evidence that it was prepared for burial in a very hasty manner, in the absence of many conveniences usually applied. He was doubtless killed in the Delta, hastily embalmed, and taken to Thebes for burial. That his army was victorious, is shown by the fact that they recovered his body.[1]

The seventeenth dynasty seems to have come to an end with the death of Taa-aa-ken—a successor to him (Kames) is indeed noted; yet nothing worthy of record is known of him. His reign was certainly a very brief one, and we doubt whether he belonged to the same family, or was king in any true sense of the word. In the troublous times of which we are now speaking, when the various sections of Egypt were engaged in a hand-to-hand struggle with a foreign conqueror, what they demanded was a born leader. Aahmes, who appears as the founder of the eighteenth dynasty, was not from Thebes. He was chief of the fifteenth nome of Upper Egypt, whose capital city was Hermopolis. There is no proof that his family was at all connected with the Theban family of Taa. The probabilities are that when Taa-aa-ken was struck down in his fight with the Hyksos, the Egyptians ranged themselves under the leadership of this nome. Possibly Kames, at its head, was made king, but his reign was brief, and Aahmes appears as the founder of the eighteenth dynasty.[2]

Aahmes was the king who completed the work of his predecessor and completely freed Egypt from the dominion of the Hyksos and ushered in the fortunate days of the eighteenth dynasty. Thebes was once more the seat

[1] His body was amongst the number discovered at Dair-el-Bahari, in the summer of 1881. It is now in the museum at Boulak, near Cairo.

[2] This is a perplexing point. See Brugsch: "Egypt Under the Pharaohs," Vol. I., pp. 252, 253. Compare with Wilson: "Egypt of the Past," p. 193.

of power, Egypt was again a united country, respected at home and feared abroad. In leaving behind us the subject of the Hyksos invasion, we can but express our candid conviction that this subject has been but poorly understood by our scholars generally. In our judgment, future discoveries will tend to shorten the interval of time to a comparatively brief period—say one or two centuries. We think they will also give it a different meaning. The people in the Delta were always more than half Asiatics. In-wandering tribes finally gained the upper hand, and then came the Hittites, who were the ruling people in all that section. When the Egyptians regained the supremacy, they did not so much wreak their vengeance on the Semitic tribes as they did on the common ruler of them both, the Hittites. But all this is thrown out as a suggestion, which future discoveries will tend to establish or disprove.[1]

To treat with any fullness the period on which we have now entered, would require a volume by itself. We are compelled, therefore, to give only an outline. Egypt, triumphant over her enemies, became, in her turn, a conquering power, and for several centuries she was the acknowledged mistress of the world. The first ten kings of this dynasty were ruling in Egypt during the height of her prosperity. Then follows a period of confusion, in which four or five kings ruled at Thebes, during which the tribes in the Delta were again coming to the front, and finally the nineteenth dynasty appears on the scene. Of these first ten rulers, one was a queen, four bear the

[1] Most historical writers have had more or less to say in regard to Abraham and Joseph in connection with the Hyksos. Some state that Joseph rose to power under Apapi, the last Hyksos king. For the present, it is sufficient to refer the reader to the chapter on the Hebrews. The Hyksos invasion had probably long passed when the tribes of the Israelites arrived in Egypt.

name of Amen-hotep, and four that of Thothmes. Though the ruling tribe came from Hermopolis, yet Thebes was the capital.

The first two kings of this dynasty restored the authority of Thebes over both Lower and Upper Egypt, reconquered Nubia and chastised the Libyans, who were troublesome on the frontier. The third one, Thothmes I., finding the country at peace, and with a large force at his command, resolved "to wash his heart" of the disgrace of the Asiatic conquest, and forthwith poured his armies upon Western Asia. He overran Palestine, Philistia, and set up his monuments on the very banks of the Euphrates; and when his armies returned to Egypt, vast numbers of captives and great quantities of booty accompanied it. The king celebrated his victories by embellishing the great temple at Karnak.

Bust of Thothmes.

He was succeeded by Thothmes II., who married his sister Hatsu and reigned conjointly with her for a few years. But Hatsu was a woman of no ordinary ability. Probably she connived at the death of her husband and brother,[1] and then, banishing her younger brother[2] to the far-off Delta, assumed the reins of government. Strange stories are told about this queen. She assumed male attire, and demanded to be spoken to, and of, as a man. She ruled with great energy, and brought to a rapid completion public works of importance. She built temples,

[1] Birch: "History of Egypt," p. 86. [2] Thothmes III.

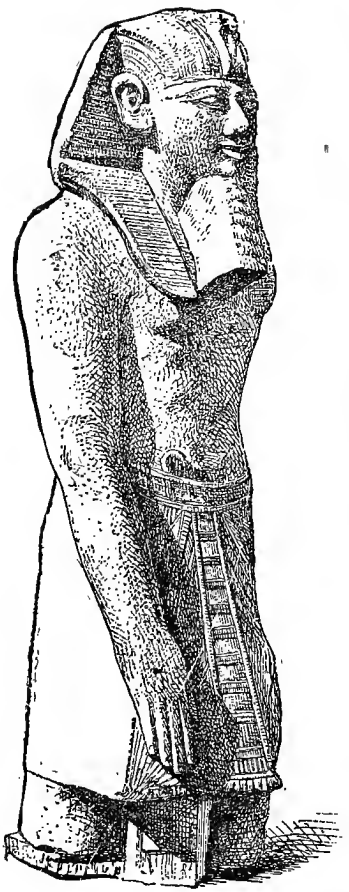
set up obelisks, and arranged long avenues of sphinxes. She dispatched expeditions for discovery and trade to distant Punt. She established friendly relations with that country, and brought from thence into Egypt great quantities of valuable materials, and even made an effort to transplant incense-bearing trees. Of her military expeditions, not much is known; but who can doubt that the rapid and peaceful development of the wealth of Egypt during her administration did much to advance the glories of the reign of Thothmes III.?

Queen Hatsu.

During the reign of this king, Egypt reached the very acme of her greatness. Time after time, Thothmes III.

Inhabitants of Punt.

marched from Egypt at the head of his armies in campaigns against Asiatic people. The combined force of the Hittite confederacy was defeated in a great battle near



Thothmes III.

Megiddo, probably in the great plain of Esdraelon. We hear of him carrying his victorious arms beyond the Euphrates, where he amuses himself by hunting elephants in the vicinity of ancient Nineveh. Great quantities of tribute poured into Egypt from all the adjacent countries. His numerous wars filled the land with captives, who were compelled to labor for the Egyptians. There was scarcely a city of Egypt but what was adorned by some public monument erected by order of Thothmes. He left profuse records of his doings. He caused great collections of rare and curious animals and plants to be transported to Thebes, where he strove to naturalize them, or else to perpetuate their forms in carved inscriptions on the monuments.

But, *sic transit*, it is interesting to know that the mummy of this Egyptian Alexander was among the number found at Dair-el-Bahari, in the summer of 1881. He could have been but a trifle over five feet in height. The mummy was the first to be unrolled. The very flowers with which he was buried "looked as if they had been recently dried in the sun, and even the color of the petals

Sphinx at Karnak, with name of Thothmes III.

could be discerned;"[1] but while the wondering eyes of savants were gazing on the face of this potentate, now first unwrapt from the slumbers of nearly forty centuries, it commenced to fade away, and there was only time for a hurried photograph before it fell into pitiful handfuls of dust, that were consigned to a final burial.

A few more reigns and we find ourselves approaching a period of confusion. The eighth king of the list, Thothmes IV., is known to have cleared away the sand from the sphinx at Gizeh, and set up a memorial tablet, and a small temple for worship. The next king, Amen-hotep III., took for wife a foreign princess named Tii. Considerable speculation has been indulged in as to who she was, but it seems that in one inscription she is called "the daughter of the chief of Naharina;"[2] this would make her a native of Assyria.[3] This

Princess Tii.

[1] Robinson: "Pharaohs of the Bondage," p. 106.

[2] Payne, in "The Century," for May, 1887.

[3] But this is not settled. Wilson says she was a Libyan. ("Egypt of the Past," p. 247.) Sayce shows we are not certain of her origin. ("Ancient Empires," p. 40, and note.) Brugsch does not express himself, but seems inclined to believe her of Abyssinian origin.

is thought by some to account for the singular change in the Egyptian state religion soon to be spoken of. Amen-hotep III. was also a great builder. The great seated statues at Thebes, known as the Vocal Memnon, are representatives of this king. They are carved out of solid sandstone, and the larger must have been about seventy feet high when first erected.

Amen-hotep III.

We have now arrived at a very singular period in Egyptian history, and one that has been, we think, wrongly treated by historical writers generally. We refer to the time intervening between the reign of Amen-hotep IV. and the nineteenth dynasty. In our opinion, this period was considerably longer than it has usually been considered. We think it shows a revival of Semitic influence, and further consider it a period of civil war, of local insurrections, finally put an end to by conquests of a confederacy formed in the Delta, that ushered in the nineteenth dynasty.[1]

It is usually related of Amen-hotep IV. that he made an effort to change the state religion of Egypt; that he sought to substitute for the many divinities of the Egyp-

[1] We are largely influenced in this view by Mr. Stuart's discoveries at Tel-el-Amarna. See "Nile Gleanings," Chap. vii.

tian pantheon one god only, the visible disk of the sun being considered as representative of this one supreme god. This step met with bitter opposition from the priests. Consequently Amen-hotep IV. left Thebes,

Vocal Memnon.

changed his name to Khuen-aten and founded a new capital at Tel-el-Amarna, not far distant from Hermopolis. Here he was followed by at least three successors, but it is claimed there was a gradual return to the old religion, and

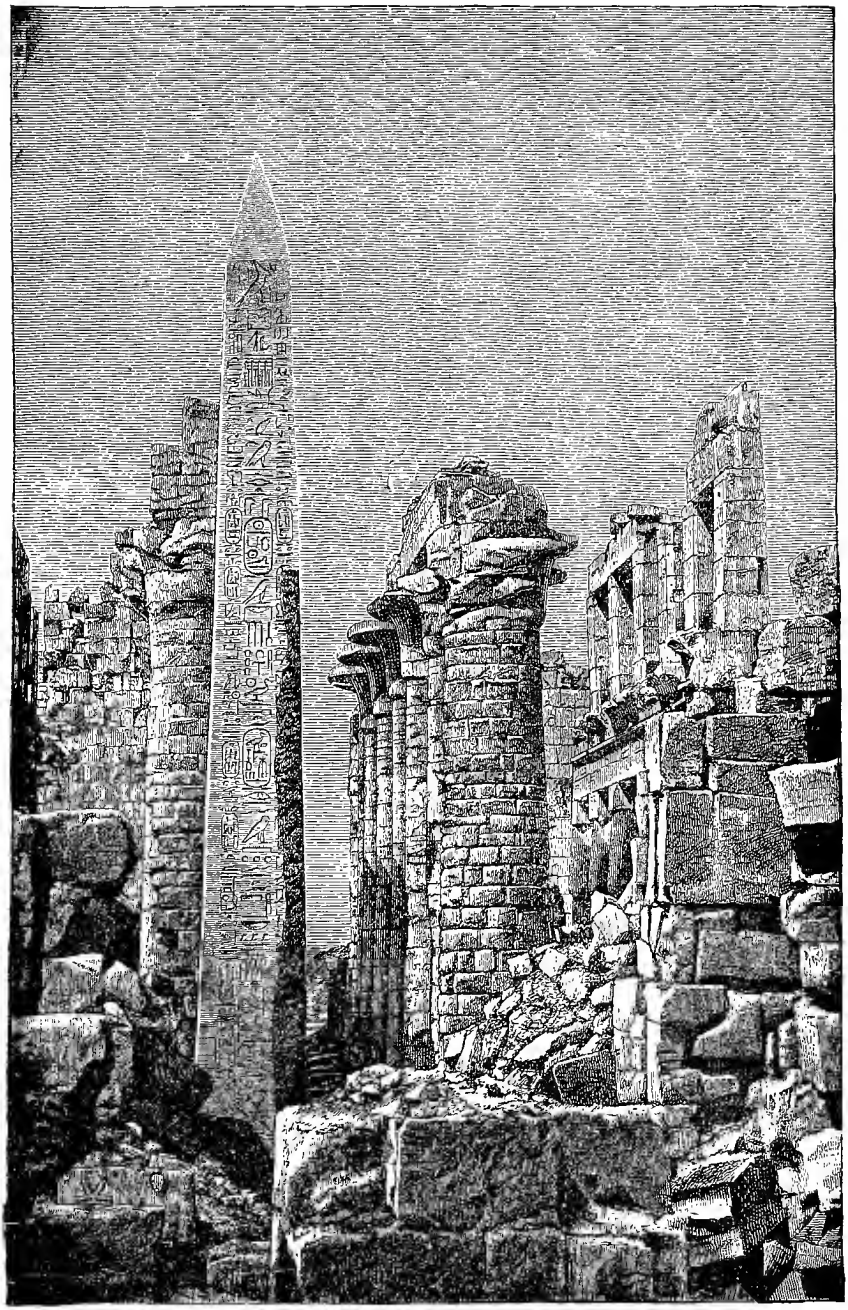
finally, under Hor-em-heb, this restoration was completed and Thebes again became the capital.[1]

It is admitted that this whole period is a very obscure

Statue of Khuen-aten.

one. It is further admitted that the center of authority is no longer Thebes, but Middle Egypt, and that a

[1] This view is the one usually accepted. It is sometimes added that, the mother of Khuen-aten not being of Egyptian blood, he was regarded as an illegitimate king from the start.



OBELISK OF THOTHMES AT KARNAK. 571

complete change in the state religion has occurred. To the above, we must add that Khuen-aten himself, as far as personal appearance was concerned, was very different indeed from the kings of the eighteenth dynasty. This will be noticed in comparing this cut of him with the other members of this dynasty, but this is not all. The court

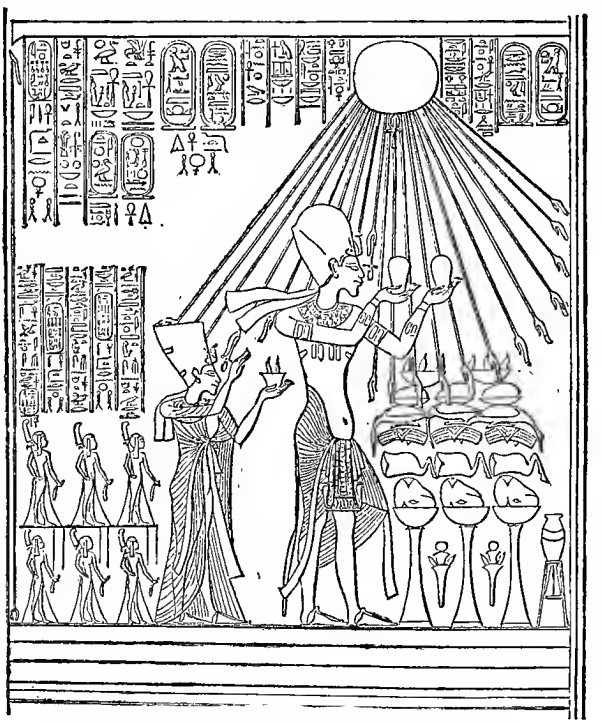
Khuen-aten.

and its surroundings were in some respects different from the ordinary Egyptian court. Birch remarks: "Not only are the scenes represented peculiar — the king is seen showering on his court donations of various kinds from a window of the palace, while the types, features and the abject prostration of his court, and unusual freedom of art, show the introduction of a foreign element into the annals of the country."[1] Villiers Stuart makes the same obser-

[1] "Ancient Egypt," p. 115.

vation, and shows from the portraits of some of his courtiers that we are probably in the presence of a different people than those in power during the eighteenth dynasty.[1]

Now all this certainly points to the rise to power of some tribe in Middle Egypt—probably some tribe that possessed a large Semitic ethnic element. There is cer-



Khuen-aten and His Family Bestowing Gifts.

tainly food for thought in Lenormant's suggestion that possibly the Hebrews were more or less concerned in this matter.[2] Be this as it may, it is certainly true that Egyptian religion had long been influenced by Semitic philosophy, and Tiele shows that under this influence it

[1] "Nile Gleanings," p. 300.

[2] But the Israelites were probably not in Egypt at this time. ("Ancient History," p. 338.)

was verging more and more towards Monotheism.[1] Now the worship followed by Khuen-aten and his court was a form of Monotheism. There ran through it a high tone of devotional feeling, and quite a pure conception of the Supreme Being, though as His representative they adored a visible, material object.[2] This new power arose exactly in that section of country where the sculptors of the twelfth dynasty represent the arrival of Semitic bands. Probably the explanation of this whole period is that it marks the revival of Semitic influence and power, crushed when the shepherd kings were driven out of the country.[3]

As to the supposed connection between Khuen-aten and Amen-hotep IV., it seems that in the tomb of Queen Tii was sculptured a portrait of her son, Amen-hotep IV., and in this cut he does not at all resemble Khuen-aten. Further still, in a tomb at Thebes, discovered but recently, by Mr. Stuart, there were two sculptures: that on the left of the entrance being Amen-hotep IV., with his cartouch; that on the right being Khuen-aten and his cartouch; and we are told that the two figures did not at all resemble each other.[4] From the name of the queen of the Khuen-aten, we judge she was a daughter of Amen-hotep IV., and a granddaughter of Tii,[5] and, from the peculiar mode of address, she seems to have reigned in her own right.

Whatever we may ultimately have to decide as to the facts of the case, it is evident that for a considerable time a line of kings ruled all Egypt from their headquarters at

[1] "Egyptian Religion," p. 146.

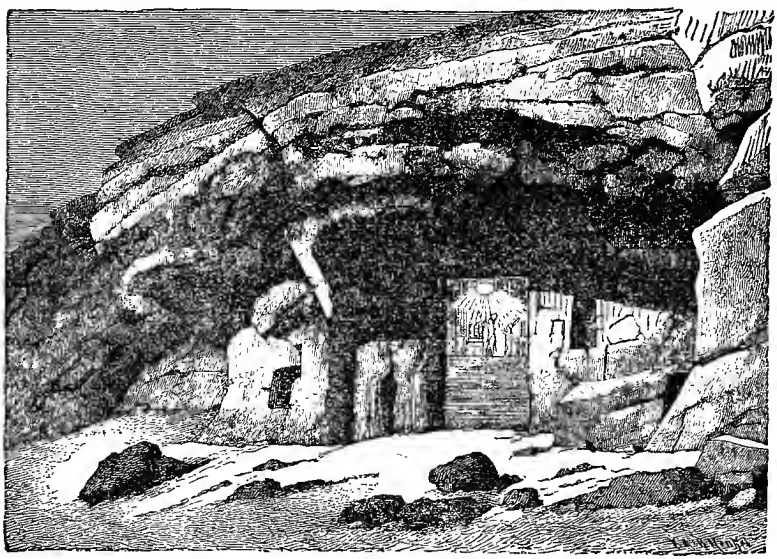
[2] Rawlinson: "Ancient Egypt," Vol. II., p. 273.

[3] See Tiele: "Egyptian Religion," p. 164, note 3. It seems that Sir Charles Nicholson thinks he has proved that the hostility to Khuen-aten arose more from dynastic than from religious causes. This is exactly the position we have assumed.

[4] "Nile Gleanings;" but compare Sayce's "Ancient Empires," p. 40, note 1.

[5] Ibid.

Tel-el-Amarna. The tombs are large and numerous. The scale on which they are excavated shows that a long time was required in this work. "After they were completed and tenanted, they must have been for many years visited by the descendants of the occupants, for they contain enormous accumulations of broken earthenware, the remains of the vessels in which offerings were brought annually by



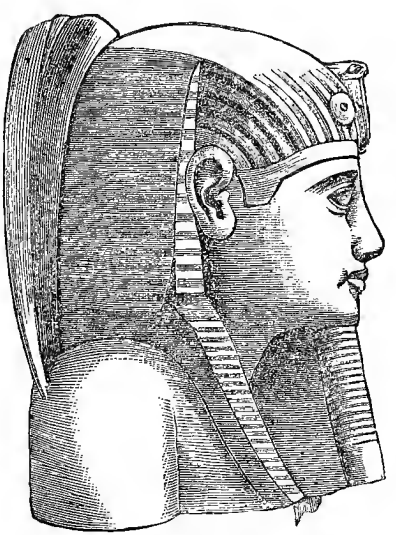
Khuen-aten and Family Worshiping the Disk.

surviving relatives. . . . It must have been a period of much prosperity and luxury, judging from the rich dresses and furniture, and the numerous chariots and horses sculptured on the walls of these stately mausoleums; and the army seems to have been particularly well appointed, as every branch of it is represented in the tableau of a royal review sculptured in one of the tombs."[1]

Still this entire line of kings was cordially hated by

[1] "Nile Gleanings," p. 85.

the Thebans, no doubt largely for the position they took in regard to the religion, and probably still more because they had overthrown Theban power. The immediate successors of Khuen-aten made an attempt to conciliate the rest of the country in religious matters, and adopted some of the old gods. Yet they were mainly unsuccessful, though the last king of the line was granted a burial in the royal tomb of Thebes. When the powers at Thebes had regained the supremacy, they destroyed, as far as possible, all evidences of this line of kings; hence we know but little about it. Three kings are mentioned,[1] but we are not sure that this is the correct number,[2] and are in doubt as to the order of succession.[3] It seems, however, that after a time Thebes recovered her power; the old line seems to have been reëstablished. In the sculptured bust of Horem-heb, we see again the classical features of the kings of the eighteenth dynasty. Still the power of the eighteenth dynasty had been hopelessly weakened. The reign of Horem-heb was the last of the line. Another period of confusion ensues, and we are confronted with the nineteenth dynasty—a very pronounced Semitic one.



Horem-heb.

In regard to the culture of the eighteenth dynasty, we must remember the circumstances under which it

[1] Rawlinson: "Ancient Egypt," Vol. II., p. 277.

[2] See Sayce: "Ancient Empires," p. 42, note.

[3] Ibid.

arose. All the energies of united Egypt had been gathered to free the land from the suzerainty of the Hyksos. That effort being successful, the aroused energies of the people were put forth to develop their resources. "Industry and trade diffused prosperity throughout the thickly peopled land. Agriculture was pursued with especial care, as a sacred task; and the works which, in the Nile Valley, are so indispensable to success, were kept up or improved. Ancient towns grew in extent, and increased in magnificence and wealth of monuments, while new towns were founded."[1] Further, we must consider the wonderful increase of national wealth caused by their successful foreign wars. Western Asia and Northern Africa poured their tribute into the lap of Thebes. In addition to all this, we must take into account the impetus given to the national intellect by the foregoing. Egypt was no longer an exclusive country. They were brought into contact with the culture of surrounding people. It is not singular, then, that the entire period was one of great literary activity. Nor were the arts neglected: temples and public monuments of all kinds were erected; magnificent tombs were hewn out of sold rock, and richly carved and sculptured.

In matters of religion, we are assured that slow but sure progress was going forward, and, in our opinion, this was largely due to Semitic influence. We have pointed out that, from a very early time, Semitic people were passing from Asia into the Delta. When the Hyksos kings were driven out of Egypt, it was not so much the Semites that were expelled as it was their masters, the Hittites. The Semites remained. And we have pointed out our reasons for believing that the line of kings that

[1] Tiele: "Egyptian Religion," p. 146.

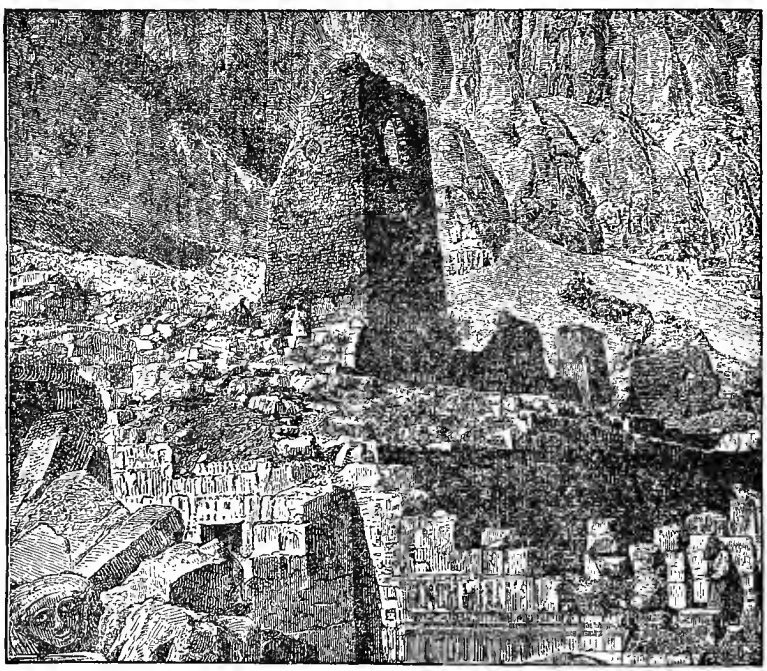
ruled at Tel-el-Amarna were of some Semitic stock. Now, one of the ways in which Semitic influence would make itself felt would be in the field of religion. They, doubtless, assisted the tendency, inherent in all systems of Polytheism, towards Monotheism.

It will be well to recall what was written in a preceding chapter[1] in regard to this last statement. During this period, the Egyptians came the nearest they ever did to Monotheism. Perhaps it was for reasons of policy only that this important step was not taken. Like the Chinese, the Egyptians were very faithful to traditions. It is quite natural that, as the country grew more and more united, the people would see that, after all, they were worshiping the same gods. Just as we have seen that the three local gods of the Thebaid—Amen, Chem and Munt—were considered as really the same in the times of the twelfth dynasty, so, now, the widening horizon of their intellectual sky enabled them to perceive the unity between the greater gods of Egypt, for these gods had all grown out of the same mythic conceptions and had much in common.

It would seem as if the Hyksos kings gave them a start in this direction, since they spoke of Amen of the South, in conjunction with Ra of the North, under the title of Amen-ra; and, in time, this deity became confounded with all of the principal gods. Shu, Tum, Osiris, are all, at different times and places, considered the same as Amen-ra. In addition to this, purer spiritual conceptions of the nature of a god were formed. However, the Egyptians of this time were not able to cast aside all the material conceptions of divinity. To the last, Amen-ra was considered as a god (masculine), and was joined to a

[1] Page 346 *et seq.*

goddess. Thus it will be seen that the religion of Egypt, under the eighteenth dynasty, presents itself to us in a most interesting light. Men seemed conscious that their various gods were but different names of the same god, yet they did not drop the worship of all but one. On the contrary, each god was, when worship was paid to it, considered as the supreme and only god. Side by side, with



Terraced Temple of Queen Hatsu.

purer conceptions of a god, existed other conceptions of a debasing nature. They stood on the very verge of Monotheism, yet did not take the step. We only want to add to the foregoing that they had come to this stage as a result of protracted development.[1]

In resuming the thread of the historical narrative, we

[1] Our principal authority on this subject has been Tiele. ("Egyptian Religion," pp. 141–157.)

find ourselves entering upon an important epoch. This is the so-called nineteenth dynasty, and marks the revival of Semitic influence. In the obscurity concerning the commencement of this dynasty, we can but dimly make out the main points. We have shown that the eighteenth dynasty ended in a great deal of confusion, and have given our reasons for believing that Khuen-aten and his immediate successors mark the rise to power of a new section, with headquarters at Tel-el-Amarna, but have also noted the fact that the last king of the list, Horemheb, marks probably a return to Theban supremacy. Mr. Sayce[1] has shown that room must be found about this time for one or two more kings of which we at present know nothing. All this points to a much disturbed period—a time of civil wars, invasions and insurrections. The Asiatic dependencies not only threw off the yoke, but threatened Egypt with a conquest in turn.

In the midst of such a state of things, a new confederacy seems to have been formed in the Delta. The part most exposed to attack could no longer wait on the tardy action of Upper Egypt, but united its forces for self-protection, and, finding itself a powerful body, concluded to make thorough work by putting itself at the head of affairs in Egypt.[2] Now the Delta had been for a long time infil-

[1] "Ancient Empires," p. 42, note.

[2] Some authorities are willing to admit that the nineteenth dynasty came from the Delta. Tiele concludes this from "his name and the god to whose worship he was most devoted." Sayce contents himself by showing that "Rameses, its founder, came from Lower Egypt, and was probably of Semitic extraction, but was related, probably by marriage, with the eighteenth dynasty." He gives no authority for this view. Wilson does not mention the Delta, but styles Rameses I. "a gallant soldier who seized on the government." Lenormant says nothing about the northern origin of this dynasty, but thinks Rameses I. was the grandson of Horem-heb. Brugsch says nothing as to place of origin, but thinks there must have been a close family connection between the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties, but says: "Whether Rameses was the son, son-in-law or brother of Horem-heb is as yet undecided." Birch says nothing of place of origin, but says of Rameses

trated with Semitic tribes—tribes who had been more or less connected with the Hyksos conquests. It would, therefore, not be at all singular that the physical appearance of the new dynasty should betray marked Semitic traits,[1] or even their connection with the old Hyksos conquerors be admitted. Both of these conclusions seem to be established by late investigations. The nineteenth dynasty was a rise to power of tribes containing a large Semitic ethnic element, dormant since the expulsion of the Hyksos, with the probable exception of the dynasty of Khuen-aten. The probabilities are all against there being any connection by blood or marriage between these two dynasties. It was a conquest, or at least an enforced union under the leadership of the Delta, to escape a threatened conquest from Asia.

The new dynasty was, however, a very politic one. Though the kings worshiped as principal gods the local gods of the Delta, yet they also worshiped the great gods of Egypt generally, and sought in every way not to offend their subjects in this respect. They were also active in erecting temples to the honor of these various gods. Neither did they seek, at least at first, to transfer the seat of authority from Thebes to another city. Probably with the great mass of people this change of dynasty was scarcely noticeable. No sooner was the new dynasty in power, than they set themselves to work to reconquer the provinces gained by Thothmes but lost in the troublous times following the reign of Amen-hotep IV.

The first king of the list was Ra-meses I.; that is, the

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that "he is supposed to have been connected by marriage with the previous dynasty." Rawlinson, after noting these conflicting views, concludes that he was unconnected with the eighteenth dynasty; that he was "one who raised himself to power, at a time of political trouble and disturbance, by his own talents and energy."

[1] See mummy of Rameses II., pp. 590, 591.

son of Ra; and Ra was the chief god of Heliopolis. We know but little about the reign of this king. His coronation as king of Egypt is represented on the walls of Karnak. He seems to have waged war with the Hittites in Western Asia, the outcome of which was perhaps not decided, since a treaty of peace seems to have been entered into between these two powers, in which each agreed to respect the other's territory.[1] He seems to have reduced Nubia to his rule, since he built a storehouse for the temple of Bahani at the second cataract, and transported thither captives taken in his wars.[2] He also constructed for himself a fine tomb near Thebes, from the sculptured adornments of which we gather considerable as to the religious culture. It is noticeable that Set, the great god of the Delta, was especially honored.[3]

He was succeeded by Seti I. The exact relationship between these two kings is as yet unsettled,[4] though the probabilities are that Seti was the son of Rameses I.[5] It is stated that Seti I., in order to render his reign more secure, married a granddaughter of Khuen-aten;[6] but nothing is known for certain on this point, and, in our opinion, the probabilities are all against it.[7] Be all this

[1] This fact is only known to us from an incidental mention of it in the treaty made with Rameses II. See "Records of the Past," Vol. IV., pp. 28, 29.

[2] Brugsch: "Egypt," etc., Vol. II., p. 9.

[3] Rawlinson: "Egypt," Vol. II., p. 287.

[4] Some inscriptions speak of him as the son of Rameses I. This is the view of Brugsch, Birch, Sayce and Rawlinson. Lenormant speaks of him as "a soldier of fortune, a stranger by birth to the royal family, who, by marriage with the heiress of the crown, seated himself on the throne." His arguments, however, seem to us to be very weak. Wilson styles him "a young relative [of Rameses], Seti by name."

[5] Rameses II. styles himself "son of Seti and grandson of Rameses I." ("Records of the Past," Vol. IV., p. 28.)

[6] Such is the opinion of Wilson, Rawlinson and Brugsch. See, also, Prof. Payne's article, in "Century," for May, 1887.

[7] The simple fact that the name of his queen was Tuâ, or Tuaa, does not justify us in jumping to the conclusion that she was a descendant of Tii, the foreign

as it may, Set I. was the most energetic and warlike king Egypt had seen for a long time. Travelers and writers generally have spoken with admiration of the "refined, sweet and smiling profile" of this king.[1] A late writer speaks of "his noble head, at once human and heroic, mild and proud."[2] We present a view of the profile of this king. These smiling features were those of a man who knew how to command. Once again the armies of Egypt swept in victorious course through Western Asia. This time, however, they met with more of an organized opposition than that which confronted the armies of Thothmes. The Hittites had now thoroughly organized their forces, and presented a barrier against which the Egyptian army could make no permanent advance. He undoubtedly succeeded in depriving them of their subject tribes in Palestine, and received at least the nominal sub-

Profile of Seti I.

queen of Amen-hotep III. Maspero has shown that Tai-ai was an Egyptian name. (Sayce: "Ancient Empires," p. 40, note 1.) The fact that Rameses II. was spoken of as "king in his mother's womb"—thought to imply that he was the first legitimate king of this line—is, on the contrary, an example of how the obsequious scribes sought to flatter the praise-loving Rameses II.

[1] Robinson: "Pharaohs of the Bondage," p. 54.

[2] "The Century," for May, 1887.

mission of Mesopotamia.[1] He apparently inflicted a heavy blow on the Hittites themselves by the surprise and capture of their capital, Kadesh, on the Orontes; but it is to be observed that this victory is followed by a treaty, in which the Hittite territory proper is returned to them, and each party agrees to respect the territory of the other. This shows that the Hittites themselves were not much crippled by their defeat.[2] It may be that all he wished to do to the Hittites was to compel them to respect the treaty made with Rameses I.[3] In other respects, his campaigns were successful, and the authority of Egypt seems as firmly established as in the days of the great kings of the eighteenth dynasty.

In public buildings and works of public utility, Seti was also active. The Great Hall of Columns, at Karnak, was his work, a view of which, in a restored state, we have presented. One wall of this hall is called the memorial wall, since it is covered with painting and sculpture illustrative of his numerous victories.[4] He erected a somewhat famous temple at Abydus, the headquarters of the Osiris faith in very ancient times. This temple is renowned as being the location of the Abydus tablet. It would seem as if the kings of this dynasty were somewhat given to the study of antiquities, and sought to arrange tablets of the names of the kings who had preceded them. The variations, however, in these lists show that they had no certain

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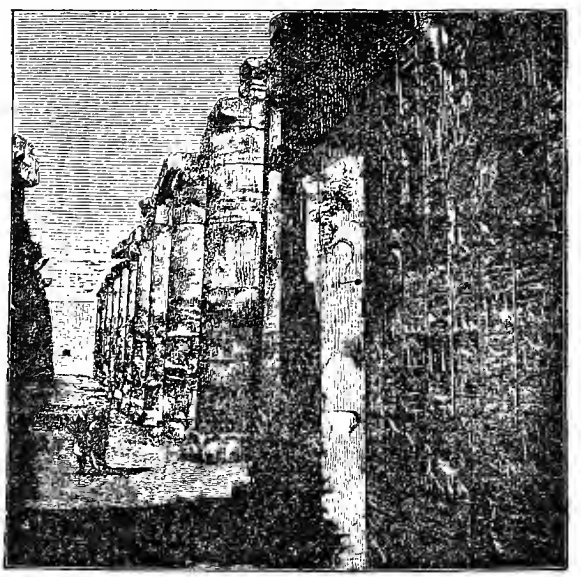
[1] Rawlinson: "Egypt," Vol. II., p. 292.

[2] Lenormant: "Ancient History," Vol. I., p. 243.

[3] See Wilson: "Egypt of the Past," p. 263.

[4] "This hall contained one hundred and thirty-four columns, twelve of which are sixty-two feet high, and nearly thirty-eight feet in circumference. The remainder are forty-two and one-half feet high, and twenty-eight feet in circumference. They are designed after the papyrus plant, are elegant in figure, and superbly decorated with paintings and hieroglyphics." (Wilson.) Only about half the columns were erected by Seti I. See plan in Oncken's "Allgemeine Geschichte," No. 25.

basis to work on. At Quarnah, opposite Thebes, he erected a temple in honor of his father, Rameses I. This temple was completed by Rameses II. Finally he built for himself a magnificent tomb, which was discovered by the traveler Belzoni. This tomb has a number of very interesting points in connection with it. In one small room was a long hieroglyphic inscription concerning the destruction of mankind.[1] The sarcophagus, which probably once con-

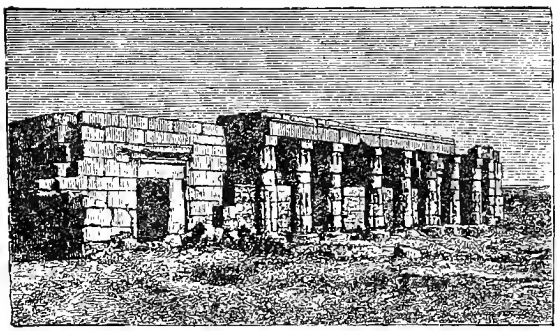


Ruins of the Temple of Seti I. at Abydus.

tained the king's body, is now deposited in the Soan Museum at London.

It has remained for the last few years to discover the veritable mummy of this once great king—found in the summer of 1881, in the rock-grave of Dair-el-Bahari, to the west of Thebes, in company with Taa-aa-ken, of the seventeenth dynasty; the redoubtable warrior Thothmes III., of the eighteenth; and the mummy of his greater

[1] "Records of the Past," Vol. VI., p. 105 *et seq.*



Ruins of the Temple of Quarnah.

son, Rameses II. Thanks to the great skill of the Egyptians as embalmers, we are now enabled to look on the very face of Seti. But oh, stop and think how triflingly brief is the span of human life! More than thirty centuries, with their burdens of hopes and fears, have sped away into the illimitable past since that sheeted form was laid in its tomb.

Mummy of Seti I.

Rameses II., the son and successor of Seti, is probably the most renowned king of Egypt, and yet when we ask for the grounds on which this great renown rests, we are conscious that they are not very satisfactory. He was known among the Greeks as Sesostris, and around his name there have gathered events and conquests that properly belong to other mon-

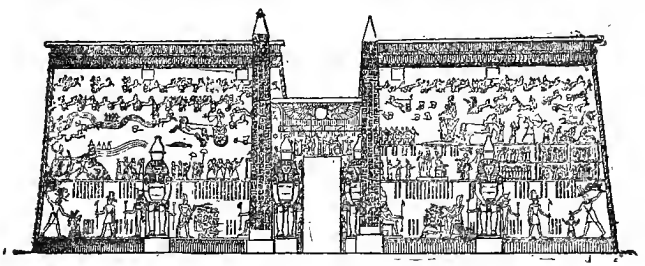
archs,[1] as well as some mythical events. He was a very great builder, and filled Egypt with slaves, whom he compelled to work on public monuments. Of his wars, the most successful ones were directed against the hapless Negroes of the south. Lenormant says: "Man-hunting expeditions among the unfortunate Negroes of Soudan were organized on a monstrous scale, unknown in former times. There was no longer any intention, as under the Thothmes and Amen-hoteps, of extending the frontier of the Egyptian empire so as to include the ivory and gold-producing countries. The chief and, in fact, only aim was to procure slaves. Nearly every year grand razzias were made into Ethiopia, returning with thousands of captives, of every age and of both sexes, loaded with chains."[2]

In the Asiatic campaigns, it is clear enough that the Egyptian power was weakened. It is possible that, nominally, Rameses still held the country first conquered by Thothmes and regained by Seti I. It is evident that the Hittites were able to successfully withstand the might of Egypt, against whom they united all the countries of Western Asia. The great battle of the war was fought near Kadesh, on the Orontes. In the list of the Hittite allies may be recognized Aryan tribes of Western Asia Minor. Though claimed as a great victory by the Egyptians, and extravagant praises heaped on Rameses for his personal exploits, it is clear that it was a drawn battle, if not an Egyptian defeat.

This battle of Kadesh, during which Rameses seems to have become separated from his command and owed his escape to personal bravery and prowess, was, on that account, seized on by court scribes and poets as a topic on which to exercise their skill; and as Rameses was such

[1] Birch: "Egypt," p. 125. [2] "Ancient History," Vol. I., p. 257.

a vain-glorious king, and was anxious to have his deeds known, it is not surprising that we have full accounts of it, written, however, with a full knowledge that the king and Egypt must be set forth in a favorable light. On the walls of the temple at Thebes, this battle is chiseled in deep work in solid stone. The many little details of the Egyptian campaign are represented. We have, also, a prose account of the battle in a papyrus roll, and the whole story is several times repeated on the walls of vari-



Front of the Temple of Luxor at Thebes.

ous temples. This battle was also made the occasion of a prize poem.[1]

The wars with the Asiatic countries did not terminate with this battle of Kadesh, but continued for some years, probably with varying fortunes; but finally a new treaty of peace was made, in which each party agreed to respect the territory of the other. This treaty was soon afterwards strengthened by marriage between Rameses and a Hittite princess. It is clear that this treaty must have undermined Egyptian influence in Western Asia. It is considered, however, that when the Hittites entered into this treaty the several Asiatic dependencies of Egypt, whom the Hittites had stirred up to revolt, were forced to return to their allegiance; but Lenormant observes that the

[1] See "Poem of Pentaur," in "Records of the Past," Vol. II., p. 65.

"bonds of subjection in which these countries were held were much lighter than they had been under Thothmes III., and the Egyptian king prudently contented himself with gratified self-love as a substitute for real power."[1]

It is supposed that Rameses was associated with his father, Seti I., when he was but a boy of ten.[2] He is sup-

Mummy of Rameses II. (Side View.)

posed to have become sole king when he was about twenty-eight.[3] He lived to be a very old man. The sixty-seventh year of his reign is noted, but whether this is counted

[1] "Ancient History," Vol. I., p. 256.

[2] The inscription at Abydus says: "I was a boy on his lap, and he spoke thus: 'I will have him crowned as king, for I desire to behold his grandeur while I am still alive.'" (Brugsch: "Egypt," etc., Vol. II., p. 24.)

[3] Rawlinson: "Egypt," Vol. II., p. 302.

from the time he was associated with his father, or from his sole reign, is not settled. It is evident that for a very long time he ruled Egypt. One result of his wars was to fill Egypt with a vast number of captives, who were kept as slaves. This accounts in some measure for the great number of public works erected by him, and in this matter he was actuated by a desire to excel his predecessors,

Mummy of Rameses II. (Front View.)

and thus hand down his own fame, for he "seems to have made self-glorification the end of his life.[1]

Of his public works, we might mention the fortress-wall, supposed to have extended from Heliopolis to Pelusium.[2] This was commenced by Seti but completed by Rameses. Another work was the great canal, extending from near Bubastis, in an easterly direction, to the

[1] Tiele: "Egyptian Religion," p. 169. [2] Birch: "Ancient Egypt," p. 131.

Bitter Lakes; through them south to the Red Sea.[1] He also built several cities. Tanis, or Zoan, which, as we have seen, had long been famous, and was one of the chief cities of Hyksos kings, he rebuilt and made it his capital. A private letter of that far-away time gives us a description of the city: "I found it flourishing in good things without a rival, like the foundation of Thebes. . . . The abode of felicity. Its meadows are filled with all good things. It is well provisioned daily. Its pools (are filled) with fish, its ponds with fowl. Its fields are verdant with grass. . . . Its threshing floors are full of barley and wheat."[2] The royal court was held here, and here was erected a great statue of Rameses II. It must have been about one hundred and twenty feet high, carved out of a solid block of Seyene granite.[3]

Two other cities of the Delta are of interest because they are mentioned in the Bible, and those in the erection of which the children of Israel were compelled to labor.[4] These were the city of Rameses, the site of which is as yet unknown,[5] and Pithom, the site of which is thought to have been satisfactorily located by M. Naville.[6] At a number of places up and down the Nile, were temples erected by order of Rameses II. As celebrated a one as any is the famous rock temple of Abu Simbel. The facade is formed by four great seated statues of Rameses II., each seventy feet in height. The walls of the room within, all hewn out of the solid rock, are covered with paintings of scenes from the life of the king.[7] All travelers and

[1] It is still possible to trace portions of this canal. ("Store City of Pithom," p. 2.)

[2] Goodwin's translation of the letter of Panbesa, in "Records of the Past," Vol. VI., p. 13.

[3] Robinson: "Pharaohs of the Bondage," p. 128. [4] Exod. i. 2.

[5] Naville: "Store City of Pithom," London, 1885, p. 23.

[6] Ibid. [7] Page 617.

writers speak in the highest praise of this wonderful temple.[1]

After his long and generally prosperous reign, Rameses was laid to his rest in the "valley of the tombs of the kings," to the west of Thebes, where he had built himself a magnificent tomb. Here he slept undisturbed until nearly two centuries had flown over his head, when troublous times were again upon Egypt. So his body was moved around from place to place; but finally, along with others we have mentioned, it was laid to rest in the rock tomb of Dair-el-Bahari, and so was discovered a few years ago, and hence we also are permitted to gaze upon the veritable features of this king. Of these features it is said: "There is plainly to be seen an air of sovereign majesty, of resolve, and of pride."[2]

When the reign of Rameses Meriamum was brought to a close, we have something more to chronicle than merely the end of a long reign. The glorious period of Egyptian history is now closed. From henceforth we will proceed with greater rapidity, for it is always sad to trace the outline of a nation's fall; so we will hasten along this long period of decline and ever lessening influence. In the drama of the world's history, Egypt had already played her most important part. It is almost startling to reflect that during the many centuries we have thus far traced Egyptian history, we are almost entirely in the dark as to the rest of the world. But the thread of its history now begins to intertwine with that of other people in Western Asia, of whom we have more or less knowledge.

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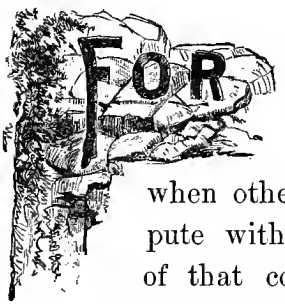
[1] Brugsch: "Egypt Under the Pharaohs," p. 92.

[2] Robinson: "Pharaohs of the Bondage," p. 71. Undoubtedly some will wonder why we do not speak about the Israelite bondage, which is generally thought to have been at its height under this king. This point will be fully considered in the chapter on the Hebrews.

# CHAPTER VIII.

## EGYPT CONTINUED.

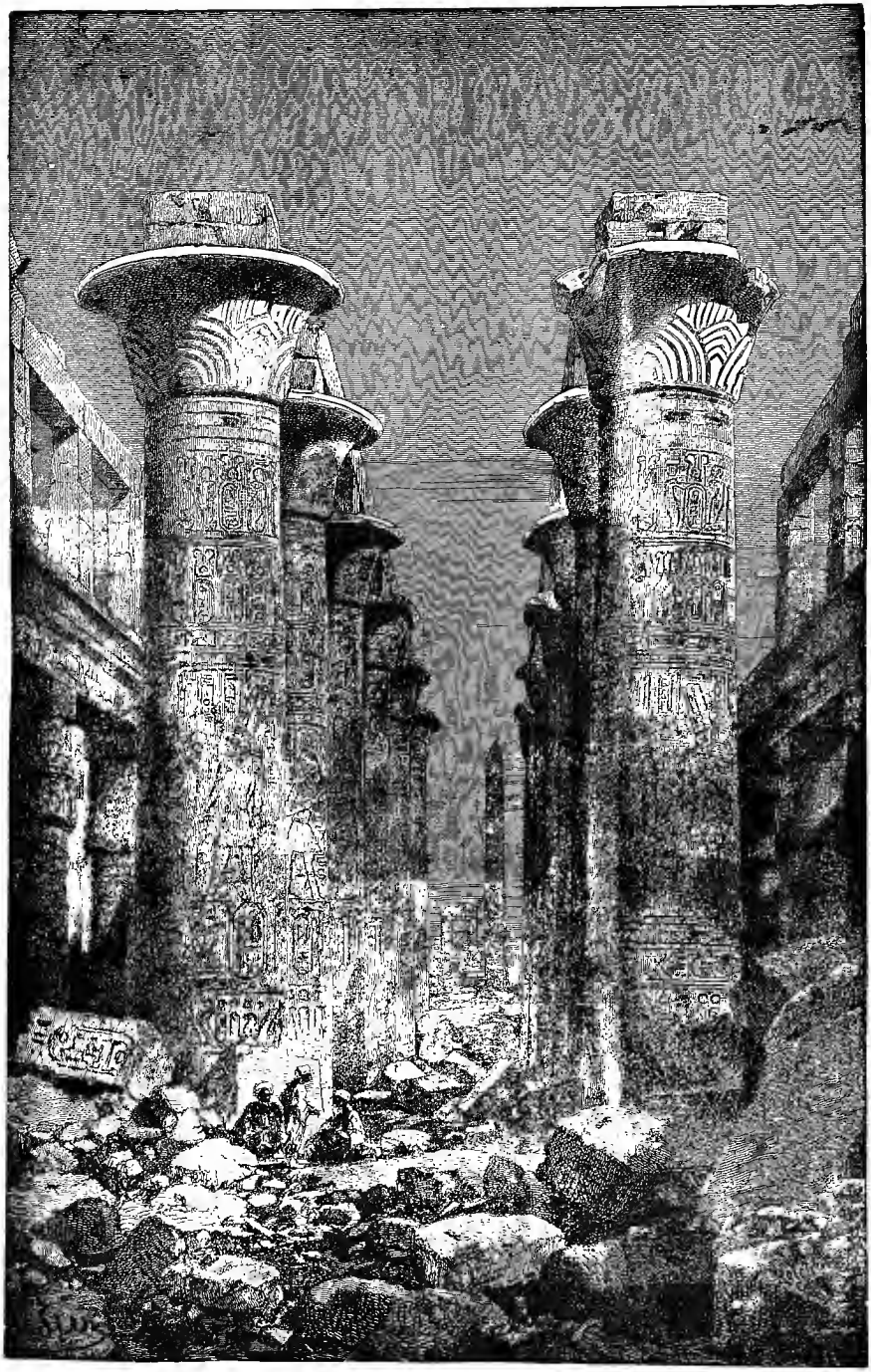
INTRODUCTION — Egypt's decline—Pelasgians—Menephthah—Invasion of Egypt by the Europeans—Seti II.—The Twentieth Dynasty—Invasion of Asia—Conspiracy against Rameses—Culture of the Twentieth Dynasty—Historical Confusion in Egypt—The Assyrians—Conflict between Egypt and Assyria—Influence of Egypt on Civilization—Egyptian Civilization Stationary—Egyptian Society Tribal—The Priestly class—Egyptian Ideas as to Immortality—The Judgment Hall of Osiris—Egyptian Sciences—Their Social Life—General Conclusions.




MANY long centuries, Egypt had been the foremost country in the world. The time was now at hand, when other sections of the earth were to dispute with her for supremacy, and the issue of that conflict was the downfall of Egypt.

Many causes were at work during the reign of Rameses II. to weaken the power of the government. The foreign wars, the introduction of great numbers of slaves and the despotic manners of the court, which adopted many Oriental customs, all tended to weaken the national energy. In fact, the decline that was at hand commenced in the life of Rameses II., and the political sky of Egypt was already overcast, when the aged monarch passed away and was laid in his tomb. This decline is apparent in matters of art, in religion and in material greatness.[1]

[1] Lenormant: "Ancient History," Vol. I., p. 258. Tiele: "Egyptian Religion," p. 170. Brugsch: "Egypt etc.," Vol. II., p. 11x.



THE HALLS IN THE TEMPLE OF KARNAK.

But the wisest king of Egypt could not have entirely averted the impending storm. Causes far beyond the confines of Africa were at work, the results of which were to tell with disastrous effect on Egypt. The first migrating bands of Aryan people of Europe, who had perhaps become more or less mixed with the primitive population, were in turn exposed to invasion from still other Aryan people. When the multitudinous Germanic tribes had firmly seated themselves in Central Europe, there was movement all along the line. The Greeks and Romans were driven into the territory, where they were destined to evolve so brilliant a Civilization. But the former inhabitants of Southern Europe pressed still farther to the south took refuge, some on mountainous tracts, some on the islands of the Mediterranean, others in Northern Africa and some along the shores of Western Asia. If it be asked further who these people were, we can only give a theoretical answer. They were at the bottom undoubtedly Turanian, they were more or less mixed with Aryan people, and seem to have been, in places at least, called Pelasgians.[1]

These people, driven thus away from their original home or confined in very contracted areas, took up the same course of life that the barbarians of Central and Northern

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[1] This is saying a good deal. There is, probably, no question of the intermixture of Aryan and Turanian blood. [See Third Volume.] Winchell concludes that the Pelasgians were Hamites ["Preadamites," p. 23] but the Hamites were Turanians intermixed with other stocks. [Rawlinson: "Herodotus," p. 526 *et seq.*] It is well known that the utmost uncertainty exists in regard to the Pelasgians. Rawlinson calls them Aryans ["Herodotus," p. 541] but see Winchell's criticism on this. ["Preadamites," p. 24., note I.] For a long discussion on the Pelasgians see Thirlwall's "Greece," Vol. I., Chap. II., and compare with Grote's "Greece," Vol. II., p. 261 *et seq.* Prof. Sayce shows that the word "Pelasgian" is used in two senses, one, and the most common, is in a general sense about the same as our word prehistoric ["Ilios," New

Europe did centuries later. They became expert sailors and made piratical descents on the mainland, striving to establish themselves as colonists, if possible, or else to escape with all the booty they could gather. From time to time they gathered all their forces together and made an onslaught on Egypt. Thus the people of the Nile valley were brought into contact with people from Europe; and, time and again, Egypt was shaken to its very center. We detect the first appearance of the new danger as far back as the times of Thothmes III.[1] The first invasion of Egypt seems to have been in the time of Seti I., while Rameses II. was co-regent with him. The Sardinians and Etruscans united with the Lybians to invade the Delta, but they were defeated by Rameses.[2]

Rameses II. passed away and was succeeded by his fourteenth son, Men-eph-thah.[3] It is usually stated that he was but a feeble and incapable ruler, but we are at a loss to know the grounds of this conclusion.[4] It seems that during the last few years of Rameses II., incursions along the west of the Delta had become of almost habitual occurrence. The auxiliary army had been disbanded and

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York, 1887, p. 126.] Coming now to the Egyptian side of our statement, it is shown that the Libyans between the sixth and twentieth dynasties, had either become greatly changed in features owing to intermixture with some other people, or else the original people were driven away by the advance of people from Southern Europe [Lenormant: "Ancient History," Vol. I., p. 259] and it is agreed on all hands that the constantly recurring stubborn invasions of Egypt, were led, in the main, by people from Europe. The Etruscans seem to have been active in this matter. [See Poole in "Contemporary Review" for April, 1879.]

1 Poole in "Contemporary Review," April, 1879.

2 See Poole: L. C., p. 113; but see also Brugsch: "Egypt" Vol. II., p. 123. *et seq.* Compare this with Rawlinson: "Egypt," Vol. II., p. 331, and Appendix "B" of same volume.

3 This name is variously spelled.

4 Tiele: "Egyptian Religion," p. 176.

the fortifications of the land neglected. Finally, when Rameses was gone and his son reigned in his stead, the confederates, the Libyans and their allies and the Sardinians, Sicilians and Etruscans, thought it a good time to invade the land. So in the fifth year of Men-eph-thah, a mighty army poured over the border of the Delta from Libya and advanced almost to Memphis. The king with the utmost speed gathered his army, hastily fortified Memphis and Heliopolis, and sent his troops under the command of competent generals to meet the enemy. Victory

European People who Invaded Egypt.

remained with the Egyptians, but it is to be noticed that circumstances of barbarity, such as mutilation of the slain, followed. This shows that the Egyptians recognized that they were fighting for their very existence with a savage enemy.[1] Thus the first trial of strength between Egypt and Europe ended favorably to the Egyptians. It is considered as very probable that like the Romans of a later day, though the Egyptians had conquered in battle, they

[1] See Birch in "Records of the Past," Vol. IV., p. 37. Brugsch gives

were forced to allow numbers of these people to remain in the Delta.[1] The remainder of this king's reign seems to have been peaceful. He built palaces at Thebes and at Memphis, he dug wells in the desert of Arabia beyond the Egyptian frontier. His inscriptions have been found at Elephantine and at Tanis, sometimes on the monuments of other kings, either in conjunction with, or in substitution of, the original name.[2] But Menephthah was not the first

Face of Menephthah.

king who had stooped to such acts as these. His foreign

a different location of these allies of the Libyans "History of Egypt," Vol. II., p. 112, also "Appendix nine" to "Ilios," p. 747, but compare with them Poole in "Contemporary Review," April, 1879. It may be that we are in error in supposing that European nations are mentioned at all. See Rawlinson: "Egypt," Vol. II., p. 331. Prof. Sayce also is skeptical on this point as he thinks these proper names in question are those of Libyan and and Semitic people: "Contemporary Review" December, 1878, p. 75.

1 Lenormant: "Ancient History" Vol. I., p. 261.

2 Wilson: "Egypt of the Past," p. 331.

relations, especially with the Hittites, appear to have been peaceful. He maintained the Egyptian authority over Canaan, and there still survive some curious memoranda on the back of a papyrus roll of the arrival and departure of Egyptian officers on their way to various parts of Palestine with dispatches.[1] He allowed several tribes of Bedouins to graze their flocks on the rich pasture grounds of the Delta.[2] His reign is generally stated to have lasted eight years. His tomb at Bab-el Moulook one of unusual excellence.[3]

Seti II.

The successor of Menephthah was Seti II., but just at this point is another of those confused periods in Egyptian history, and we cannot be sure of the succession of events. The capital from the time of Rameses II. had been located at Tanis. This may not have been exactly relished at Thebes. We have some evidence that during the reign of Men-

1 Brugsch: "Egypt," Vol. II., p. 126.

2 Ibid. p. 127.

3 It is generally stated that the Exodus took place under Menephthah. This has had a great deal to do with the general supposition

ephthah a rebellion broke out in the south. A chief by the name of Amen-mes from Central Egypt was at the head of it, and he seems to have been acceptable to the Thebeans.[1] He called himself king of Thebes, and his tomb was built in the "valley of the tombs of the kings." Probably he disputed authority with Seti II., but, after his death, Seti ruled without further trouble. The only inscription of his reign is in his second year. Yet from many indications we possess, we think his reign must have been long and peaceful.[2] His tomb at Thebes was a very fine structure.

This was a time of considerable literary activity. The priests deemed it a duty to transcribe for the future generations the learning of the past, so copies of important papyri were made. But new works were produced. One of much interest to us is known as the "Tale of the two Brothers." The first part of it is curiously like the story of Joseph's life. We also have a further illustration of how tenacious folk-lore stories are. All have heard of the giant who could not be killed because his soul was hidden far away. So this old Egyptian story of over three thousand years ago, tells us how the younger brother could not be destroyed until the tree in which he had hidden his soul was cut down.[3]

It is the general belief that another period of invasion put an end to the nineteenth dynasty.[4] Although the

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that his reign was a weak and incapable one, but see our chapter on the Hebrews.

[1] This is the view of both Brugsch and Rawlinson, a slightly different view is supported by Wilson: "Egypt of the Past," p. 341.

[2] Wilson: "Egypt of the Past", p. 338.

[3] Renouf's translation in "Records of the Past," Vol. II., p. 137 *et seq.* Tiele has shown that this whole story is but the working over again of the old mythic conception of the Egyptains As he expresses it, it is "the Ancient Mythology and theology transferred to the region of humanity." "Egyptian Religion," p. 183.

[4] Poole in "Contemporary Review," April, 1879.

monuments are silent, yet we know that a time of anarchy and confusion lasting for some years passed by during which Egypt was broken up into many little powers. A description of that time declares that "the land of Kami had fallen into confusion, every one was doing what he wished, they had no superior for many years who had priority over the others. The land of Egypt was under chiefs of nomes, each person killing the other for ambition and jealousy."[1]

Setnekht.

The Libyans again made invasions into the Delta, and doubtless in this work they were assisted by their allies from the islands and northern shores of the Mediterranean.[2]

We catch a faint glimpse of two or three kings of this period who ruled at Thebes. But finally, after an unknown number of years, a new confederacy is formed, which suc-

[1] "Records of the Past," Vol. VIII., p. 46.

[2] Poole: "Contemporary Review," April, 1879.

ceeds in restoring order throughout Egypt, and freed the land once more from invasion. At the head of the confederacy was the first king of the twentieth dynasty, Setnekht. We do not know that there was any relation whatever between the twentieth and nineteenth dynasty.[1] Judging from the names of the kings, they were from the Delta. The papyrus quoted above[2] declares that Setnekht "adjusted the whole land which was in insurrection, he

Rameses III.

slaughtered the abominable who were in the land of Tameri (Delta), the great throne of Kami was purified."

The second king of this line, Rameses III., revived for a moment the fading luster of Egypt. It is generally stated that one of the first cares of the new king was to re-arrange

[1] Rawlinson: "Egypt," Vol, II. p. 365.

[2] Harris Papyrus, "Records of the Past," Vol. VIII., p. 46.

the caste divisions of the country. The statement is too strong. There had been nothing just like caste in ancient Egypt.[1]

In a tribal state of society, caste can originate only by conquest, with the provision that the conquered tribes shall occupy a subordinate position, and that marriage between the tribes be strictly prohibited. This was not the case in ancient Egypt. But in the time of Rameses III., things were different. There had been conquest and reconquest, great numbers of foreigners had been incorporated into the country, some as prisoners and some as immigrant colonists, and large numbers of mercenaries were now enrolled as soldiers. It is, then, not singular, if the new dynasty made some classification of the various classes of its subjects.[2]

When Rameses had arranged the internal affairs of his kingdom, he set out to reconquer what had been lost. It seems to us, he had far better right than his famous predecessor to the title of "Rameses the Great." We read first of his victories over the tribes in Edom, then he gathers his forces to oust the Libyans and their allies from the Delta. In this he was successful. The Libyans were either taken prisoners or driven out of Egypt. But the greatest danger that Egypt had yet had to encounter was now upon it. The piratical tribes living on the isles of the

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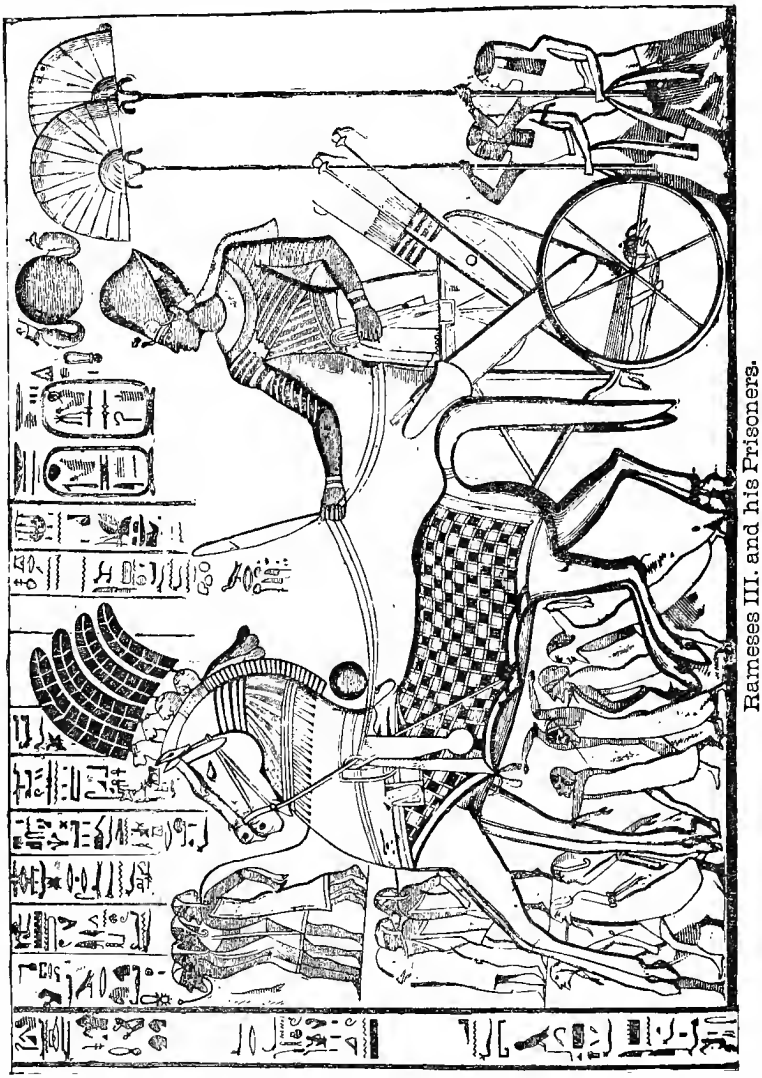
[1] See Birch's note in Wilkinson: "Ancient Egyptians," Vol. I. p. 158, London, 1878.

[2] Brugsch ["Egypt etc.," Vol. II., p. 140.] and Birch ["Ancient Egypt," p. 144 ] state generally that he reorganized the castes, Rawlinson [Egypt"Vol. II. p. 368., note 4.] thinks this classification could have been but partial. In support of the view stated above, we might take the priests. If there were any caste in ancient Egypt, the priestly caste was one; yet Tiele shows of this period: "A thing *hitherto unknown* in Egypt was now in process of formation there namely a separate spiritual caste, a fixed priesthood." ["Egyptian Religion," p. 179.]

Mediterranean and along its northern shores were gathering their forces for conquest on a large scale. Asia Minor



Rameses III. and his Prisoners.

was the first point of attack. Of this invasion, the Harris papyrus relates "no people stood before their arms, beginning with the people of Khita (Hittites) of Kadi (Galilee)

and Karchemish, Aradus and Alus. They wasted these countries, and pitched a camp at one place in the land of the Amorites. They plundered the inhabitants and the territory as if they had been nothing."[1]

Having thus carried things with a high hand in Asia Minor,[2] they turned their attention to Egypt. "Their hearts were full of confidence and they were full of plans," says Rameses, but an "ambush was prepared to take them in the snare like birds." The Egyptians were ready for them, not only by land but by sea. The allies were most disastrously defeated. "They who had reached the boundary of my country," says Rameses, "never more reaped harvest. Their soul and their spirit passed away for ever. They who had assembled themselves over against the others on the great sea, a mighty firebrand lightened before them, in front of the mouths of the river, a wall of iron shut them in upon the lake. They were driven away, dashed to the ground, hewn down on the bank of the water. They were slain by hundreds of heaps of corpses."[3]

Once more, only, was Egypt invaded during the reign of this valiant king. This time again from the west, and again were the invaders repulsed after great slaughter. In short, Rameses III. seems to have been everywhere successful, not only against Ethiopia, but against Western Asia, and amongst his prisoners was the "miserable king of the Hittites." These wars were probably undertaken for the sake of vengeance, and re-asserting the power of Egypt. A most interesting list of conquered people and places is given, and amongst this number, according to

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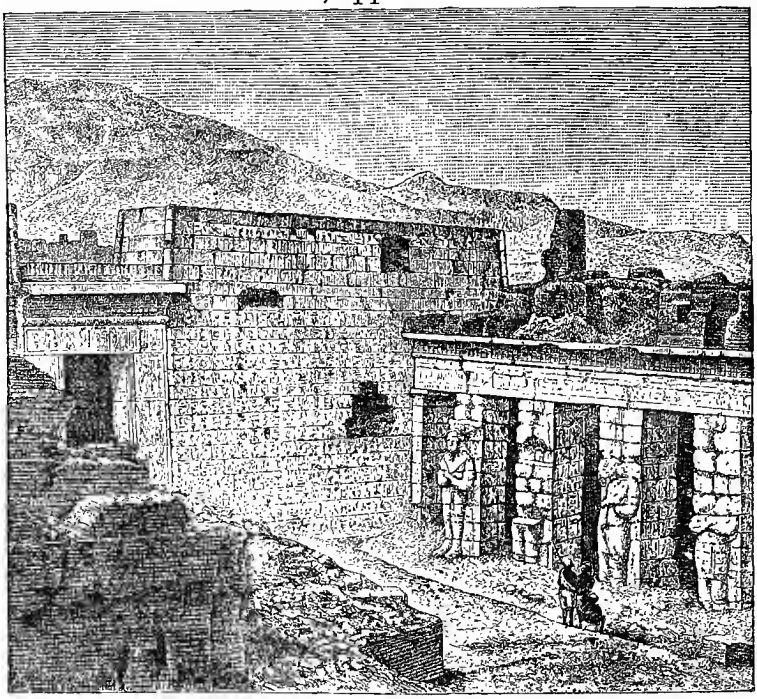
[1] Brugsch: "Egypt," Vol. II., p. 147.

[2] Just about this time is placed the fall of Troy by the most authorities. May it not be more or less connected with this invasion?

[3] Brugsch: "Egypt, etc.," Vol. II., p. 148.

Birch, are the Pelasgians, Etruscans, and inhabitants of the Greek Islands.[1]

With the immense number of prisoners and booty taken in his wars, together with the tribute imposed on the conquered people, it is not strange that he erected and richly adorned numerous temples. Perhaps the one most noted is at Medinet Aboo, opposite Thebes. The walls are



Medinet Aboo.

covered with scenes of his conquests. Yet, strange to say, this valiant king, who had done so much for Egypt, had to contend with a conspiracy within his own court which seems to have been directed against his own life, but which was happily frustrated.[2]

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[1] "Records of the Past," Vol. VI., p. 18. But compare with Brugsch's list, "Egypt," Vol. II., p. 152.

[2] "Records of the Past," Vol. VIII., p. 51-3.

We will pass rapidly from this point. There seems to be some question as to the extent of the Egyptian territory after the death of Rameses III. Prof. Sayce thinks the territory of Egypt was shrunken to its original limits.[1] But others think Egypt claimed and exercised suzerainty over a large territory in Western Asia.[2] The dynasty continues for nearly one hundred and fifty years after the death

Tomb of Rameses III.

of Rameses III. During that time, we have the names of ten kings, all of them having Rameses as one of their titles. The fourth, sixth, seventh and eighth Rameses were the sons of Rameses III. Rameses V. was an usurper of whom but very little is known. It is supposed that

1 "Ancient Empires," p. 48.

2 Lenormant: "Ancient History," Vol. I., p. 270.

Rameses VI. ruled conjointly with his brother Meritum.

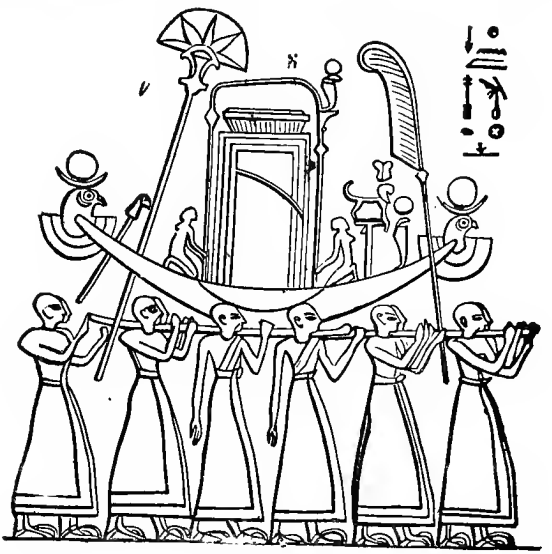
There is a great scarcity of monuments of this period. It seems to have been a time of internal quiet. We are not without some proof that the kings claimed and exercised government over Asia Minor, and, perhaps, even over Mesopotamia. It is generally supposed, however, that there was a gradual decline of power, both on the part of Egypt as a kingdom, and on the part of the kings of Egypt as sovereigns. We have seen that, during the time of Rameses III., we caught sight of the formation of a priestly caste. This priestly caste was steadily growing in power during the continuance of this dynasty, and this growth was at the expense of the kingly office.

We gain a clear insight into one phase of Egyptian philosophy by two papyri of this dynasty. The first is the record of the conspiracy case against Rameses III. It shows that the Egyptians firmly believed in sorcery and magic. The charge against one official was that "he had made some magic writings to ward off ill-luck; he had made some gods of wax, and some human figures, to paralyze the limbs of a man."[1] Of another, it was said: "He formed human figures of wax, with the intention of having them carried in by the hand of the land-surveyor, Adiroma, to alienate the mind of one of the girls, and to bewitch the other."[2] Reasoning on general principles, we would have said that the Egyptians were firm believers in the efficacy of magic names and formulae, only we cannot admit that they had been growing into this belief. It was part and parcel of savage belief in general.

Another interesting papyrus shows us that the Egyptians and surrounding people of that day were firm believ-

[1] Brugsch: "Egypt," Vol. II., p. 146.
[2] Ibid., p. 163.

ers in the evil spirit theory of sickness. It seems that when Rameses XII. was in "Naharana (Mesopotamia) registering the annual tributes," he became enamored of the daughter of the chief of the land of Bakhten, so he married her and took her away to Egypt. Subsequently, her younger sister was taken down with some sickness, and her father sent to his son-in-law in Egypt for "a person acquainted with things to see her." He found that



Ark of God Chonsu.

the princess was possessed of an evil spirit, but was not powerful enough to exorcise it. Application for relief was again made to Egypt, this time with a request to send a god from Egypt. Accordingly, twelve priests from Thebes bore the ark of Chonsu to distant Bakhten, though we do not know just where it was. This was just the remedy needed, the evil spirit acknowledged that he was powerless before Chonsu, and forthwith he departed from the afflicted princess. This belief again, as we have pointed

out in another place, is a necessary corollary of savage philosophy in general. The peculiar value of these two extracts is to show us that the Egyptians must have gone through all the stages of philosophy of other people in general.[1]

When the twentieth dynasty passes away, we enter on a period which is far from being undertsood. It must therefore be understood that the statements here set forth are those which seem to be in keeping with our present light. They may have to be modified by subsequent discoveries. It seems to be evident that Egypt suffered a considerable decline in power. The Asiatic countries recovered their independence Furthermore, troubles were rising in the Delta. So we are not surprised to find a sudden break up of power in Egypt. Perhaps the priestly caste in Thebes took the first step in this matter. At any rate, the royal power passed into the hands of the high priest of Amen, and the adherents of the old line of royalty were driven into banishment. Herhor, the high priest, became the king of Egypt.

If we reflect on the past history of Egypt, we feel reasonably sure that no sooner would a new power come to the front in this way, than other sections of the country would also make an effort for self-government. So it is not surprising to find, either at this time or very soon after, two rival confederacies in the Delta. One setting up its authority at Tanis, the other at Bubastis. They were both, in a true sense of the word, Egyptian, but the confederacy at Bubastis was largely composed of the descendants of invading tribes from Libya and other sources. We can readily enough see that the time must have been

[1] "Records of the Past," Vol. IV., p. 53.

one of confusion, and of internal strife with the advantage resting now with one party and now with the other. But finally, the confederacy at Bubastis bore all before it, and once more united all Egypt under its rule.[1]

The period which we have thus briefly outlined extended over one hundred years. During that period the Israelites had abandoned their loose confederation of tribes and had instituted a more centralized form of government. The monarchy had reached its greatest extent, and a daughter of one of the Tanite kings was given in marriage to Solomon. It was during this period of internal dissention that the bodies of Thothmes III., Rameses II. and other great kings of Egypt in her palmy days were transferred, for greater security, to the rock-hewn tomb of Deir-el-Baharai, where they rested in peace, until the summer of 1881.[2]

Ethiopia, the country to the south of the first cataract, was regarded as a valuable stretch of country, and so the Egyptian kings of an earlier age had firmly established their authority there. It had become virtually a part of Egypt.[3] It is considered that, when the Thebean priests, who had usurped the power of government, were

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[1] Brugsch, "Egypt under the Pharaohs," Vol. II., p. 191 *et seq.*, presents a very different account of the foregoing. Lenormant largely follows the views of Brugsch. But compare with Birch, Sayce and Rawlinson and it will be seen we have excellent authority for discarding Brugsch's theory of an Assyrian invasion. Tiele's few remarks on this point in "Egyptian Religion" seem to us sound. It is not worth while to enter into details.

[2] Sayce: "Ancient Empires," p. 50.

[3] In this connection, we refer to what is vaguely known as Ethiopia proper, or the kingdom of Meroe. Extending from the third cataract south to the junction of the White and Blue Nile. Of the people of this section, we are told: "they were not very much behind the Egyptians in art or arms, or very different from them in manners, customs and modes of life. Even in race the difference was not very great." Rawlinson: "Egypt," Vol. II., p. 434.

driven out of Egypt, they took refuge in Ethiopia. Here, from time to time, whenever they deemed it safe to make the attempt, they made efforts to recover their power; but these spasmodic efforts only served to keep the unfortunate country in a continual state of confusion.[1] The Bubastis confederacy, who came into power near the beginning of

Sheshank I.

the tenth century B. C., had for a king Sheshank I. His reign possesses for us some interest since, as being the founder of a new dynasty, he made an attempt to re-assert Egyptian supremacy in Asia Minor. This invasion is mentioned in the Bible. He it was who, in the reign of Rehoboam, came up against the kingdom Judah, took their principal cities, Jerusalem among the number. He also overran the southern part of the kingdom of Israel. It is

[1] Tiele: "Egyptian Religion," p. 186.

generally supposed that this invasion was made at the request of Jeroboam, king of Israel. On his return from this expedition, he caused a list of the captured towns to be engraved on one of the temple walls at Karnak. .

But a few reigns pass, before we find ourselves once more in the greatest confusion. It seems that a complete disintegration of power in Egypt has taken place. A number of small confederacies divided the country between them.[1] This was an opportunity that the Ethiopian kings, descendants of the Thebean high priests, would not lightly pass by. Besides, out of all the confusion incident to this matter, we are dimly conscious that affairs were shaping themselves more and more towards a conflict between Upper and Lower Egypt; between Thebes and the Delta, and, in such an emergency as this, Thebes preferred to call in the help of Ethiopia, than to be subject to the Delta. For Ethiopia was nearer to Thebes ethnically, than was the Delta with its Asiatic inhabitants.

Accordingly, when the Saitic confederacy with Tafnecht at its head had made considerable progress towards subjecting both Upper and Lower Egypt, Thebes sent a call for help to Pianchi, an Ethiopian king. He responded, and his armies swept all before him, and, for a time at least, he ruled the entire country.[2] The details of this conquest are gathered from a stele found in the ancient city of Napata in Nubia, and it is interesting to note what a strong element of religious ceremony is apparent

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[1] Tiele, "Egyptian Religion," p. 194, says there were twelve or thirteen of these little powers.

[2] We have mainly followed Tiele. A different account, given by Birch and Rawlinson, is to the effect that Pianchi had gradually extended his authority over most of Egypt. Tafnecht was one of the subordinate princes who revolted againt him.

in all the movements of Pianchi, fully in keeping with his character of priest-king.[1]

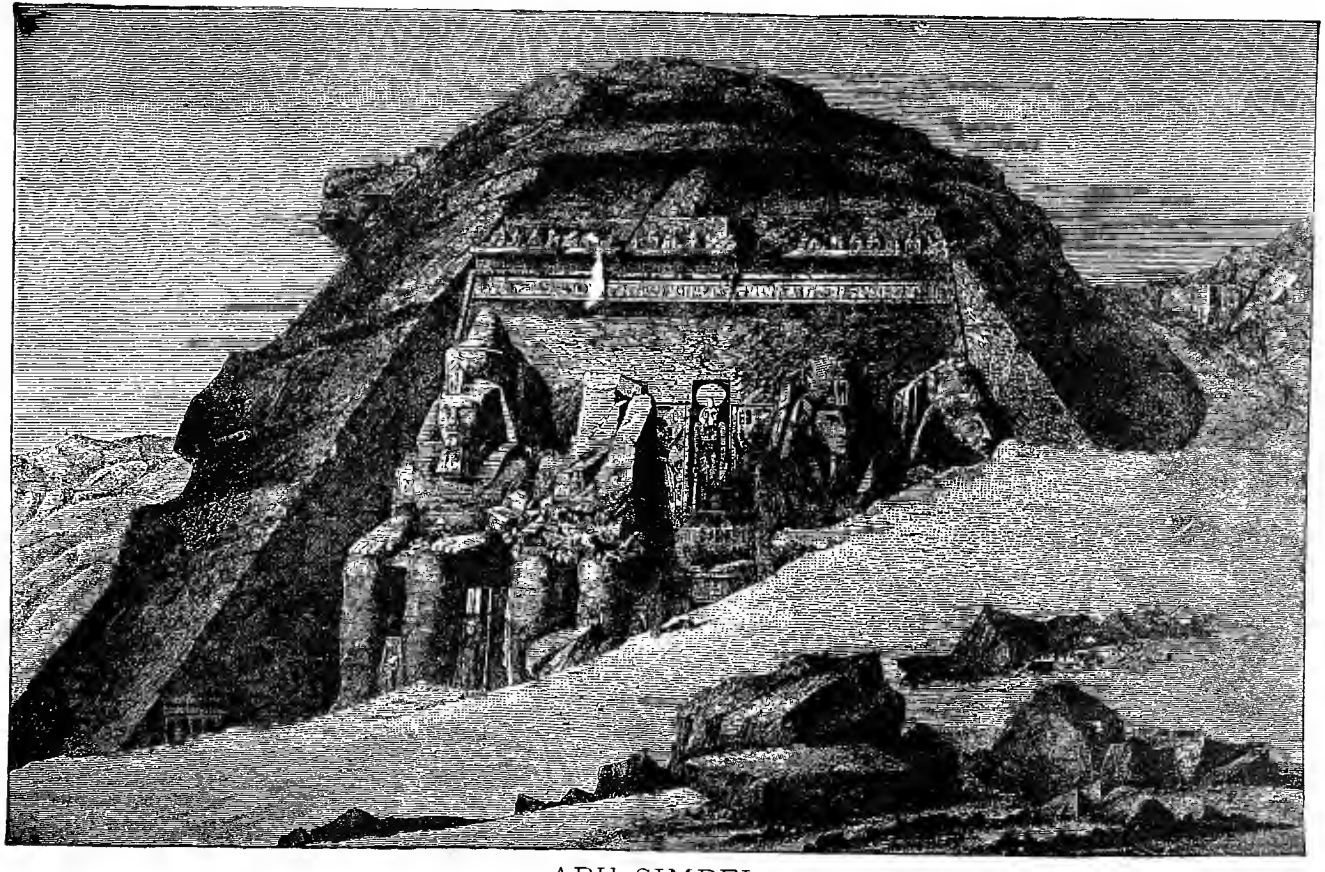
If we will but reflect, we will see that this whole period of confusion is undoubtedly much like those other periods of darkness in Egyptian history. Like that between the sixth and the eleventh dynasty, or between the twelfth and seventeenth. History was in the very act of repeating itself. As the seventeenth dynasties put an end to the long time of confusion and divided power between Upper and Lower Egypt, so the Ethiopian power in the south was about re-establishing order in Egypt; and with this, no doubt, would have come new life and energy, and this marvelous country would have entered on a new era of advancement.[2] But a new people in Asia had commenced to play an important part in the world's history. Egypt had no longer simply its own people to deal with. The Assyrians were now about to take a hand in the affairs of the Orient. The days of Egypt, as a great power in the history of the world, were now rapidly drawing to a close.

We have passed rapidly along and are now near the beginning of the twenty-fifth dynasty in the last quarter of the eighth century B. C. It is considered that, at the close of Pianchi's reign, another effort was made by the Delta for political independence. Bochoris, successor of Tafnekht, at the head of the Saitic nome, which nome was at the head of affairs in the Delta,[3] established, for some years, an independent government in the Delta. But he was soon subdued, and the twenty-fifth, an Ethiopian dynasty, ruled

[1] "Records of the Past," Vol. II., p. 79 *et seq.* Compare with Tiele: "Egyptian Religion," p. 198.

[2] Tiele remarks that it is a mistake to regard this Ethiopian conquest as a foreign one, for the Ethiopian kings were no doubt of pure Egpytian extraction.

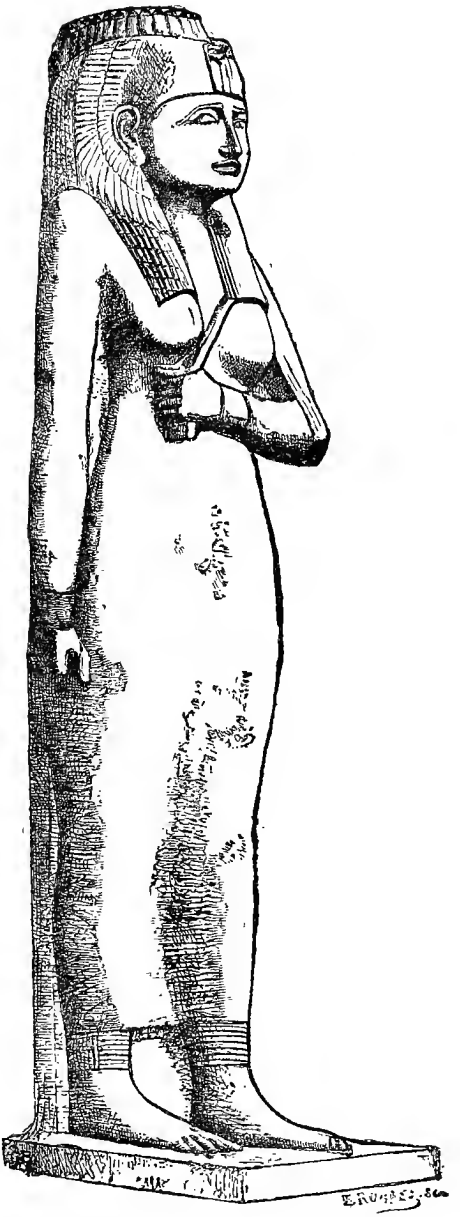
[3] Tiele: "Egyptian Religion," p. 199.



ABU SIMBEL.

an united Egypt. But now the Assyrians interfere, and the downward course of the country is more rapid.

At this point, the history of Egypt becomes so intertwined with that of Assyria and Judah that we will give only an outline of it. From the very start, the twenty-fifth dynasty had to contend with the Assyrians. The Assyrians under Sargon had carried all before them in Western Asia and, in 720 B. C., advanced to meet the Egyptian forces. The battle at Raphia, in Southern Palestine (B. C. 720) is one of the great battles of the world. There the forces of Africa and Asia met for supremacy, and victory remained in the hands of the Assyrians. Shabak, or Sabako,[1] the



Ethiopian Queen, wife of Pianchi.
[*Boulak Museum.*]

[1] Called So in II Kings, vii. 4.

Ethiopian king of Egypt, was completely defeated and made a treaty with the Assyrians, the clay seal of which, with Shabak's cartouch on it, was found at Nineveh by the explorer, Layard.

Shabak's Seal.

A few years later, we find Tirhaka king of Egypt. His entire reign was one series of contests with the Assyrians, and he seems to have had considerable to do with the relations between Judah and Assyria. Sargon was succeeded in Assyria by Sennacherib, and, about the beginning of the seventh century B. C., the Assyrian and Egytian forces were once more confronting each other at Eltekeh near Pelusium. It was here that some mysterious calamity happened to the forces of the Assyrians.[1] The result is that for some years Tirhakah was allowed to rule in peace, but when Esarhaddon, the son of Sennacherib, became king of Assyria, one of his first acts was to finish the work of the Assyrians in Asia Minor and Egypt.

He was everywhere successful. The Assyrian armies overran Egypt, Tirhakah was driven into Nubia, and Egypt itself was divided into twenty satrapies. It is at this point (B. C., 570) that we propose to bring to a close this outline of the political history of Ancient Egypt. It is true that a few years later the power of the As-

[1] The Biblical account of this event is contained in II Kings, xix. 35-37. Some writers suppose this overthrow to have been occasioned by the Simoon or by a pestilence. There seems to have been a battle in which the Assyrians were severely repulsed if not defeated, though as a matter of fact, they claimed the victory, [Sayce: "Ancient Empires," p. 132] but the further fact that they at once retreated to Assyria shows that the battle was at least a drawn one.

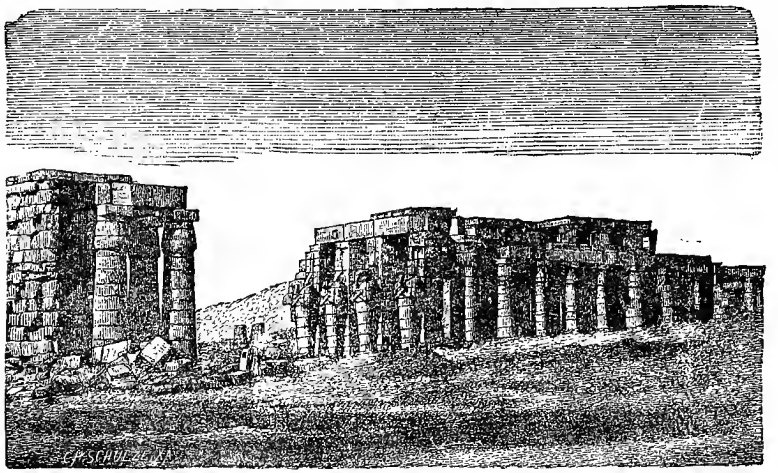
syrians was shaken off, and for a brief time Egypt was again an independent country, but this was but momentary. Every great power that now arose in the Orient[1] held Egypt as one of its tributary countries. Thus after a number of centuries, just how many may not be known, stretching up into the thousands of years, ancient Egypt, as a great power, disappears from the stage of action.

Let us summarize this sketch, and see what influence Egypt has had on the Civilization of the world and note more particularly some of their customs. What must strike every one in this historic sketch are the great cycles of history, the same round of events. Lying back of the first period of Egyptian history, we but dimly perceive a country divided up among a number of tribes. The historic period opens with a conquest of these various tribes by the more fortunate tribe in some favored locality. The conquering tribe ushers in a period of great governmental activity, public buildings are erected on a grand scale, neighboring people are reduced to tribute. Then follows a time of stagnation, there is a scarcity of public monuments, finally the historic light dies out altogether. Once again the country appears divided among numerous small tribes. A long time of obscurity passes by, and then the same round is repeated.

Is not this true of the old Empire? the historic dynasties of which were the fourth, fifth and sixth. Then we have that long break in history of which we now know but very little. Then come the happier days and the clearer historical light of the eleventh, twelfth and portions of the thirteenth dynasties, when Egypt was once more a united country, and public monuments were again

[1] Babylonian, Persian, Greek.

erected. We are then face to face with another break in history, the long interval of time between the thirteenth and seventeenth dynasties. Once more the cycle commences the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth dynasties round out a glorious and happy period of Egyptian history. Again the decline comes on, and we have seen that the twenty-fifth dynasty had once again united the country, and only because foreign surroundings were now different were they prevented from beginning the same cycle of changes.



The Memnonium of Rameses II. at Thebes.

Another point that must strike us is the stationary character of the Civilization of Egypt. It will not do to say that there was no progress but, by way of comparison, the progress within the last century certainly far exceeded all the advance made during the many centuries of Egyptian history. We have seen that in the course of time there was introduced into Egypt a considerable difference of population. Yet these various streams of various people could but barely overcome the inertia of Egyptian life. Egyptian life and times under the twentieth dynasty were

not so very different from what they were under the fourth, and yet some thousands of years had passed in the interval. There were, of course, slight changes in progress, but these changes are only preceptible when we mentally survey long periods of time. If we compare the case of Egypt with some European country, for instance England, we will notice the difference. See the enormous strides in everything going to make up Civilization in England within the last two thousand years. Yet the time is probably not as great as is the span of Egyptian history, where progress is but barely preceptible.

In casting about for some cause which shall explain this monotonous round of political changes and nearly stationary character of Civilization, we must take into consideration a number of factors. The climatic surroundings is one. All the meteoric influences seem favorable to changelessness. This must necessarily have exercised an influence on the people. But back of all this, we must consider the question of race. The conclusion we came to in regard to the Egyptian race was that a large ethnic element was from the Yellow, Turanian, Race, and that next to this was probably a Nigritian race. We have frequently pointed out that neither of these races can be regarded as progressive races. The Yellow Races early reach a grade of culture beyond which they do not advance.

If we consider only the political changes in Egypt, we can understand more clearly, if we only reflect that it rested on tribal society. In a thickly settled country like Egypt, the home of numerous independent tribes, no strong and enduring government can be erected that rests on tribal government as a basis. One section of country may get the upper hand of the other and reduce them to tribute. But as long as each tribe retains its own government, laws and

religion, the time must come when some other section will test the question of strength and very likely overthrow the ruling tribe. That means the overthrow of the old government, a period of confusion and the final rise to power of a new section of country. It is only when some strong central government is thus ruling in the country that we have anything like clear historic light to guide us in our investigations. Consequently, we need not be surprised to know that of the vast period of Egyptian history, we have historic light for only about two-fifths of the time.[1]

We are afraid that we can not form so imposing a picture of Egyptian life and times as most of the historical writers. There is a great deal that is wonderful in their culture and history, but distance lends enchantment to the view, and this statement is as true of distance in time as in space. Of course, all stand in awe before the pyramids, or gaze in wonder on the monumental ruins of the temples, or ponder over the painted or carved scenes of home life of many centuries ago; but still, all these are what we might call public monuments, and, after all, tell us comparatively little of the home life of the people. We must remember that, from the first to the last, we have the clearest trace of tribal conditions in Egypt. However much the tribal lines might have been again and again broken down and re-arranged, yet the tribes remained a constant factor in their political life.

Never once did they thoroughly coalesce so as to form one united government. This is shown by the simple fact that, from time to time, the government disintegrates, and

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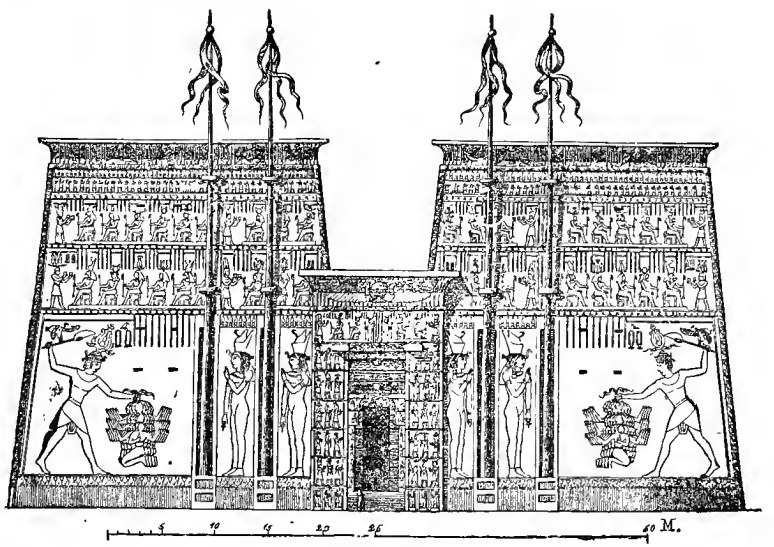
1 This follows from taking, for instance, Mariette's chonological lists and reckoning up the duration of the historic ones. We are of the opinion, however, and have shown, that some of the other dynasties were contemporaneous with them.

the units into which it disintegrates are found to be the tribes. As long as tribal lines were thus kept distinct, we may be sure that their home life, government, religion and laws, their culture in general must have rested on that as a basis, modified, however, by local coloring. Let us apply this principle to the various departments of Egyptian life, and first as to the office of king. We constantly talk of the powers of this office as if they had been the same at all




Temple of Edfu.

times of Egyptian history. Is it not evident that they must have varied with each dynasty, according as the customs of the ruling tribe varied? We have shown good reasons for concluding that under the fourth dynasty the office was elective. There are certainly no grounds on which to rest the opposite conclusion.

No doubt, under some dynasties, the rule was much more despotic than others. We are also accustomed to speak of the rulers of the various nomes as if they formed a privileged class apart from the mass of the people and

more or less connected with the ruling or royal family. This conception is certainly false for the larger part of Egyptian political history. The nomes come before us as local, self-governing tribes; only a portion of the time were they held in firm subjection under some ruling confederacy or tribe. In general, these tribal officers were members of the tribes to which they belonged. Under some of the more despotic dynasties, they might have been appointed by the king, but we may feel perfectly confident that this was an exceptional state of affairs.

In regard to the so-called priestly class, religion in the first place must have been local and tribal. This is admitted on all sides. The priests, then, must have been just like the tribal priesthood generally. It is only as a result of long, slow progress and development that these various tribal priests coalesce into a national, priestly caste. This result did not take place in Egypt before the twentieth dynasty. Therefore, it is evident that, when we undertake to define the powers of the priestly class, we must know of what period we are speaking. We have already seen that, in general, all tribal officers were priests ,the chief of the tribe being the high priest, and, among the ancient Greeks, one of the principal duties of the so-called king was to act as high priest for the tribe or confederacy. The same state of affairs appears in Egypt, where the king was, ex-officio, the head of the priesthood.

It is sometimes said that they had regular judges who went on a circuit, and that an appeal lay from their decisions to the king. It ought to be added that this was true only under the Ptolemys, a period several centuries later than we have traced their history. That when they ruled in Egypt, political society had supervened in both Greece and Rome, hence it is not strange that such a state

of society existed in Egypt, but this could not have been true in ancient Egypt. Each nome must have conducted its own affairs, and no appeal would have lain to the king unless in cases where two different nomes were involved.

In fact, the picture we would paint is rather of a quiet nature. At times, however, the whole country is united under the sway of powerful dynasties; but, in general, each nome or tribe pursues its wonted way of life, and, in each nome, there are nearly always two great divisions of the people. In each, there was a large body of subject people, slaves captured on their many military expeditions and remnants of subject tribes. Then there was the upper element, the ruling tribe, the one that owned and controlled all the land, filled all tribal offices, and the one that furnished all soldiers for the general government. How quiet and placidly this life flowed on is shown from the fact that for some thousands of years it ran on in much the same way. No sudden change, no great advance. Now and then there were, to be sure, upturnings of the old order of things, a new section of country furnishes the ruling tribe, but affairs were soon adjusted to this new state and life continued as of old.

One other point remains to be spoken of, the Civilization of Egypt seems to have exercised but little influence on the world at large. The Civilization of the world at large owes but very little to Egyptian sources. Egypt was an isolated country. From time to time, waves of other people rolled in upon it. But if they maintained their position in the country, they were sure to become Egyptianized, they adopted the Civilization and language of Egypt and became one with them. There is, in all this, a strange similarity between Egypt and China. Both were isolated countries, both showed a strange ability to

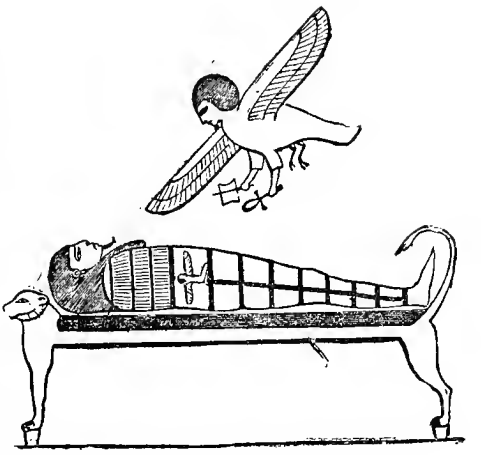
assimilate other people, both built up a high Civilization within their own borders, but neither of them apparently exercised much influence on the culture of the world in general. And in both countries, we see an almost stationary condition of culture.

We have given but a brief account of the culture of each epoch, and here seems to be an appropriate place to give some details of a few points in the culture of the ancient Egyptians that do not seem to belong to any one particular era. First, in order to round out and complete a study of Egyptian religion, let us consider their ideas as to the future world. The first stage of belief of the Egyptians is what we would naturally expect to find among partially developed people. That is a confused belief in the existence of "another-self," called the *Ka*, or double. It was believed "to be a substance scarcely less material than the body, with all of the characteristics of the living person, which must be housed, fed, dressed."[1] So we understand some of the arrangements in some of the oldest tombs known to us. This Ka, or "other self," was the part that was to be worshiped. Perhaps in the firm belief that it might from time to time inhabit the body arose the art of the embalmer.[2] But it could make itself at home in an artificial body as well as not, and so, in some secret chamber in the tomb, were placed a number of small statues, so as to provide against all contingencies of breaking, where it could accommodate itself and enjoy the perfume of the offerings deposited in the memorial chamber, which communicated with this secret chamber by a small orifice.

1 Poole: "Contemporary Review," July 1881, p. 56.

2 Egyptian stories represent the mummies as conversing together and even occasionally as leaving their coffins and visiting the living. Rawlinson: "Egypt," Vol. I., p. 147. In this connection recall what was said above [p. 316] as to the possible origin of idolatry.

It was to this double that prayers were offered, hymns sung and sacrificial offerings made by the surviving members of the household, from time to time. For it, the tomb was decorated with paintings of home life and scenes, more or less complete of the occupation of the owner of the tomb.[1]



Ka, Re-visiting the Body.

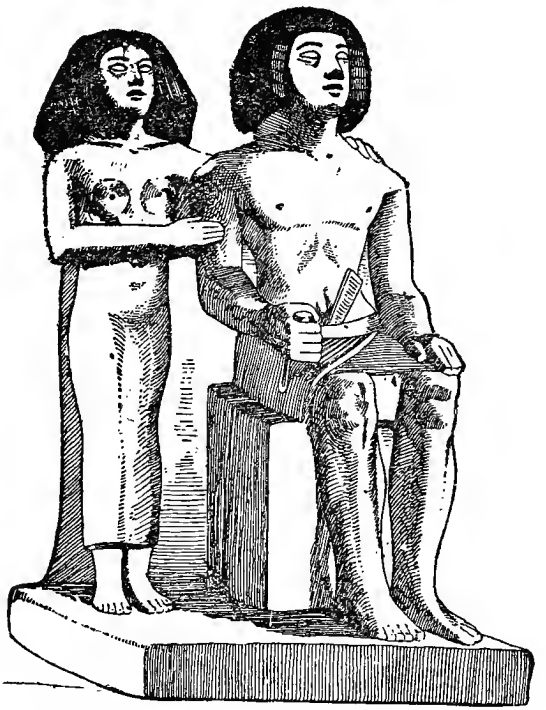
As time passed on, it is not singular that other conceptions should grow up in regard to this "other self." The result is that finally we are presented, under the eighteenth dynasty, with a theory as to three souls. One is the Ka which is still supposed to have some connection with the mummied body; the *Bai* which lived in the blissful fields and served as a body wherein resided the *Khu*, the intelligence of man.[2] As was the case with most partially developed people, they probably held these various confused beliefs in subordination to one principal belief, such as that the "other-self" was capable of living apart from the body.

As to the place where this soul resided and the manner of life there led, the results are equally instructive as showing that the Egyptians also passed through various stages of religious growth. In the time of the Old Em-

1 This was true only of the tombs of the older period. The secret chamber was afterward abandoned.

2 Poole: "Contemporary Review," July, 1881, p. 56.

pire, if we are capable of drawing any conclusions at all, it seems as if they held to the "continuance theory" of the future life. So we find numberless objects placed in the tomb for the use of the deceased, such as vases for unguents, changes of raiment, linen for all uses, vessels for food and drink, table and spoons, chairs and stools, head rests, and



Statues for the use of the Ka.

even viands for food and with men weapons, costly ornaments for women and with children playthings.[1] But this custom becomes in time merely a survival, and we see a change taking place.

Perhaps not immediately at the moment of death, but shortly after, the soul takes its journey to Amenti, the

[1] Ibid.

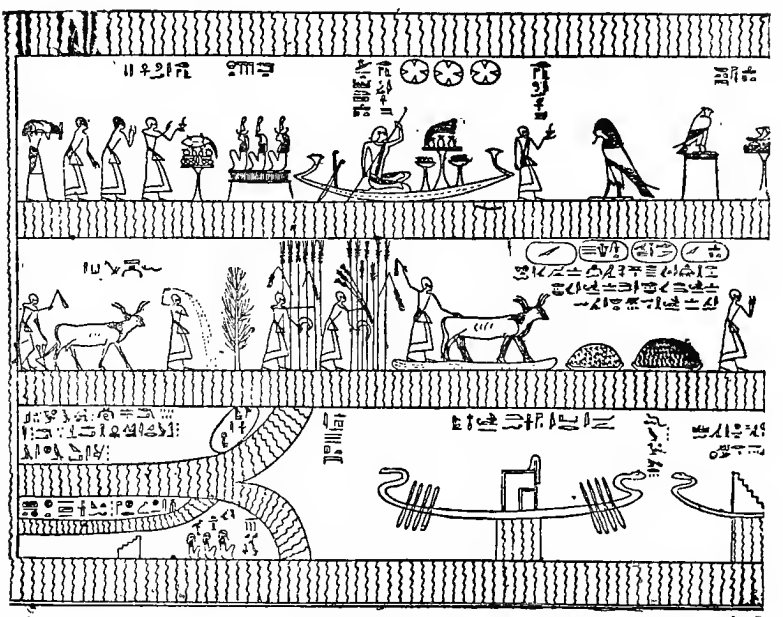
home of the dead. This was the underground world where the sun shone at night. The very place of entrance was known. "It was a cleft in the mountains on the west of Abydus. Here the boat of the sun plunged in its nocturnal course, and the souls of men enter with it under the protection of Osiris." So we have first the farewell funeral feast when the mummy is ready for burial. It is the last sad gathering where, in the midst of his family and friends, the mummy was placed to participate with them in a last feast. Singing women are present who address both the living and the dead, urging both to enjoy the present occasion, "the living because life is but a moment, the dead because he is about to enter on the eternal repose of the tomb."[1]

But the soul is now ready to take up its journey and it seems as if the later in point of time we trace the development of Egyptian life, the more and more mystical grows this journey. We no longer see the pictured resresentations of the various scenes of home life in the tombs but details of this journey of the soul. After entrance is gained to the underground world (Kar-neter) his troubles have but just commenced. Terrible obstacles present themselves in his way. Frightful monsters, servants of Set, crocodiles and all manner of venomous reptiles seek to devour him. Now has he need of all the magical texts and papyri buried with him. Finally, after many trials he arrives at the Elysian Fields, and there we behold him occupied with all manner of agricultural work, and there the soul makes use of the various little

[1] It was the representation of this funeral feast which gave rise to the old notion that the Egyptians at their feasts brought out the mummies of their ancestors, to remind all that death must sometime come to all.

figures buried in the tombs, known as the Aiders, who assist the deceased in the labors of the mystical land.

But one trial remains. That, however, is the most important. It is the judgment scene in the hall of Osiris. This divinity presides over a court of four judges aided by forty-two witnesses.[1] In the center of the hall is a balance, in one of the scales of which is placed the heart, representing the conscience of the deceased,



The Elysian Field.

while in the other is the emblem of the goddess of truth. While the heart is being weighed, the person to be judged addresses in succession each of the forty-two witnesses, and declares that he has not committed that one of the forty-two special sins with which this special

[1] In spite of Mr. Poole's objections given in "Contemporary Review" for August, 1881, we cannot help believing this number forty-two is in some way mixed up with the number of nomes of ancient Egypt.

genius is concerned. If acquitted here, he passes on to final bliss, but if condemned, he wanders for a while, a

Ushabti, the Aider.

tormenting spirit, until annihilated by the second death. Thus we see that immortality was not the lot of all.[1]

[1] We have drawn this sketch from Mr. Poole's article in "Contemporary Review" for 1881. Part from Lenormant: "Ancient History." It would be well to compare it with Perrot and Chipiez,

It must be evident from the foregoing, that the beliefs of the Egyptians were not singular and that they must have traversed the same road that other people did in advancing from Barbarism to Civilization. We are not surprised, therefore, to learn that they were firm believers in other elements of primitive philosophy. They also believed in numberless spirits, everywhere surrounding them. Consequently, they were strongly tinged with fetichistic notions and firm believers in magic and sorcery. Of a certain magic book, we read that it "triumphs over enchantments, connects ligatures, prepares ties, destroys the lock. Life and death proceed from it. If any one falls in its power, he dies, as if killed by blows, forthwith."[1] Of another magical mixture, it is declared of its possessor; "Thou art protected against accidents of life; thou art protected against a violent death; thou art protected against fire; thou escapest in heaven, and thou art not ruined on earth."[2]

Having now a fair idea of the philosophical mode of thought, in which we see it was not of a very high order, let us see how they stood in the matter of sciences. The results of modern research seem, on the whole, to compel us to set a less value on their scientific attainments than we once did.[3] First, with regard to mathematics. At present, we know of but one manuscript treating on mathematics, and this was written under the Hyksos kings.[4] It is a sort of elementary treatise on arithmetic and geometry The only fraction they seem to have known anything about was two-thirds. They had separate signs for thou-

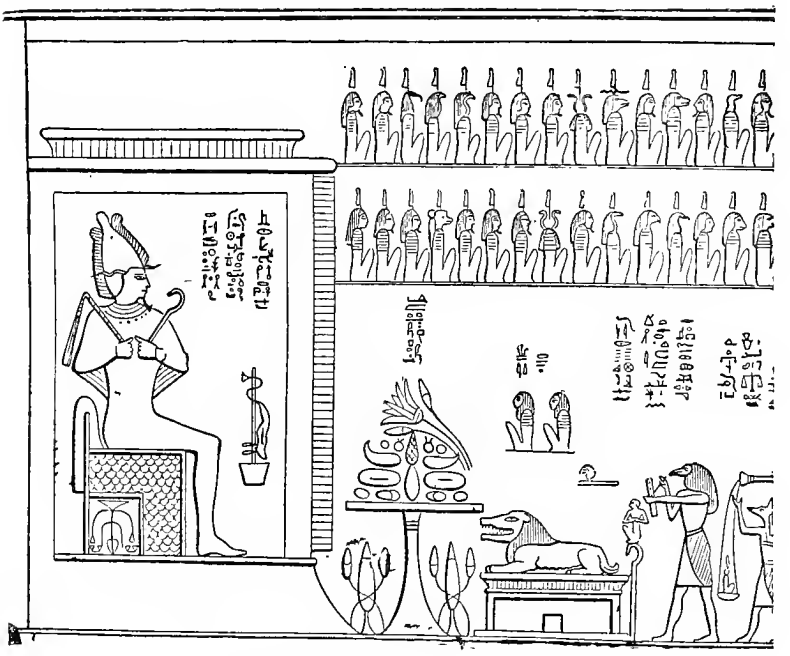
1 "Records of the Past," Vol. VI., p. 117.

2 "Records of the Past," Vol. VI., p. 125.

3 Poole: "Contemporary Review," September, 1881.

4 Sayce: "Ancient Empires," p. 34.

sands, hundreds, tens and units; for instance, the number one thousand, one hundred and eleven would be represented as follows: . But if their knowledge was limited, they certainly made good use of what material they had. Such structures as the pyramids are before us, which must have had some sort of mathematical design. They



Judgment Hall of Osiris.

must have also understood surveying, so as to re-arrange the boundaries after the annual inundation.

In regard to astronomy, they certainly had no good knowledge. "There is not a single list of observations, not a solitary dated record of an eclipse."[1] The fact is about all the use they had for astronomy was for astrological purposes. "Thus those lists of the positions of

[1] Poole: "Contemporary Review," 1881.

stars which Egyptologists used to consider scientific, as recording the real dates of heliacal risings, are merely conventional lists of an astrological character."[1] Hence it is that we find in Egypt none of that practical application of astronomy, that is as an aid to chronology. All the dates given on Egyptian monuments, with one exception, are in reigning years of some king. There is a great probability that they had what is known as the sothic cycle of 1461 Egyptian years, but if so, they never made use of it. It is generally admitted that their knowledge of astronomy was much below that of Chaldea.[2]

In medicine and surgery, the Egyptians held a high position for the time, though even here they have been overrated. Thus, for instance, Wilson shows that the idea that they had dentists who filled teeth with gold is a mistake.[3] The idea that they practiced dissection of the body to gain a knowledge of anatomy is also false.[4] Their knowledge of surgery was certainly limited since, in some cases, broken bones were allowed to grow together again naturally.[5] There probably were two modes of treatment, one in which doctors, proper, sought to effect a cure by medicine and nursing. But over against this, there was the priestly method of attacking diseases. That is by driving out the evil spirits, by means of the aid of some superior god or magical formulae, charms and incantations.[6]

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[1] Ibid. But compare this with Rawlinson's discussion on this subject: "Egypt," Vol. I., p. 296.

[2] Rawlinson gives a slightly more favorable account of Egyptian astronomy than we do. See his "Ancient Egypt," Vol. I., p. 246 *et seq.* See Poole in "Contemporary Review" for 1881.

[3] "Egypt of the Past", p. 27, note.

[4] Poole: "Contemporary Review," 1881.

[5] Sayce: "Ancient Empires," p. 77.

[6] Ibid. We cannot believe, however, that this later method of treating diseases gradually superseded the other. It was part and parcel of primitive philosophy in general,

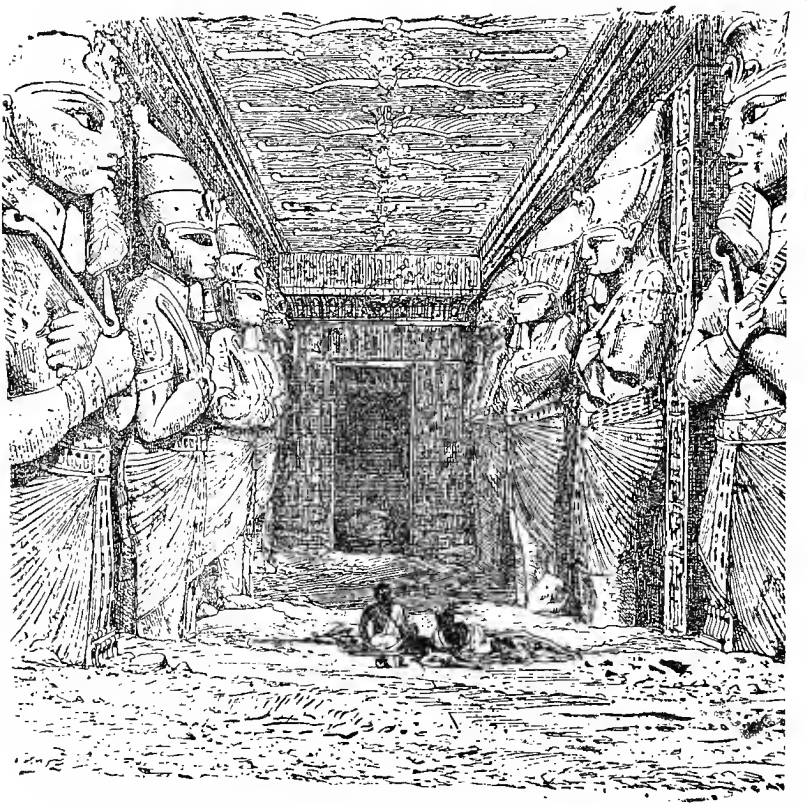
In their engineering science, they certainly made great attainments. Rawlinson observes: "In their cutting of hard materials, in their finished polish of surfaces, in their exact production of whatever angle they required, in their perfect fitting of stone to stone and, again, in their power of quarrying, transporting and raising into place enormous masses, this ancient people was, and still is, unsurpassed."[1] "In massiveness of construction, they far exceed all that any other nation has ever attempted." When we consider the immense blocks of stone they moved about, we are at a loss to know how they proceeded. We hear of obelisks nearly one hundred feet high, that must have weighed over four hundred tons, transported hundreds of miles and set up on a pedestal. Indeed, one of the colossal statues of Rameses II. is estimated to have weighed nearly nine hundred tons.[2] Yet for all this, they probably made use of very primitive means.

One of the most striking points in Egyptian culture, one that must strike every observer, when he compares them with other people of antiquity, is the peculiar respect they showed for women. In their pictured scenes of home life, women are represented quite as often as men. There was none of that Oriental isolation of women. By the side of the king, is represented the queen, she is always spoken of with honor and respect. In the history of Mesopotamia, only one mention is made of a queen by name, and only once is a queen represented in company with the king. And very few times are women represented at all. The case was entirely different in Egypt, and in no one respect is the peculiarity of their culture more strikingly shown.

1 "Egypt," Vol. I., p. 307.

2 Ibid., p. 238, note 4.

We have succeeded in giving but an outline of Egyptian life, but we must now leave them. As the result of our brief study, we give it as a deliberate conclusion that the importance of Egypt, in the culture history of the world, has been overrated. They are indeed a most interesting people, and their monumental records go back to



View in Principal Hall, Abu Simbel.

a profound antiquity. They had, after all, little to do with the ancient world as known to us. Only a few people contemporary with them during the greater portion of their history, are known to us. They had much to do with the Hittites, that is from the twelfth dynasty down, but it is

only within a short time that we have succeeded in locating the Hittites. It is only lately that we think we see any connection between the Egyptians and the Europeans.

Instead of regarding Egypt, as we once did, as the source of all culture and history, we are to see in it an isolated country, whose people early attained their Civilization, built their cities and played their *role* in the drama of history, while, in the great world beyond them, those silent, slow changes were going forward, which in time were to usher in the greater nations of antiquity, before whose superior energy and culture, Egypt stood no chance. In a forest there may be growing two trees side by side. In a few years one has reached its growth and may be pointed out as an object of beauty in forest growth. The second requires almost as many decades to come to its full growth as the other did years, but its limbs will be tossed by the winds of centuries.

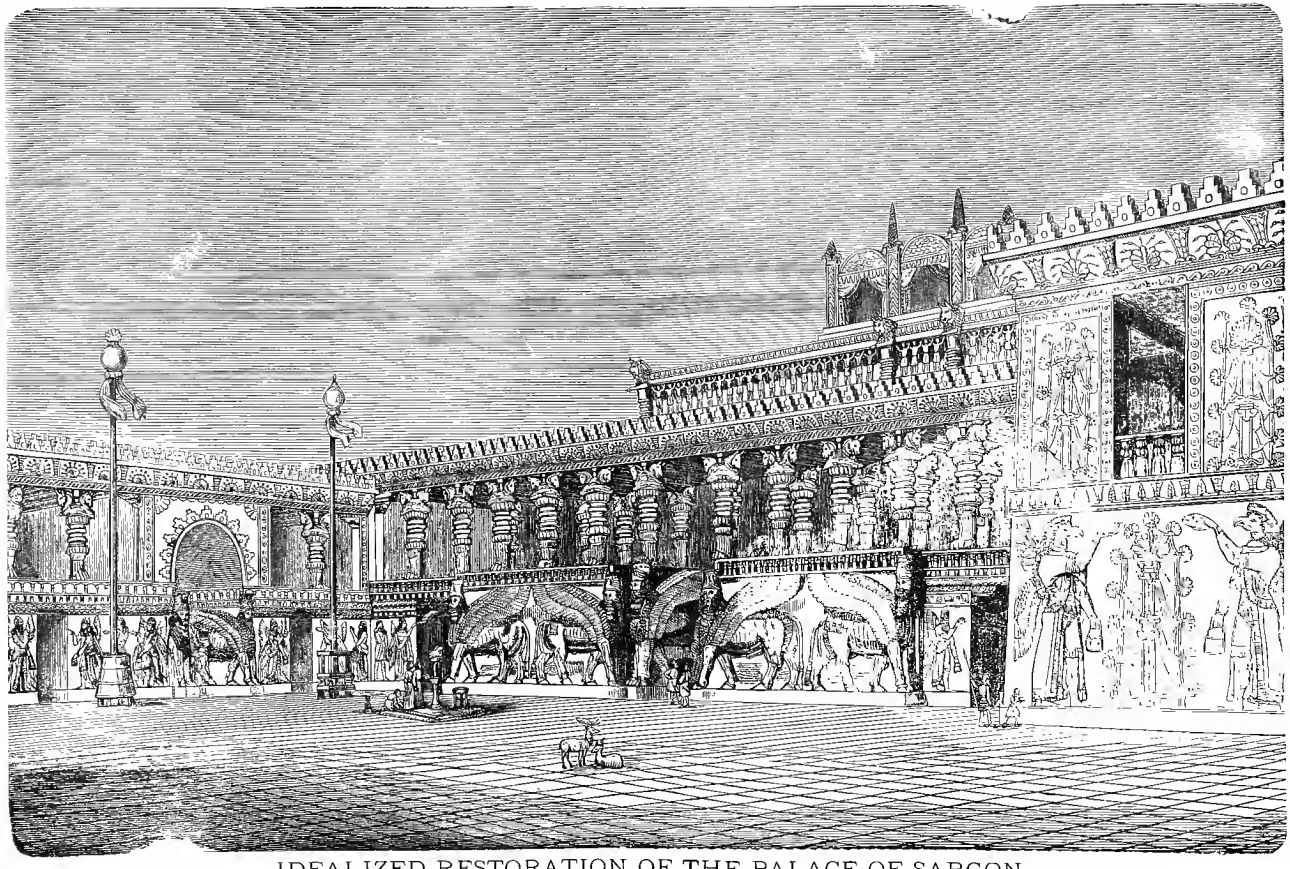
So in Egypt, a combination of favorable circumstances, not often met with in the world, produced that strange mixture of people and gave new life and energy to the already stationary culture of the primitive Turanian inhabitants. The issue is the Egyptian people, whose history we have now outlined, and the true value of whose culture we have tried to set forth. In bidding them adieu, we feel that we have now fairly completed the older period of the world's history. With the next chapter we enter on a new period and begin to trace an influence, that has extended in an ever widening circle, and whose end is yet, we trust, far off.

# CHAPTER IX.

## THE SEMITES.

INTRODUCTION—The Semitic Race—Home of Semitic People—The Dispersion of the Semites—The Northern Semites—The Western Branch Beginning of Civilization in Chaldea—Mesopotamia—Abu Sharein—Eridu—The Chronological Place of Eridu—Sargon I—Sirgulla—Meaning of "Patesi"—Ur-ghanna—X-kur-galla—The First Turanian Period—Rise of Accad—Legends of Sargon I.—The "Omen" Tablet—In-anna ginna, patesi of Sirgulla—Naram-sin—Discoveries at Tello—Gudea—The two Ethnic Types—Statue of the Architect—Ur—Ur-ba'u of Ur—Erech—"Ur of Chaldea"—Rise of Karrak—The Elamite Invasion—Aryan Migration, the Cause of—Babylon—Hammur-abi—The Cassite Dynasty—Review of Accadian Culture—Accadian Pantheon—Accadian Incantation—Accadian Mythology—Semitic Culture—Modern Arabs—Religious Culture—Semitic Monotheism—Coalescing of Accadian and Semitic Culture—The New Religion—The Creation Poem—Conclusion.

SEMITIC people built their cities, founded their empires, and for a long period of time, swayed the destinies of the Oriental world, before the Aryan nations commenced to play the important part they are now taking in the world's development. In all its elements, our present Civilization shows the influence of Semitic thought. Christianity, built from a Semitic foundation, and Islamism, the religion of Western Asia to-day, sufficiently attest the influence of the Semitic people in the field of religion. When first the morning light of history falls on Western Asia, before the darkness



IDEALIZED RESTORATION OF THE PALACE OF SARGON.

was dissipated in the Mediterranean area, it discloses to us a comparatively highly civilized Semitic people, in the secure possession of the fertile valley watered by the Euphrates and Tigris rivers. To-day, the investigators's spade brings from unsightly mounds the inscribed tablet or discloses to view the pictured walls of palaces, from which we reconstruct, as best we can, the history of these once mighty people, endeavor with what art we have to re-color the all but vanished picture of their material greatness.

Let us now spend some time in studying the Semitic people, determine if we can their home land, trace their separation into closely related people, study their common culture, outline as far as we can, their race peculiarities, and estimate their influence in building up the Civilization of the world. The field is broad, information on many points here outlined is but scanty and difficult to obtain, and we have to guard against preconceived opinions. Let us however enter upon it, and make the best of the materials at our disposal. One lesson following from it will be this, that no people are an especially favored people, but that all have had to advance by slow degrees, profiting by the experience of the past, and handing on the results of their experience to others.

The Semitic people are classed as belonging to the White Races.[1] We are to understand, however, that this classification is one of convenience only; we have in several places pointed out that it is almost impossible to detect any contact between the two principal branches of the White Races, that is between the Aryans and the Semites. If they ever were co-dwellers in some common

1 Above page 82.

home, it was at a time immensely removed from the present, since the two languages are so different in principle.[1] The Semitic people can be conveniently divided into several sub-groups. There are Semitic people in both Asia and Africa, and they occupy adjacent sections of country, spreading both ways from the shores of the Red Sea.

It is at present best to consider the place of origin of the Semitic people, as undecided. The older writers generally assummed that their primeval home was somewhere in the neighborhood of the Caspian Sea. There is no good reason for such a conclusion as this. It is fully in accordance with the line of reasoning that persists in deriving the Aryans from the same source. As far as we know anything about the movements of the early Semitic bands, they have been from the south to the north and west. Very eminent scholars have come to the conclusion that Arabia is the true home of the Semitic people, from whence they wandered forth in various directions.[2] Tiele[3] concludes that all Semitic people were once living together in Arabia, leaving undecided the question where they had first originated. Latham thinks the Semitic tribes originated in Africa.[4] We should not be surprised to see this the generally accepted view, before many years.[5]

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[1] Above p. 37.

[2] Sayee: "Science of Language," Vol. II, p. 167. Schrader': 'Die Ursitz der Semiten" in "Zeitschrift D. M. G.," 1873.

[3] "Hist. of Religion," Berlin 1877 p. 62.

[4] "Comparative Philology," London, 1862, p. 524 *et seq.* and p. 602.

[5] See Bertin in J. R. A. S. for 1885, p. 77 where he comes to this same conclusion. We are told that the anthropologist Gerland supports this view. [Tiele: "Hist. of Religion," p. 63.] Noeldeck refrains from coming to any conclusion on this point but seems to favor Arabia. [Article "Semites" in "Encyclopedia Brittanica."] Prof. Hommel casts his influence in favor of Central Asian origin, we think his arguments will apply just as well to Abyssinia. "Babylonien und Assyrien," p. 267.

For the present, we need not consider the African Semitic tribes at all, since they have played but a very small part in history. Taking up the Asiatic Semites, Arabia comes before us as the center of dispersal for these people. When they were living in this section of country as closely related tribes, the Turanians undoubtedly held possession of Mesopotamia and indeed of all Asia Minor.[1] This was at a time long preceding the dawn of history, and before Civiliztion had anywhere attained any great development. Even traditions are silent on this point. But the evidence of language cannot be gainsaid. All Semitic people speak closely related dialects, closer, if anything, than the connection between the various Aryan speaking people.

Arabia is not by any means an unmixed desert waste. The traveler Palgrave tell us that the central table land, comprising nearly one-half the peninsula, is mainly cultivatable land. It is surrounded on the south, east and west by a sandy waste, and towards the north by a stony one.[2] The area of this elevated and comparatively fertile section of country is not far from twenty-five thousand square miles. At the present day, it is entirely occupied by Semitic Arabs. And these Arabs are supposed to represent the primitive Semitic stock in a very faithful manner. It is from them that we are to gather the best details as to the primitive Semitic culture.[3]

At a very early time, still before the dawn of history, a wave of Semitic people appears to have moved toward the north and occupied the shores and islands of the Persian

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1 Yet see Bertin in J.R.A.S. for 1886, where he states his reasons for thinking that the Semites were in Chaldea before the Turanians.

2 "Central and Eastern Arabia," London, 1865, p. 91.

3 Tiele: "History of Religion," p. 62.

gulf. And one wave of them came in contact with the Turanian settlers in Mesopotamia. The country around the upper reaches of the Persian Gulf thus appears to have become a second center of dispersion. The tribes radiating from here speedily came in contact with Turanian people, and were greatly influenced by their culture. Collectively they constituted what is known as the Northern Semites. This branch includes: The Assyrians and Babylonians, the Hebrews and Phoenicians, and the Syrians.

As the dispersion of the Semites forms a very important epoch, we will introduce a sketch showing the probable movements of the various bands. Of course, everyone will understand that this chart is not given as a result, but is simply to help us form clearer conceptions of the probable course of events. It is, for instance, pointed out on linguistic and other grounds that the Syrians were probably the first to leave the primitive home.[1] The Remainder of the Northern Semites are supposed to have lived together for some time after the separation of the Syrians; but it is further supposed that the Western, or Canaanitic branch, separated before the complete union of Turanian and Semitic culture in Mesopotamia.[2] Still they are not entirely free from that influence, we therefore represent this stream as diverging from the Assyrio-Babylonian near Accad.

It was from Accad that the Semitic influence gradually extended itself throughout Chaldea, and from thence the Assyrians went forth to the land of Asshur.[3] These movements are indicated on the chart. Turning more

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1 Sayce: "Science of Language," Vol. II., p. 167, 170. Schrader in "Zeitschrift D. M. G.," 1873, p. 423.

2 Tiele: "History of Religion," p. 81. Sayce: "Ancient Empires," p. 194. Schrader, Op. cit. 3 Genesis x. 10.

particularly to the Western, or Canaanitish stream, we find that all the members spoke closely related dialects of the same stock language, and had many other points in common in their culture. But it seems to have consisted of two portions, and considerable difference of time between the migrations of these two portions seems to have

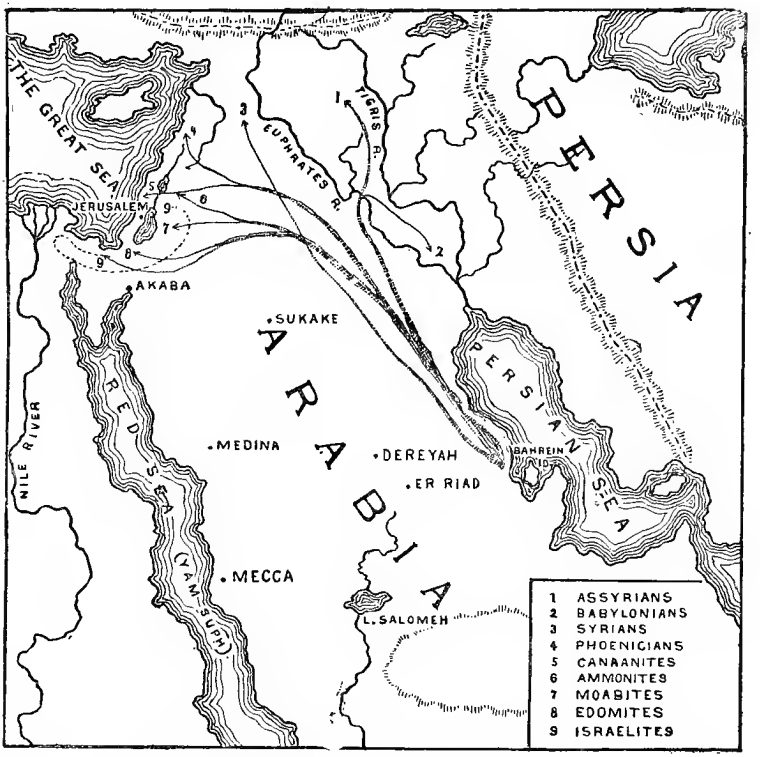


Chart of the Dispersion of the Semites.

elapsed. The first wave consisted of the Phoenicians and the Canaanites, the first occupying the sea-coast, the second the hills and valleys of Palestine. Afterward there followed them, the Hebrew people in four divisions; the Ammonites, Moabites, Edomites and Israelites. These latter people found the best portion of the land already

taken up, and led a more or less wandering life, but gradually settled to the east and south of the Dead Sea and Palestine, though, at a comparative late date, the Israelites forced their way across the Jordan and gradually subjugated the first settlers there. We have indicated, as far as we could, their movements on the chart, and will now turn our attention to the details of the same.[1]

It will be seen that the Northern group of Semitic people contained by far the most important people; those who had a good deal to do with the ancient world. It is to them, then, that we will now turn our main attention. There is not a name mentioned in the foregoing list, which does not possess the greatest of interest for the reader. What visions of antiquity are connected with Babylonia? What scenes of sanguinary warfare with Assyria? To speak of the Phoenicians is to recall that they were the inventors of the alphabet, and were the great traders of antiquity. They were not great inventors, nor warriors, they were skilled neither in arts, literature nor sciences, yet they accomplished a wonderful work in furthering the cause of Civilization. It is not necessary to mention the Hebrews, since every one knows the tremendous influence they have exerted on the world in the matter of religion. It is a thought in which there is an element of sadness to reflect that, though for some thousands of years the Sem-

[1] That the various Canaanitic tribes were Semitic is no longer in doubt. [Sayce: "Ancient Empires," p. 181. Schrader: Z. D. M. G., 1873, p. 402.] We think, however, that Ewald is right in supposing them to be, to some extent, mixed with the aboriginal inhabitants, who were probably Turanian ["History of Israel," London, 1869, Vol. I., p 224] That the Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites and Israelites formed one closely related group is shown by the traditions of the Israelites themselves [Genesis xix. 36-38, xxxii. 3] and by the evidence of language as well; the inscription on the Moabite stone being in nearly pure Hebrew.

itic people were the most advanced in Civilization, and were the most powerful people then living, yet neither of these sayings could be applied to them since some centuries before the Christian era. Races and nations, as well as individuals, run their courses and then forever disappear from the stage of action.

We have in a former chapter pointed out that the Yellow Turanian race preceded the Semitic in ancient Chaldea. There is not much question on that point.[1] In order to give a connected account of the course of events in that interesting section of country, it may occasion a partial review of ground already gone over, but we think this course will be overlooked, in view of the importance of the subject. For we are now about to inquire into the beginning of Civilization in and about Chaldea. That country, which is now a pestilential expanse, or an arid sun-baked waste, was, in all probability, the first place where the stage of enlightenment reached by man was such that we may speak of him as civilized. This is the country, also, to which many references are made in the opening chapters of Genesis. Here was located the plains of Shinar, here were the cities of "Babel and Erech, and Accad and Calneh,"[2] and this probably was the land to which the Hebrew traditions refer as the "Garden of Eden."

Mesopotamia means the "land between the rivers." A glance at the map shows that the Euphrates and the Tigris form the two rivers in question. Flowing in a generally southern direction from their mountain home, these rivers carry every year vast quantities of sediment into the Per-

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[1] Though M. Halevy disputes this altogether, see J. R. A. S. for 1879, and Bertin, in same journal for 1886, concludes that the Semites were in the country before the Turanians.

[2] Genesis x. 10.

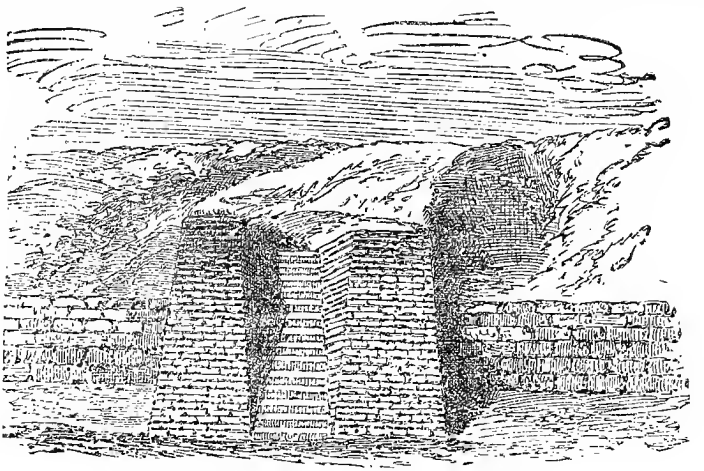
sian gulf. The consequence is that the land has from late geological times continually encroached on the sea. The Euphrates and Tigris now unite their waters and flow in one channel into the sea. Yet at no very distant day, they entered it by separate mouths. It is supposed that, in the long course of ages, all the land south of an irregu-

Map of Chaldea.

lar line running from Hit on the Euphrates to Samarah on the Tigris has been thus gained from the sea.

Everyone knows what sort of a country this must be. One level expanse of very fertile land. When the rivers are at their flood, extensive portions of this land are inundated; and, if not promptly attended to, vast pes-

tilential marshes would be formed The distance from Hit to the sea is some four hundred and thirty miles, though, as just pointed out, anciently this distance was much less. This land was ancient Chaldea. At an extremely early date, the Turanian tribes moved from the highlands of Elam on the east, down into the plains. The usual effects of settlement in a fertile river valley soon followed. The people commenced advancing in culture, canals were dug, temples built, and civilized life began. All this goes back far beyond the dawn of history, and



Ruins at Abu Sharein.

probably before the Semitic bands had arrived on the scene.

One of the oldest settlements in the country was near the modern town of Abu Sharein on the left bank of the Euphrates, known in earliest times, that is Turanian times, as *Nun-ki*, that is "the place of the first water." Now we must recall that Hea was the Turanian god of earth and water,[1] and he was the beneficent god, or god of

[1] See Chapter V.

goodness, and so the place was called the "city of the good god," or *Uru-dug-ga*, which in course of time became shortened into Eridu.[1]

This seems to have been the first starting point of Turanian Civilization. Eridu lived in the memory of the people of Chaldea as a holy place. The god Hea, who played such an important part in ancient Chaldean religion, was regarded as the local god of Eridu. One inscription speaks of him as the "king of Eridu."[2] Long after this, temples were sometimes said to be built like those at Eridu, "to be a holy place." Most of the magical formulae, songs and incantations date from this far away time. When any place is mentioned in the exorcisms, it is Eridu.[3] There was the place where the "holy palms" grew. Some have not hesitated to say that the Hebrew traditions of the Garden of Eden refer to Eridu.[4]

We can see how much interest this place has for us. It seems to have been the earliest religious center of the entire district. How gladly would we learn of its history, but as yet this remains a sealed book. Of necessity, it must once have been the seat of government of that section;[5] but it is probable that as early as five thousand years before Christ its political glory had passed away, and from henceforth it was to the Chaldeans only a holy place, the especial home of their god Hea.

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[1] See Hommel: "Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens" in Onchen's "Allgemeine Geschichte," p. 196.

[2] Ibid., p. 198. [3] Ibid., p. 197.

[4] See Sayce: "Ancient Empires," p. 95.

[5] George Smith, in "Records of the Past," Vol. III., commences his outline "History of Babylonia" with two patesi of Eridu, but compare with this Hommel's note in "Babylonien und Assyrien," p. 266, note 1, where he shows that the patesi there spoken of, probably do not belong to the oldest time here referred to.

A slight digression may not be out of place to explain the reasons for assuming the date, 5000 B. C., just named. It is admitted by all scholars that the Babylonians and the Assyrians adopted a most excellent system for registering events.[1] They had also reduced their calendar to a very good system. At a very early date, they had official astronomers, "who observed the heavens and regulated the calendar."[2] They also kept lists of the years and recorded the most important event occurring therein. Portions of these lists have been recovered for short periods of time, and are of the very highest value. This is sufficient to show us how much better as historians the Assyrians were than the Egyptians, who seemed to have been lacking in historical instincts.

Now Nabonidas, the last king of Babylon, in a certain inscription speaks of repairs he had made in the great sun temple at Sippara. It seems that when a king founded a temple, he inclosed in one of the corners a cylinder giving a short account of himself. Nabonidas in repairing this temple made a search for the cylinder of its founder and thus describes his success: "Shamas the great lord . . . suffered me to behold the foundation cylinder of Naram-sin, the son of Sargon, which for thrice thousand, and twice hundred years none of the kings that lived before me had seen." He herein declares that three thousand, two hundred years had passed from the time of Naram-sin to his own reign. He ruled about 550 B. C., so we have here the date of 3750 B. C. for Naram-sin, and about 3800 B. C., for his father Sargon, of Accad.[3]

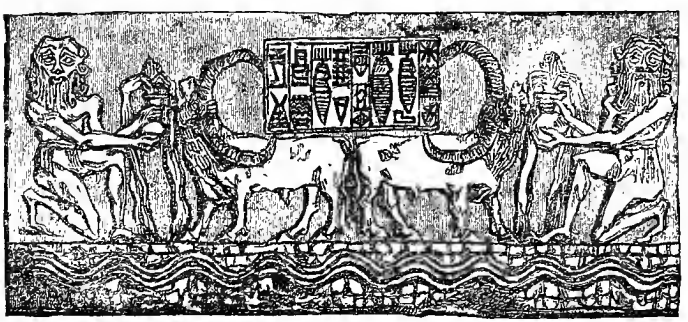
We fortunately possess some monuments of Sargon,

[1] Smith: "Assyrian Eponym Canon," London, p. 17.

[2] Ibid., p. 19.

[3] See above p. 371.

one has been given,[1] another was his cylinder which is here shown. (A cylinder is a sort of seal, and will be explained later.) This gives us a starting point 3800 B. C., now from many points which it is not necessary to enumerate here, such as the characters used in writing, the language employed, the degree of artistic development, etc., etc., we gather approximate dates for the beginning of Civilization in Chaldea. It must be borne in mind, however, that they are approximate only. We may have to change them considerably one way or the other, and we must further bear in mind that this assumed date, that is 5000 B. C., by no means takes us back to the founding



Cylinder of Sargon, 3800 B. C.

of Eridu. Only to a time when its political supremacy had passed away, and it existed as a place so ancient as to be invested with a halo of sacredness.[2]

If Eridu was the center of religious life of the earliest period of Chaldean history, the center of political power seems to have been somewhat further removed to the north. The place seems to have been variously called at

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[1] See above p. 372.

[2] Sayce remarks that the date of its foundation may be approximately fixed by the rate at which the alluvial soil has grown seaward. ["Ancient Empires," p. 95.] We have not, however, seen any calculation made by competent engineers.

different periods. In very early times, it seems to have been known as *Gir-su*, more generally, however, as *Sir-gulla*, which M. De Sarzec seems to have come across in the low mound of ruins, called at the present day Tello, situated on the left bank of the canal known as Shat-el-hie, flowing from the Tigris into the Ephrates a few miles above Eridu.[1]

At the far away time to which we now refer, viz: about 5000 B. C., we can only recover here and there an historic gleam. Our knowledge is very fragmentary indeed. We judge, however, that a tribe with headquarters at Girsu (Sirgulla) was rapidly rising to importance. The cylinder of one of their chiefs, supposed to date from

Cylinder of a Patesi of Sirgulla.

about 5000 B. C., is here represented.[2] We must call attention to the peculiar features represented on this cylinder. The type, seen also on the cylinder of Sargon, is neither Semitic nor Turanian,[3] but what race is represented is a yet unsolved ethnological problem. A peculiar in-

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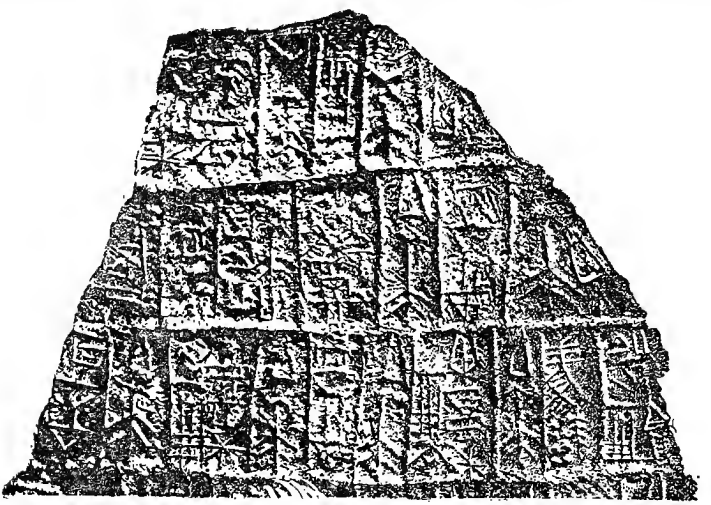
1 We have located Tello by means of a small map, given by Hommel in "Babylonien und Assyrien," p. 115. It is necessary to remark that it is a question whether *Girsu* and *Sirgulla* are the same or not. See Hommel, p. 202.

2 See Hommel: p. 290.

3 Smith suggests that it is an Ethiopian type: "Chaldean Genesis." p. 194.

terest attaches to this physical type since that legendary hero Izdubar (of whom more later) is always so represented.

The reader should also notice the form of the characters employed. The cuneiform shape (tapering to a point) has not yet appeared. The title of this official was *patesi*. Some discussion has taken place over the exact meaning of this title. At a subsequent stage, it meant about the same as viceroy. But this was not its meaning in the first instance. It meant literally the "carrier of the sty-



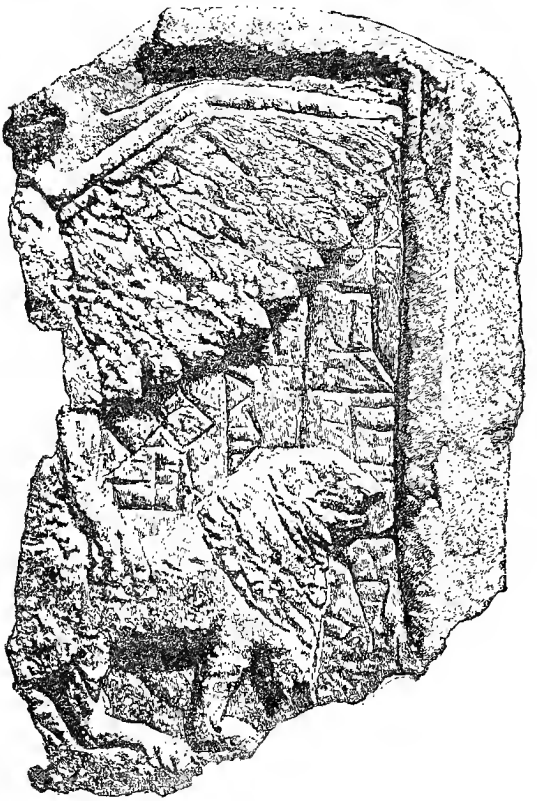
Inscription of Ur-ghanna.

lus," or the tool with which writing was done, but in its use it seems to have been synonymous with the word "priest."[1] We must recall that at first the chief was also the priest of his people, so we conclude that this title of patesi, meant about the same as the word chief generally. Confederacies of several tribes had probably not yet made

[1] See Hommel: "Babylonien und Assyrien," p. 294. He remarks that the original word was something like Ghadda-ti-siddi "Mit der Bedeutung 'Griffel führer' als eines Synonyms für Priester."

their appearance, we are dealing with one individual tribe though doubtless a very prominent one.

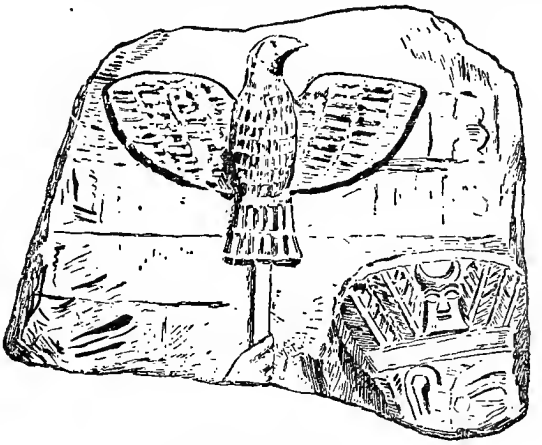
The date of the cylinder is placed at about 5000 B. C. The next figure visible in the dim light of these almost prehistoric times is no longer "patesi" but "king of Sirgulla." This change in title shows that political progress



Bas-relief of Ur-ghanna.

has gone forward. There was probably a union of several tribes under one leader, and Sirgulla was no longer the headquarters of a tribe but of a confederacy. Though the date of the reign of this king is placed at about 4500 B. C., yet he comes before us as quite a real flesh and blood king.

we know his name, that of his father, and some of his achievements. The cut, page 657, is a representation of an inscribed tablet found at Tello by M. De Sarzec. It acquaints us with the fact that Ur-ghanna son of Chalginna was king of Sirgulla, and then tells us of many temples and other buildings he had erected. It further tells us that he had caused his statue to be erected and had built a fortification wall for Sirgulla. All this shows us that even at that early time the foundation of Chaldean culture had been laid.[1] We have also a bas-relief bearing the name of



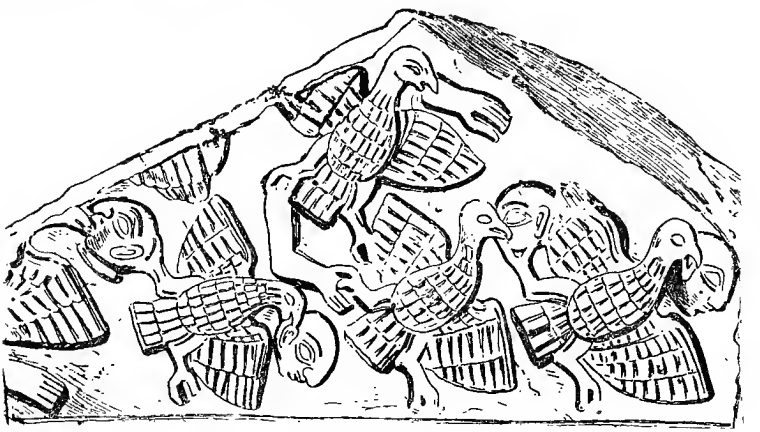
March of an Army.

this king and his title, which is important from an artistic standpoint. The subject of the relief is evidently an eagle with out stretched wings, whose talons are sunken in a lion's back. The material of this relief, as of other monuments of this period, is limestone, which, in the course of time, has suffered from the weather. The writing is nearly illegible, but we can still puzzle it out.

We also know the son and successor of Ur-ghanna, though we are not sure of the first syllable of his name.

[1] See Hommel, p. 286.

Amongst the objects found by M. De Sarzec at Tello, was a stele of white stone, unfortunately broken and not all the fragments recovered, both sides of which are covered with bas-reliefs and inscriptions. The bas-reliefs seem to represent a military expedition. One small fragment, here represented, was probably a part of a relief representing the arrival or departure of the army. "Very little is left, but that little is significant: . . a hand holding a military standard . . and the head of a personage, perhaps the king walking in the procession: and that is all."[1]



Birds of Prey.

Two other fragments are equally significant, one represents birds of prey dismembering the bodies of the slain, perhaps defeated enemies. And one of similar import representing the burial of the dead, perhaps the bodies thus honored are those of the victorious soldiers.[2] The cut on page 661 represents the inscription on the lower part of the fragment whose upper part represents the vultures. Strange to say, it has no reference, apparantly, to the bas-relief. We gather from it that . . . Kur-galla (the first

1 Perrot and Chipiez

2 Prof. Hommel thinks that both of these cuts represent conquered

syllable is uncertain,) son of Ur-ghanna was king of Sirgulla. It tells of a number of temples he built and restored; and, what is important, we notice that the sun appears at this early time to have been worshiped as the representative of the "Spirit of Heaven," that is zi-anna.[1]

We hear of one more "King of Sirgulla" who is supposed to date from about 4200 B. C.[2] Only one or two short inscriptions of him are known. His name, with the first

Burial of the dead

syllable in doubt, seems to have been Uru(?)-ka-ginna. One short inscription is of importance since it contains what is, at present, the oldest known reference to Babylon.

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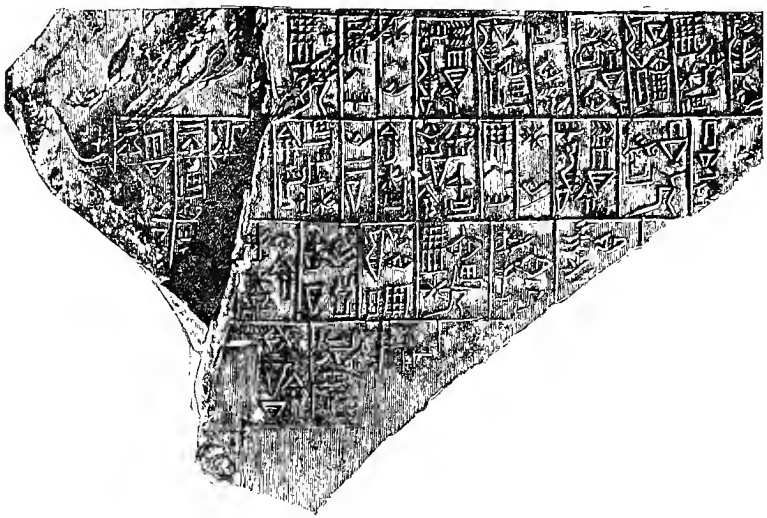
enemies. Perrot and Chipiez suggest the division we hold out as probable above. As to the features repesented, Heuzy remarks that "the Semitic pofile is more strongly marked than in the monuments of the following age," while Prof. Hommel thinks that, in accordance with primitive art, the forehead and nose are represented by one slightly bending line, and that the features "nur scheinbar an Semitisches erinnert," See "Art in Chaldea and Assyria," Vol., II. p. 177, and "Babylonien und Assyrien," p. 241.

[1] See above Capter V.

[2] Hommel, p. 291.

It speaks of building "a palace to the oracle of the god of Tin-tir," which is one of the several names of Babylon of old.

Thus we see that for the centuries lying between four and five thousand years before Christ, the darkness here and there lifts for a time and discloses to us an ancient city near Tello, which seems to have been the seat of considerable political power. We see its rulers exchanging a title about the equivalent of the word chief for that of king.



Inscription on the Vulture Stele.

Those who have studied the question declare that there was an advance in writing and in art in general. We learn of the march of victorious armies. We see the country plentifully supplied with temples. In short, all the elements of Babylonian Civilization seem to have been developed. We have as yet learned nothing of the Semites. But the scene now changes, and we are made aware of the fact that they have arrived in the land and are gradually becoming the masters of it.

It is scarcely necessary to remark that our knowledge

of this period is extremely scanty. Gaps of several centuries occur of which absolutely nothing is known, and when light appears it is but momentary in duration. We need not be at all surprised if future discoveries put a different meaning on our present interpretation. We are not to suppose this period was an altogether quiet one. Intertribal warfare was going on, marauding expeditions were undertaken, and the pressure of invasion from the ruder Semitic tribes had been gradually growing stronger and stronger, until finally a portion of the country passed under Semitic control, and straightway there commenced the process of blending into one the culture of the Turanian and Semitic people. Let us examine this question more particularly.

At what time the Semitic tribes commenced to swarm out of their common home in Arabia is as yet unknown; but, passing to the north, they everywhere found confronting them Turanian people. Intermixture between these two people must have gone forward. That part of Mesopotamia known as Assyria proper was held by a large number of Turanian tribes, known collectively as the Kutu.[1] The first entrance into Mesopotamia by Semitic people seems to have been along the northern part of old Chaldea, though two cities, Accad in Northern Chaldea and Erech in Middle Chaldea, divide between themselves the honor of furnishing the first Semitic kings. We have three cylinders, the inscriptions of which are in the Semitic language, two of them tell us of kings of Erech, and one of a prince of Accad. Our scholars are yet undecided as to their relative age.

[1] See Sayce: "Ancient Empires," p. 91. Notice the presence of the K phonetic element. They were otherwise known as the Guti, which became the *Goyim* of Genesis xiv. 1.

As everything connected with these early times is of interest to us, let us examine these cylinders. This is a representation of a cylinder from Erech. To judge from the writing and the figures represented, it is the oldest of the three. The three personages on the left of the cut are supposed to represent gods. The Semitic inscription reads as follows: "The lord of Erech, In-an-dub of the house of Erech, son of the king."[1] A second cylinder from Erech is shown below. The figures are supposed to represent an immigration or captive soldiers or tribute bringers. The inscription reads as follows: "His servant, the scribe, (devotes this) to U-bil-darra, brother of the king of Erech." These cylinders both refer to Erech in middle Chaldea.

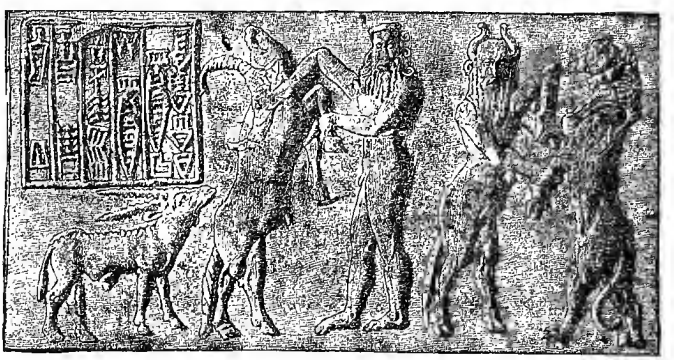
Cylinder from Erech.

Cylinder of Erech, [about 3500 B. C.]

The next cylinder, however, refers to Accad in Northern Chaldea. We call especial attention to the figures. They have to do with the old Turanian legends of Izdubar, which we will speak of soon. The inscription reads: "His servant, Izilum the scribe, (devotes this) to Bin-gani, king of the city, son of the king." If we are ignorant of the order in which these cylinders made

[1] See Hommel, p. 300.

their appearance, we can still draw some important conclusions from them, they show that, at about 4000 B. C., Semitic people had made their appearance in Chaldea. They show further that migration could not have been from the north or east, but must have been from a southwesterly direction.[1] Since the inscription and proper names are Semitic, the Semites must have become the ruling class, but we also learn that they had adopted Turanian writing, art and mythology. All this must have taken no inconsiderable number of years to accomplish.



Cylinder from Accad.

Leaving these little-known kings, we turn to that important personage, Sargon of Accad, whose date has already been given as 3800 B. C. The location of Accad was long unknown, but now it has been identified with a portion of the ruins of Sippar. Two monuments of this king have already been given.[2] We have also some details of this king's life and reign, that are not without interest. They were given in an inscription supposed to have been placed

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1 There was one solid mass of non-Semitic tribes confronting them in all other directions. Notice also that both Accad and Erech were located along the western border of Chaldea.

2 See above, p. 372 and 654.

on the pedestal of his statue.[1] The original inscription is gone, but we have an Assyrian copy made for the library of Assurbanipal.

We have all heard stories about fated children, who come through all sorts of danger to a life of greatness. Notice in the following account of the infancy and boyhood of Sargon the same mythic conception at work. The inscription reads as follows: "Sharruk-inu, the mighty king, king of Accad am I. My mother was a princess, my father knew I not, while the brother of my father lived among the hills. My mother, the princess, bore me secretly in my city of Azu-pirani, which lies on the banks of the Euphrates; she placed me in an ark of reeds, with asphalt she closed the door, and put me below in the stream, which did not flow over me, the stream bore me to Aki, the water-drawer. In the goodness of his heart, Aki the water-drawer lifted me up. He raised me as his own son, and made me his gardener. The goddess Ishtar felt drawn towards me in my vocation as gardener."[2]

It is generally supposed that the real meaning of the above is that Sargon was a successful soldier, who raised himself from an obscure position to the throne. The reign appears to have been successful, for the account continues: "I became king and for forty-five years exercised royal authority. I ruled the black haired people..... Over difficult places in chariots of honor I rode. I governed the upper countries. (I ruled) the princes of the lower country. Three times I passed through to the sea-coast. Dillman surrendered, Dur-illa, the great, bowed itself." This

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1 This is Mr. Talbot's view: "Records of the Past," Vol. V., p. 2.

2 We have translated Prof. Hommel's German translation. Two English translations are contained in "Records of the Past," Vol. V., p. 3 and 56

is regarded as an honest copy of an ancient inscription. From it, we learn that Sargon claimed to exercise sovereignty over all of Chaldea. He was ruler in the upper country, and held the "princes" of the lower country in subjection. Three times he marched his army the entire length of Chaldea, from Accad on the north to the Persian sea on the south. Dur-illa was an important town on the boundary of Elam, and Dillman was located on the Persian Gulf.[1]

We possess still another tablet professing to give an account of the doings of this king. It is called the "Tablet of Omens," for at the head of each paragraph, containing an account of a war or military expedition, is a description of the omen from the moon under which the expedition was undertaken, for the Chaldeans never started on an expedition unless the omens were propitious. There are fourteen of these paragraphs, eleven of which refer to events in the life of Sargon. The only copy remaining of this tablet is one made for an Assyrian king. Prof. Hommel, after carefully studying this tablet, which claims to treat of Sargon the first, concludes that it also contains much that does not belong to his reign at all. It includes events belonging to the reign of kings very much later in time. It would not be at all singular were this the case. It would be only another instance of what has often happened in the history of great men.[2] According to this tablet, Sargon played a far more important *role* than the

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[1] We have translated Prof. Hommel's German translation, but have changed it slightly to agree with Smith's English translation in "Records of the Past," Vol. V., p. 57.

[2] An English translation of this Omen Tablet is given in "Records of the Past," Vol. V., p. 58 *et seq.* Prof. Hommel's criticisms a e in "Babylonien und Assyrien," p. 304-8. It must be said that a number of scholars give full credit to this tablet.

modest one set out above. The three expeditions to the Persian sea are now transferred to the Mediterranean coast, and he is even said to have conquered Cyprus and set up his image there. He is here probably confounded with Sargon II. of about 700 B. C.

Inscription of In-anna-ginna.

Not taking into account this latter tablet, it can be seen that after a prolonged effort extending over probably some centuries of time, the Semitic invaders had established their power, and had assimilated the Turanian culture, and finally had reduced the whole of Chaldea to their reign. What had become of the kings of Sirgulla, whom we have seen at a still earlier time ruling quite an extensive scope of country? If we recall that Sargon speaks of

ruling the princes of the lower country,[1] we shall probably not err if we conclude that among these "princes" are the former "kings" of Sirgulla now playing the part of a vassal or a *patesi* in the secondary meaning of the word, which it came in time to have. Fully in keeping with this is the fact that we come on traces of various patesi of Sirgulla, who belonged to about this time, judging from the style of work.

The preceding cut is an inscription on a piece of hard alabaster containing the name and title of In-anna-ginna, patesi of Sirgulla. Heuzy, who is authority on such topics, tells us that this inscription "has a peculiar style and shows a progress in technic, which bespeaks a parallel progress in art generally."[2] Although the writing is still linear and not cuneiform, yet the characters are clear and are cut with a confidence and precision hitherto unknown. The material used is not the soft limestone of the primitive period but a harder kind of stone. But along with this progress in art, has gone a decline in political power as is shown by the use of the word patesi.

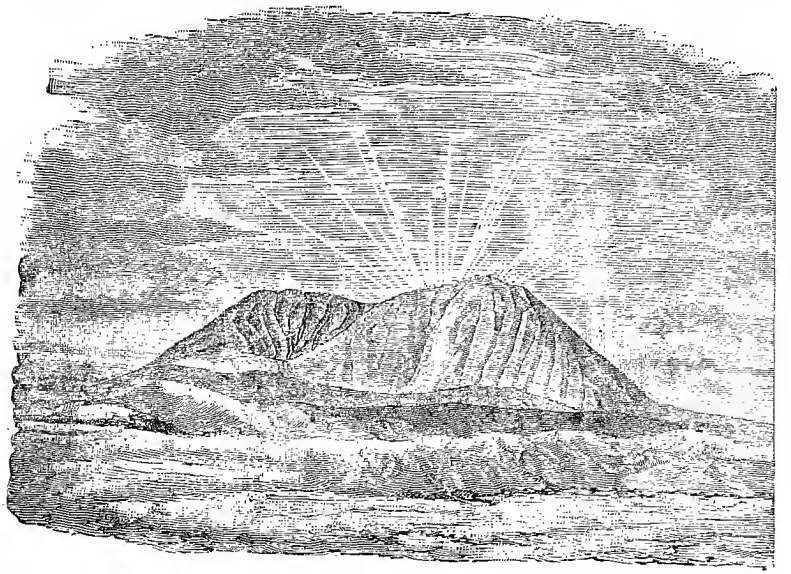
Cylinder of Naram-Sin.

Now returning to the kings of Accad, we find Naram-sin given as the son and successor of Sargon. His seal-cylinder is here shown. There are one or two short inscriptions of him in existence also. The inscription on the cylinder reads as follows: "Mar-Istar, son of Ilubalit, servant of Naram-sin." The figures represented are rather peculiar. There is first, on the right, a priest, the central

[1] Smith renders the word "King;" Hommel, "Haupter,"
[2] From Hommel's German Translation.

figure represents, perhaps, Naram-sin himself, the figure on the left, with the horn-like ornament on the cap, represents a god.[1]

Naram-sin was a builder as well. We must bear in mind that it was his cylinder, placed in the corner-stone of the sun temple at Sippari and discovered by Nabonidas, that gives us the date of his reign.[2] Three paragraphs in the Omen Tablet, which we have described, recount



Ruins of Tell Ede.

events of Naram-sin's life. They tell us first of his conquest of Amar-ak a city supposed to be represented by the mound of ruins known as Tell Ede, which, we shall see, played an important part in ancient Chaldea. They also tell us of a successful expedition to the land of Maganna. This most probably refers to the southern part of Chaldea,

[1] Sayce thinks [probably from the object he holds in his hand, the representation of lightning] that the god Ramman is here represented. Hommel suggests Nergal. See "Babylonien und Assyrien," p. 309.

[2] Page 653

lying on the west bank of the Euphrates and bordering on Arabia. This was noted for its stone quarries. A fragment of a vase at Tello, speaks of a "vase of polished work, from Magan."[1]

As near as we can judge, some centuries seemed to have passed by before we again have the aid of inscriptions and monuments. When light again appears, it is in Southern Chaldea, and it is indeed significant of the direction in which Semitic people entered the land to find that the new inscriptions from Sirgulla, for it is there we return, are in a Turanian language. We find ourselves confronted with the highest developed culture of the Turanian people in Chaldea. The artistic remains of this period are indeed wonderful. They take the shape mainly of statues, containing inscriptions.

This cut is the representation of a certain Ur-ba'u of Sirgulla. M. De Sarzec, whose discoveries on the site of Tello we have often referred to, found some ten statues, all more or less broken, the heads of all being wanted. Nine of them bore the name and inscriptions of Gudea. One bore the name of Ur-ba'u.[2] Prof. Hommel, from a careful study of the form of the writing, concludes that Ur-ba'u was older in time than Gudea and places him at about 3300 B. C. We must pay some attention to this work, since it is regarded as the finest extant monument of ancient Chaldean art, and in noway shows any trace of Semitic or Egyptian art.

The figure is that of a heavy-set man. Observe the careful attention to details in the exposed portions of the body, the muscles, fingers, toes and nails are all carefully

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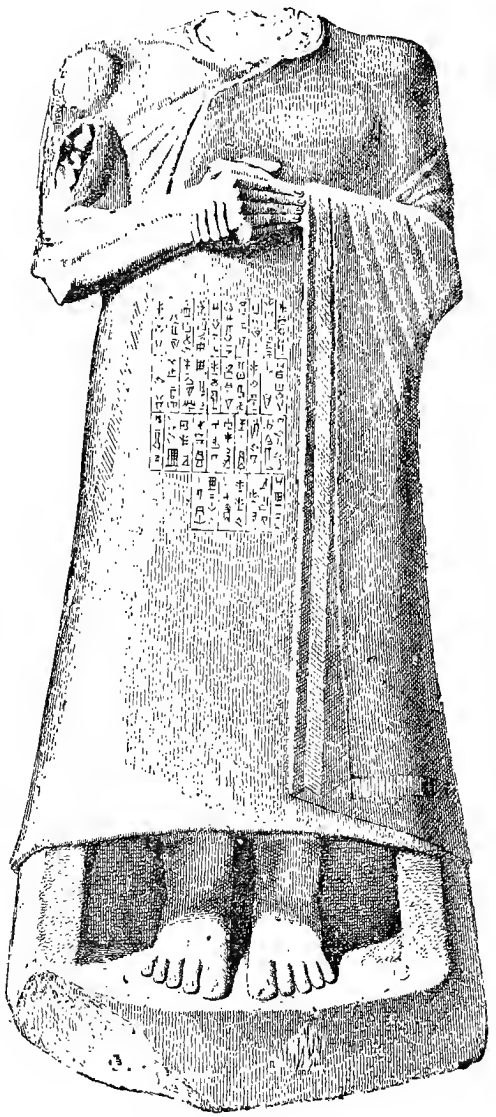
[1] See Hommel: p. 309.

[2] The name is also read Lik-bagas. See "Art in Chaldea and Assyria," p. 180.

represented. The dressing is very plain and simple, but observe the slight fringe and notice how gracefully it is thrown around the body. An inscription is to be seen on the front of this statue, another was cut on the back.[1] The title of Ur-ba'u was "Patesi of Sirgulla." The inscriptions tell us mainly of the building of temples, in some cases the restoration only is meant, since some of the earlier kings and patesis may have mentioned the building of them. The cities of Girsu (Sirgulla), Eridu (Nunki) and more are named. It will be observed that only the south-eastern part of Chaldea is men-



Statue of Ur-ba'u.

[1] See Hommel: p. 218.

tioned. The majority of De Sarzec's great find belong to a somewhat later date, about 3100 B. C. At this supposed date, there was ruling at Sirgulla a most noted personage, whose name is generally read *Gudea*. His inscriptions are still in a Turanian language, but from many sources we know that the Semites are at hand. We detect traces of their influence in the field of religion, and those scholars are probably right who think they can detect Semitic features in some of the sculptures and carvings. Let us examine this question. If we will compare the heads given on page 374 with this cut, we will have the two types in question. The one is broad-headed (Brachycephalic) with a smoothly shaved or beardless head, with slightly prominent cheek bones; the other is long-headed (Dolicocephalic) with a heavy head of black hair, and a long chin beard.[1] Or if we will compare the cut on page 660 with the next cut we will see represented the same two types. It is supposed that the first type represents the Turanian Chaldean, the second, the Semitic people, perhaps from Accad, which at this time had long been in the possession of Semitic people. A fragment of ancient Chaldean bas-relief shows us, in dim outline, the features of a man and woman, supposed to represent a king and a

Bronze Votive. Offering

[1] Hommel: "Babylonien und Assyrien," p. 241. See above, page 665, where Sargon says he "ruled the black haired people." Compare the above with remarks on page 191 of Vol. II. of "Art in Chaldea and Assyria" by Perrot and Chipiez. They seem to regard both types as representations of the same people, the Semites.

queen.[1] The features represented are those of our so-called

The Semitic Type from Tello.

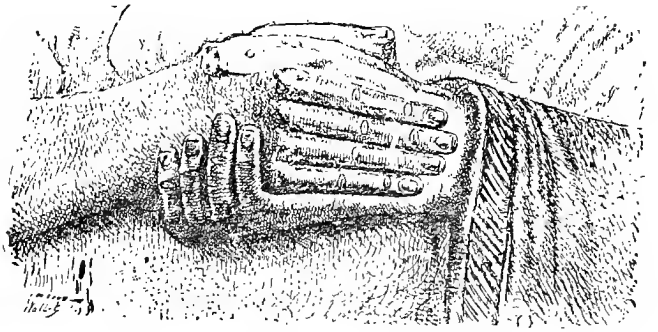
Semitic type. Finally in the cut on page 693 we have again the Turanian features in a statuette from the Louvre.

Semitic King and Queen.

Nine statues were found at Tello bearing the inscription of Gudea. They include both seated and standing figures The cut shown on page 373 is one of the seated statues. On page 700 is represented another one, sometimes called the statue of the architect. But it bears the same royal inscription as the others. One point to be noticed in all these statues is the attitude of the hands. We give a nearer view in the next

[1] "Art in Chaldea and Assyria," Vol. II., p. 191.

cut. This is the attitude often assumed by eunuchs in the presence of their masters, the kings, but found as well in the representation of kings before the effigies of their gods. We can, then, see the propriety of this disposition of the hands in these statues, which were probably placed in some part of the various temples, where the king was represented, as it were, in the attitude of worship before his god.[1]



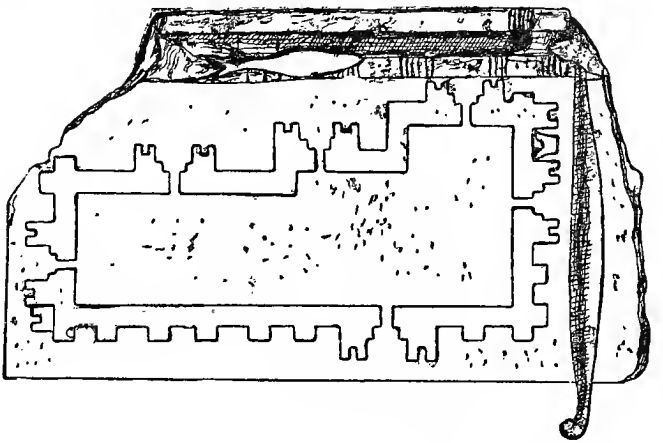
Position of the Hands.

The statue of the architect on page 700 is seen to be holding a slab of stone in its lap. This is of sufficient importance to be noticed by itself, especially as from this, the name of "The Architect" has been given to the statue. On the left is to be seen "one of those styles with which letters or images were cut in the soft clay, at the bottom of the tablet there is a scale which we know from another monument of the same kind to have been originally about ten and a half inches in length, representing the half-cubit or span. The larger part of the surface is occupied by an irregular figure in which the trace of a fortified wall may be easily recognized. Some have supposed this to be the plan of a city, others of a palace only.[2]

1 "Art in Chaldea and Assyria," p. 181.

2 "Art in Chaldea and Assyria," Vol. I., p. 327. See also "Contempo-

Gudea, though he styles himself patesi of Sir-gulla, was not simply some petty chieftain. His monuments are found over a considerable extent of country and on the sites of important cities.[1] He was certainly a king in power, as but few were in these early times. Under him, Turanian art in Chaldea reached its highest point, and his power seems to have extended over at least a part of Elam and the greater portion of Chaldea, perhaps even to the north in Assyria and to the west in Lebanon.[2] It is interesting to



Drawing on the Stone Slab.

note that this powerful patesi, the builder of numerous temples, leaves an account of his early life in many respects like that of Sargon. He declares that the ocean depths were his father and mother.[3]

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rary Review" for 1886. Mr. Sayce speaks of this statue as proving that the stone was derived from the peninsula of Sinai and showing the influence of Egyptian art. But Maganna, to which the inscription refers, was probably the boundary line between Arabia and Lower Chaldea.

1 "Records of the Past," Vol. V., p. 7.

2 Hommel: "Babylonien und Assyrien," p. 318.

3 Ibid. 320 The relative position of Gudea in history is not yet settled. Budge places him considerably later than our date ["Babylonian Life and History," p. 41.] Prof. Sayce thinks he was the grandson of

From what we can gather from the dim light of history in Chaldea, and have in a measure set forth above, it seems that, though the Semites early gained a supremacy in Northern Chaldea, they met with more of a determined resistance in Lower Chaldea, though their influence was felt there, and they, at times at least, exercised suzerainty over the country. For a long time, Sirgulla had been the principal city in Southern Chaldea. There is a period of nealy two thousand years intervening between the first patesi of Sirgulla and Gudea, of whom we have just treated. During this time, other cities were in existence. We have seen Babylon mentioned as early as 4200 B. C., and from seal cylinders, the kings of Erech vie in antiquity with Sargon of Accad. We would naturally expect the center of political authority in Southern Chaldea to shift from Sirgulla to another point, since in the course of time, some other tribe located elsewhere would be sure to contend with the tribe at Sirgulla for supremacy, and (in a tribal state of society political power changes with kaleidoscopic rapidity) succeed in changing the relation between them.

This introduces us to Ur. We have evidence that this was certainly a very ancient city. Bricks are found here the inscriptions on which are in writing of very ancient characters. The cut given on page 247 is one of this character.[1] At about 3000 B. C., Ur had become the center of political power in Chaldea. Its kings assumed the proud title of

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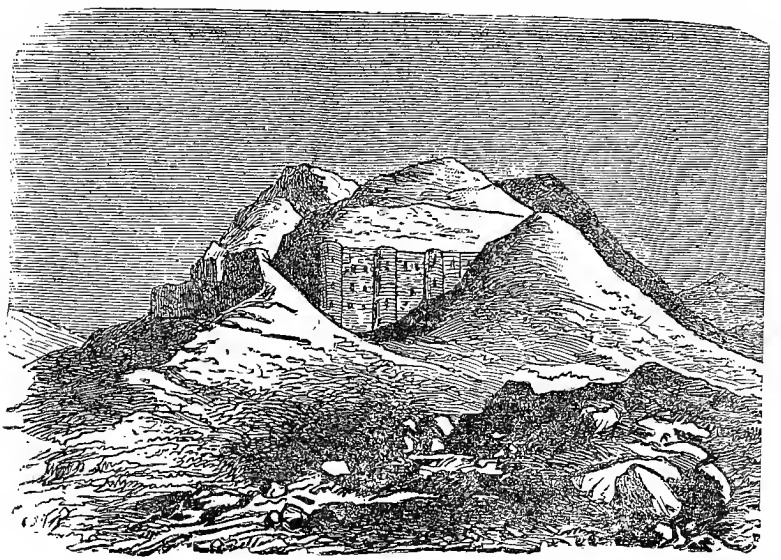
Ur-ba'u [Lig bagas] of Ur. and consequently several centuries later than our date. ["Ancient Empires," p, 110.] On this point, see Hommel p. 318. Smith, in "Records of the Past," Vol. III., p. 7, places him long before Sargon of Accad, but when he wrote, we were ignorant of Sargon's date, 3800 B. C. Ragozin, "Story of Chaldea." p. 214. contents herself with showing that he was probably between three and four thousand B. C. Prof. Hommel places him about 3100 B C.

1 Prof. Hommel places the date of this inscription at about 3600 B. C. "Babylonien und Assyrien," p. 113.

"King of Kingi and Burbur,"[1] and their authority seems to have extended over the larger part of Southern Chaldea and at least a part of Accad.[2]

Our next cut is the seal-cylinder of the first known and most famous king of Ur. His name has been read several different ways. Following Prof. Hommel, we will call him Ur-ba'u of Ur.[3] Ur-ba'u was a great builder. His reign



Ruins of Ur.

[1] By this expression, South and North Babylonia were meant. At a later date, the expression was changed to "Sumir and Accad." Eridu, Sirgulla, Ur and Lārsa belonged to Kingi: Erech and the towns to the north of it, to Burbur, or Northern Chaldea. Kingi probably meant "the land," perhaps the home land. The meaning of Bur-bur is more obscure. Possibly it meant about the same as, "The two Rivers," having reference to the Tigris and Euphrates: or perhaps it meant "The two Places," having reference to the double town of Sippar and Accad. Hommel: p. 233-4.

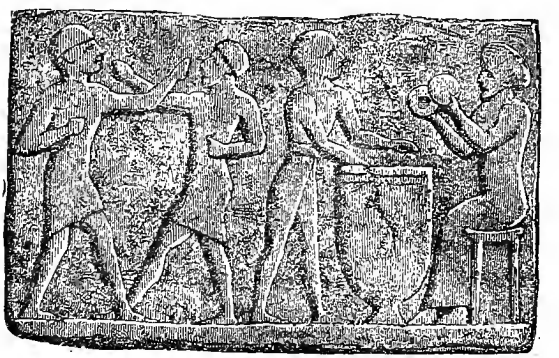
[2] Ragzoin: "Story of Chaldea," p. 216.

[3] Ragozin remarks as follows "This name was at first read Urukh, then Likbabi, then Lik-bagash, then Ur-bagash, then Ur-ba'u, and now Prof. Fried Delizsch announces that the final and correct reading is, in all

must have been long and prosperous. It is said: "That the remains of his buildings even now exceed those of every other Chaldean monarch except Nebuchadnezzar."[1] It has

Seal Cylinder of Ur-ba'u of Ur.

been noticed that in many places where important buildings once stood, the foundation bricks bear the name of Ur-ba'u,



Clay Tablet from Senkereh.

though other kings may have completed them.[2]

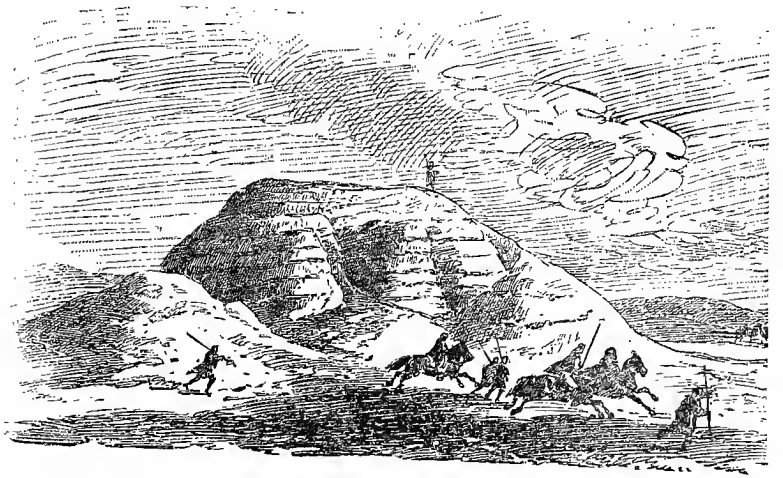
Many other details might be mentioned all going to

probability either Urea or Arad-ea." This Cylinder, long supposed to have been lost, is now in the British museum. See J. R. A. S. 1881, p. c v.

[1] Smith: "Early Hist. of Babylonia," p. 9.

[2] Rawlinson: "Seven Great Monarchies," Vol. I., p. 102.

show that Ur-ba'u was the king whose reign marks the commencement of a new era in Southern Chaldea. Ur was now the capital city and was adorned with temples and public buildings.[1] Larsa, now known as Senkereh, appears to have been founded by him. At any rate, its history does not go further back than his date. This was the site of a famous temple of the sun. For Larsa was devoted to the worship of the sun, as Ur was of the moon.[2] Erech too (though as we have seen there were kings of



Ruins of Temple at Erech.

Erech long before this time) was the scene of his activity. His bricks are found in the foundation of the great temple of Ishtar which is here represented, also at Niffer (the Scriptural Calneh) he founded temples.[3]

These public works undertaken by Ur-ba'u were, some of them at least, of very great size. The platform mound of the temple at Erech is estimated to have required thirty million bricks, and this is only one of several build-

[1] Smith: Op. cit.

[2] This Larsa is the Ellasar of Genesis xiv. 1.

[3] Rawlinson: "Seven Great Monarchies," Vol. I., p. 103.

ings. It is considered quite likely that Ur-ba'u must have had control of captives, perhaps captives of war, the fruits of successful war with the surrounding tribes. His power must have been built up at the expense of Accad and Sirgulla.[1] At this latter place he also built or repaired a temple.[2] It has been observed that while the name of Ur-ba'u and his immediate successor are Accadian and their inscriptions often in that language, yet, from a religious stand-point, we perceive the influence of the Semites.[3] It will be observed on the cylinder of Ur-ba'u, that the moon god (the seated figure) is represented as having features of the type we have called Semitic.

Ur-ba'u was succeeded by his son Dungi, who seems to have completed many of the buildings begun by his father.[4] What traces we have of him at present are principally from Ur and Erech. He styles himself king of "Kingi and Burbur." There is a question whether Ur here mentioned was the "Ur of Chaldea," spoken of in the Bible as the primitive home of the Hebrews.[5] It has been shown that one reading of the cuneiform sign from Accad is *Ura*, and Prof. Budge thinks this is the Ur of the Bible.[6]

With the death of Dungi, we are once more left in the dark, and for an unknown length of time, we know but

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1 Ibid., p. 102.

2 Smith: "Early History of Babylonia," p. 9.

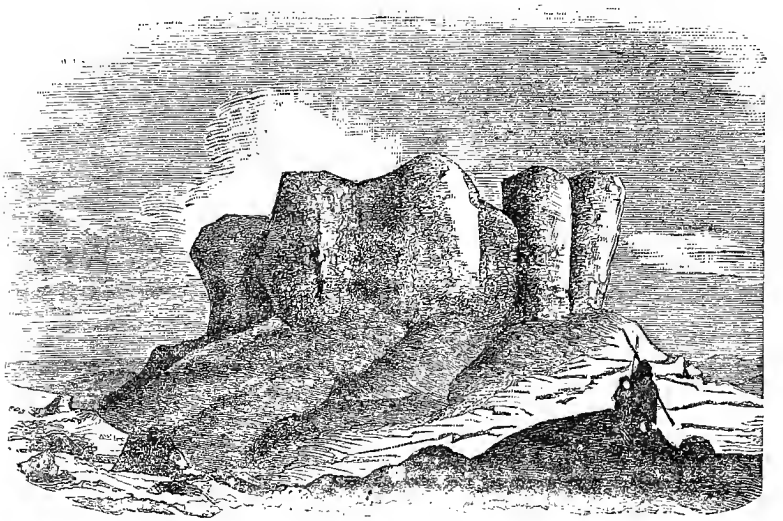
3 Ragozin: "Story of Chaldea," p. 218.

4 The name of this king is in some places given as Ilgi. The syllable dun is but another name for ba'u.

5 Bible, Genesis x. 31.

6 "Babylonian Life and History," London, 1885, p. 25. On this point also, see Hommel: "Babylonien und Assyrien," p. 213. He shows there are strong reasons for supposing that Harran, the second starting point of Abraham, became mixed in popular etymology with Ur, both were places especially devoted to the worship of the moon god, and even the names may stand in some relation to each other.

very little of the course of events in Chaldea. We know the names of a number of kings, who in their inscriptions claim to rule an extensive section of country. Probably some of these were contemporaneous. It seems probable that Ur ceased to be the capital, though it remained a very important city, and Karrak became the new capital.[1] The location of Karrak is not yet fixed with certainty,



Ruins of Hamman.

though it may be but another name for Nisin, which Prof. Hommel thinks is now to be found in the ruins of Hamman.[2]

We have the names, at present, of several kings of Karrak.[3] The names are Semitic. One of the most celebrated ones is Ismi-dagon, who built a palace at Ur. We will quote an inscription of this king, which will give us a good idea of the extent of their power, and what they claimed

1 Budge: "Babylonian Life and History," p. 41.
2 "Babylonien und Assyrien," p. 221.
3 Smith: "Assyrian Discoveries," London, 1883, p. 441.

for themselves. The reference to Niffer in the first line, seems to show that this was a holy city.[1] We must further remember that Niffer is probably the Calneh of the Bible.[2] The inscription in question reads as follows:[3]

"Ismi-Dagon, nourisher of Nipur,
The supreme over Ur, the light of Eridu,
Lord of Erech (the powerful king),
King of Karrak, King of Sumir and Accad.
The relative, the delight of Nana."

The worship of the moon was very widely extended in Chaldea. The moon god's name in Semitic was Sin. It is, perhaps, not singular that a number of kings' names should be known in which the word Sin forms a part. They need not, however, have succeeded one another. Some may have ruled at one place, some at another, and they may be separated by quite a period of time. It is necessary to speak of this because some historians speak of "Monarchs of the Sin Series."[4] There was no series of monarchs of that name, and, further, later scholars are reading these names somewhat differently.[5]

We are now down to near the beginning of the twenty-third century before Christ. Few are probably aware that the twenty-third century before the commencement of the Christian era was a period of great commotion in

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1 See Hommel, p. 221.

2 Genesis x. 10. See Rawlinson: "Seven Great Monarchies," Vol. I., p. 14.

3 Smith's translation, "Records of the Past," Vol. III., p. 14.

4 Rawlinson: Op. cit., p. 189. Smith: "Early History of Babylonia," p. 15.

5 Thus take the name of Zur-sin, who is stated by Rawlinson and Smith to have built Abu-sharein. This is wrong for Abu-sharein is old Eridu in existence long before. Smith himself later reads the name of this king Amar-agu. Hommel returns in part to the first reading, calling it Amar-sin, and assigns him to about 2400 B. C.

the world's history. It is of course impossible to give exact dates, but the movements of many different people seem to have begun at about that time, all pointing to some great break up in Western Asia. Let us examine this point. In a former chapter, we have shown that, as far as we can draw any conclusion from the scanty traditions of the Chinese, they made their appearance on the headwaters of the Hoangho, about the twenty-third century B. C., as a migrating host, forcing their way among tribes who had long been living in that country. We have also shown that they had probably been driven out of a section of country to the east and south of the Caspian sea.

But this was not the only direction of movement. People from out this same section were propelled toward the west. It was about this time that Chaldea was overrun and conquered by invading Elamites, who, probably, driven by the pressure of invasion from their own home, had to conquer for themselves a new home further to the west. In fact, the waves of these troublesome times rolled far toward the west, until they passed over all Asia Minor and finally spent their force in distant Egypt. Borne along in this western movement, were probably many Semitic people, such as the Hebrews, Phoenicians and Assyrians, who were forced from their homes in Northern Chaldea. For it was probably about this time that "Asshur went forth and founded Nineveh," and the traditions of the Hebrews indicate that it was also about this time that they went out from "Ur of Chaldea."

Let us pause a moment to inquire into the cause of these sudden and vigorous movements. What was it that broke up the numerous tribes to the east and south of the Caspian sea, and drove some to the east, others to the

west, and thus drove so many out of their old homes? A few years ago, no probable answer would have suggested itself. Now, we think we begin to understand the matter. A few words of explanation are necessary. Until within comparatively late times, it has been assumed as a matter beyond all dispute that the Aryan people are of Asiatic origin. On this point, however, a great revolution in opinion has been in progress, until at present, some of the most eminent scholars claim that the Aryans are of European origin. This is not the place to discuss this interesting question.[1] We must reserve it for another volume. Any one, however, who sets out to study this question, will discover that the whole tendency of modern research points to this conclusion. Every year sees some scholar, after careful study, coming to this conclusion. Even so eminent a scholar as Prof. Hommel, who does not accept this conclusion himself, candidly admits, that it is fast becoming a matter of scientific belief.[2]

We suggest, then, that the inciting cause of these emigrations and invasions was the appearance in Asia of a vast body of Aryan people, the forefathers of the Iranian and Indian Aryans. Gathering their forces in Southeastern Europe, to the north of the Black sea, they finally swept in a resistless torrent around the Caspian sea, and scattered before them in all directions the Turanian tribes inhabiting that country. This, we admit, is a rather bold conjecture. It will rise or fall with the theory of the European origin of the Aryans. If that stands, then this suggestion will stand; should it be rejected, then we must

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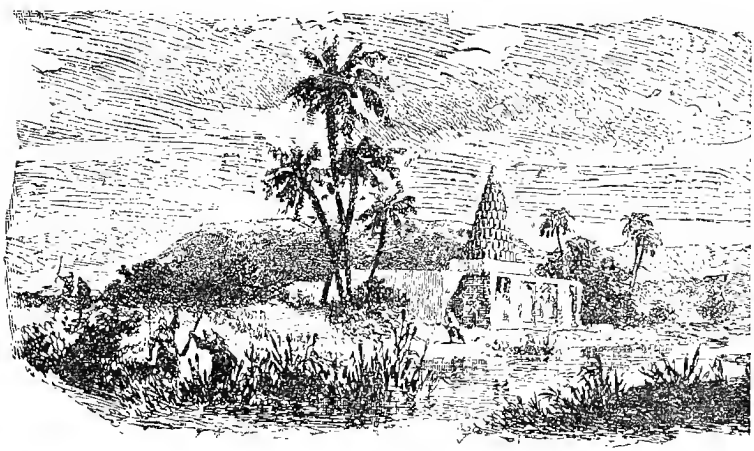
1 The Aryans will be fully treated in Vol. III.

2 See his review of several late books on "Die Urheimat der Indogermans" in "Archiv für Anthropologie" for 1885, Supplement, p. 167. "In der yüngsten Zeit fast zum Dogma gewordenen Satz von der Europäischen Urheimat der Indogermanen."

look elsewhere for an efficient cause for the great break up of people in Western Asia, which certainly took place about the time in question.[1]

But now, returning to the history of Chaldea, it is necessary to speak more particularly of Elam. The country known by the name of Elam lay to the north and somewhat to the east of the Persian sea. Its ancient name was Anzan. The ancient Chaldeans called it *Llamu*, that is "the highlands," from whence comes our word



Ruins of Susa.

Elam. The earliest inhabitants, of whom we know anything with certainty, were Turanian tribes, near relations of the ancient Chaldeans.[2] Elam is one of the oldest centers of Civilization known, and was for a long time a much

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1 This date agrees remakably well with all that we know of the movements of the Aryans in Asia. As early as 2000 B. C., the Aryans were situated along the upper courses of the Ganges.

2 This is the view of a majority of scholars. See Rawlinson: "Herodotus," Vol. I., p. 532; Lenormant: "Chaldean Magic," p. 217, where he cites the concurrent opinion of Norris, Oppert and Mordtmann; Sayce: "Ancient Empires," p. 94. We see no evidence, however, of the Semites being the nobility of the land, as stated by Ragozin. Prof. Hommel, as stated above, page 401, does not fully agree with this view.

feared rival of Babylon. Though overrun by the armies of Assyria, victory ultimately rested with Elam, and under the leadership of their great king, Cyrus, the old empires in Mesopotamia were overthrown.

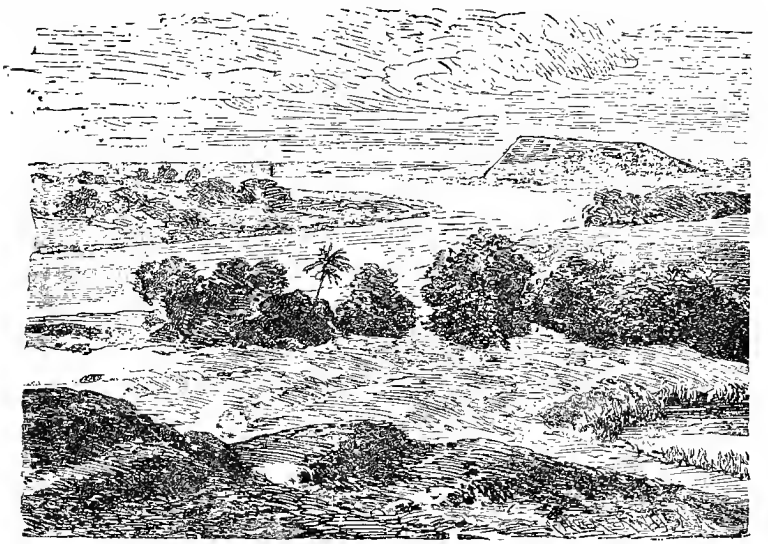
In the year 645 B. C., Assurbanipal of Assyria, in his war with Elam, took the capital city of Susa. He tells us he found in a temple an image of the goddess, Nana, which sixteen hundred and thirty-five years before, had been carried from her temple at Erech by Khudur-Nakhunte,[1] the Elamite, who at that time had overrun and conquered Lower Chaldea. This carries us back to the year 2280 B. C., as the date of the Elamite conquest. It would seem as if the Elamites made Larsa (Senkereh) their principal capital, though subject kings also ruled in some of the older cities. This Elamite supremacy probably lasted about three centuries. We can see that, not being very different from the Chaldeans ethnically, a rapid assimilation of culture would go forward as they gradually extended their conquest.

One of the later Elamite kings was Kudur-Mabug. He is of interest to us because some have supposed him to be the same as Kudur-Lagamar (Chedorlaomer) of the Bible,[2] who is represented as waging war in Palestine. On his inscriptions, he is called "the father of Palestine," so he may have claimed supremacy over that country.[3] The name of a son of the foregoing, who was made king of Larsa, is read Rim-agu.[4] One of the most important events of his reign was the conquest of Karrak. Now Karrak was probably the same as Hamman, and was but a few miles to the north of Larsa. It was of enough import-

[1] See above page 430. [2] Gen. xiv. 1.
[3] Sayce: "Fresh Light from Ancient Monuments," p. 48.
[4] Prof. Sayce reads the name Eri-agu and identifies him with Arioch of Gen. xiv. 1. See also Hommel p. 168.

ance however to serve as a date from which to reckon events. Contract tablets are still in existence dated as follows. "Month Ululu in the fifth year after Karrak was captured."[1] Karrak was one of the old capitals of Chaldea. Perhaps it had been able to maintain its independence up to the reign of Rim-agu.

We must hurry this sketch along. We have as yet said but very little about Babylon. The time is now at



Ruins of Babylon.

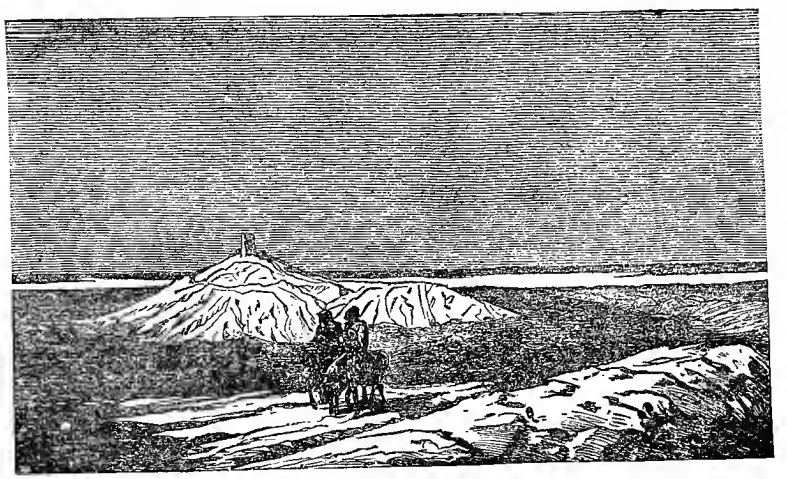
hand when this city is to take the leading place in the history of Chaldea. We have seen that as early as about 4200 B. C., Babylon is mentioned in an inscription of Uru (?)-ka-ginna. It is there called Tin-tir meaning "The Seat of Life."[2] Another name for it in early times was "Ka-din-gir-ra," meaning "The Gates of God." The name by which it has come down into history is simply a Semitic translation

1 "Records of the Past," Vol. V., p. 66.

2 Hommel: p. 229. Budge translates it. "The Wood of Life."

of the last name, Bab-ili. There is in this nothing of the meaning of "confusion."[1]

Babylon, in the earliest times, does not seem to have been a place of much importance. It seems to have been a holy place, the site of numerous temples from an early time. It, or its temples, are frequently mentioned in the so-called penitential psalms of the Babylonians, that probably date, many of them at least, from the time of the Elamite



Ruins of Bor-sippa.

conquest. The greater portion of the present ruins of Babylon are not later than the date of Nebuchadnezzar. In the ruins of Borsippa or Birs Nim-rud is to be seen the ruins of the famous temple of Sagilla which probably figures in the Hebrew traditions as the "Tower of Babel."[2]

Undoubtedly Babylon was the headquarters of an important tribe from a very early time. But no details of its early history are known. When the Elamites conquered Chaldea, Babylon probably remained under the local gov-

[1] There is in Hebrew a root *balbel* meaning "to confuse," which shows how this notion arose. Budge: "Babylonian Life and History," p. 14.

[2] Hommel: Op. cit., p. 232.

ernment of their own chiefs.[1] Mr. Sayce thinks that Amraphel, king of Shinar, spoken of in Genesis, was a Babylonian king, or chief.[2] Babylon gradually grew in strength, probably it came in time to be considered as the champion of the native Chaldean interests as opposed to the Elamites, whose head-quarters were at Larsa. At any rate, about the year 1900 B. C., we find Hammurabi, king of Babylon, engaged in conflict with Rim-agu, of Larsa for the supremacy.[3]

Victory remained with the Babylonian king. The Elamite conquest came to an end, and Babylon entered on her career of greatness. It seems that Rim-agu governed the entire country at least twenty-eight years after the conquest of Karrak.[4] This period was not altogether a peaceful one, since one notice refers to a war with people in the northern part of Chaldea. Perhaps it was when weakened by this war, that Hammurabi of Babylon took up the battle for independence. At first victory remained with Rim-agu,[5] but eventually he was defeated. With the conquest of Hammurabi, we enter on a new period in the history of Chaldea.

He has the credit of being a wise and energetic king. He not only repaired the numerous temples in his kingdom, but he built some important buildings. At the present city of Kalwadha, bronze rings have been found

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1 We have a list of the local chiefs of Babylon going back to about 2400 B. C. The first dynasty is a Sumerian one. During their reign probably occurred the Elamite conquest. Hommel: Op. cit , p. 175.

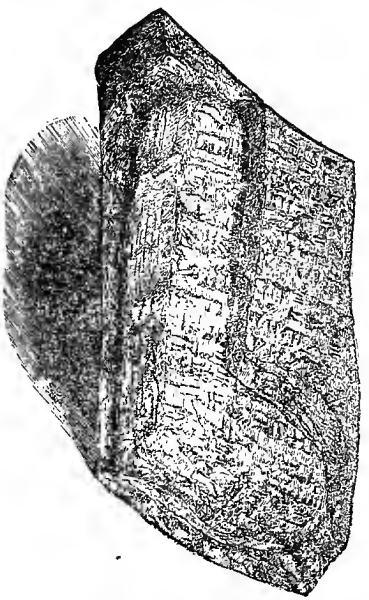
2 Gen. xiv. 1. "Fresh Light from Ancient Monuments," p. 47. This king was a local chief of Babylon and appears in the inscriptions as Amar-mubalit, the father of Hammurabi.

3 We have followed Hommel for the above date. Mr. Budge gives 2100 B. C. as the date of Hammurabi.

4 "Records of the Past," Vol. V., p. 67.

5 Ibid., p. 68.

with the inscription "Palace of Hammurabi."[1] He also dug huge canals to render the country fertile. He especially prides himself on one which he names after himself "Hammurabi, the delight of men." Under his rule, commerce seems to have revived considerably. There are now in the British Museum quite a large number of contract tablets dated in his reign. The contract, or deed of sale, was written on both sides of a piece of clay, which piece of clay, for the sake of better preservation, was placed within a clay envelope, upon which the contract and seal were again inscribed. From the dates inscribed on these contract tablets, we gather much historical information. Here at this point occurs an historical *lacunae*, which we are not as yet able to fill. We know the name of the son and successor of Hammurabi, Samsu-il-una, which is very common on dated contract tablets, but has not yet been found on any of the public monuments. These same tablets, however, speak of canals dug by this king.[2] Probably for a long time this dynasty continued to reign.[3] It is to be noticed that from the time of Hammurabi, the phrase king of "Kingi and Burbur" is exchanged for the phrase king of "Sumir and Accad." We must recall that Larsa,



Contract Tablet.

[1] Ibid., p. 75. [2] Ibid., p. 76.

[3] According to Prof. Hommel's calculation, this dynasty lasted until 1713 B. C.

the Elamite capital, is now know by the name of Senkereh, which Prof. Hommel shows, is probably the origin of the word Sumir. This shows that Larsa had then become a very important place. It gave its name to all of "Kingi" or Southern Chaldea.[1]

About seventeen hundred B. C., we find a new dynasty ruling in Babylon. A change in dynasty meant a conquest in ancient times. The conquering people, in this instance, seem to have come from the north-east. They were the Cossaens whose home seems to have been to the north of Elam. They were Turanian people, though they may have been more or less intermixed with other ethnic stocks.[2] There was probably no very great difference between them and the Chaldeans. Babylon remained the capital. The culture and religion of the Chaldeans were acceptable to the new-comers, and life doubtless went forward much as before. For a number of centuries the Cossaens remained the ruling people in Chaldea, in fact, until the Chaldean empire was subverted by the Assyrians, which happened near the beginning of the thirteenth century B. C.[3]

Of this long period of time, we, as yet, know but very little. The names of quite a number of kings are known, but, of their order in the series and their relations to each other, almost nothing is known. Certain great movements alone are visible. It was during this time that Assyria commenced to come to the front as a great and growing power. It was during this time that Egypt enacted the brilliant part of conquest in Asia. It is not unreasonable to suppose that their conquests had something to do with

1 Hommel: "Babylonien und Assyrien," p. 220.

2 Prof. Hommel classes them with the Alarodians. 3 Sayce: "Ancient Empires," p, 117. Budge: "Babylonian Life and History," p. 44.

the rise of Assyria.[1] Perhaps Chaldea felt the tramp of Egyptian armies. Finally this is the period which terminates the ancient history of Chaldea.

Before we turn to consider the culture of Chaldea, and the influence of the same on the culture of the world, let us briefly summarize this historical outline. Any one who cares to investigate this subject carefully will discover that Assyriologists, those scholars who make a specialty of cuneiform research, are very far from agreement among themselves as to the antiquity and relative location of events in Chaldea. It has only been by the expenditure of very great labor, involving the most patient painstaking care, that we have been able to recover anything of this ancient period of Chaldean history. Fifty years ago the world was ignorant of ancient Chaldea, it is not at all singular that we have had to revise some of the first formed conclusions in this matter, nor need we flatter ourselves that the outline we have laid down will remain unchanged. All we need feel sure about is that it is in accordance with present light, and that future discoveries, though they may change minor points considerably, will not, we believe, materially affect the outline as here given.

At the same time, let us hold ourselves in readiness to accept whatever conclusion future discoveries may bring to light. We are, as it were, gazing on a canvass that was once resplendent with an artist's masterpiece. But time has so faded it that we can not make out the details. With the greatest of care, we have made out here and there a part, and think we begin to understand the general plan. But as yet the larger portion is a blank, waiting the time when skillful workmen shall clean, repair

[1] Sayce: "Ancient Empires," p. 116.

and bring to light what is now unseen and unknown. As to the antiquity here disclosed, we can only say that it is accepted by a number of the foremost scholars, and is not greater than what seems demanded to account for all the circumstances of the case.[1]

In tracing the development of culture in Chaldea, we must constantly bear in mind the peculiar circumstances under which it developed. That is the two ethnic elements in the population of the country. It is difficult to decide just what is due to the Turanians and what to the Semites. Our scholars have a vast amount of work before them in this matter. Assuming, as nearly all do, that the Turanians were the first settlers in Chaldea, we have to decide first as to their culture, and then wherein it was modified by the Semites, this will give us clearer ideas of the culture of the Chaldeans, during the period of time covered by this chapter.

We have already given a brief outline of Turanian culture in Chaldea.[2] The results there obtained, briefly summed up, are as follows: In organization for government purposes, the Turanians had reached quite a high stage of development. In social organizations they were, relatively, not as far advanced. They had descent in the male line, but plain traces of the older rule of female descent are noticeable. We may perhaps doubt whether

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[1] As in this question of antiquity, so much depends on the date of Sargon of Accad, we would advise the reader to consult Hommel: "Babylonien und Assyrien," p. 166. Budge: "Babylonian Life and History," p. 36 *et seq.* In this connection, we must recall that the important cylinder of Nabonidas, which gives us the date 3800 B. C., was not discovered until 1882. Hence it is that Smith in "Early History of Babylonia," published in 1875, places Sargon so late in time, after Rim-agu in fact. It is somewhat strange that Prof. Sayce still adheres to this view. "Ancient Empires," p. 112 *et seq.*

[2] Above page 374 *et seq.*

they had fully made this change, when the Semites appeared on the scene. The joint-family had, however, made its appearance, and this does not arise until descent has fully passed into the male line. They practiced agriculture, digging for this purpose irrigating canals. They were the inventors of the cuneiform system of writing, and had laid the foundation for a system of mathematics in which twelve and sixty are the bases of calculation, and not ten.

Statue of a Turanian Woman.

This outline has to do with the Turanian culture in general. But the particular body of people who settled in Chaldea, doubtless made further advance before the Semites arrived. It is a law of the Yellow Races that they soon reach a stationary stage of culture, beyond which they advance only by reason of contact with other people. Turanian Chaldea may have reached this stage. We have also given a brief outline of primitive Chaldean religion. It was found to be an *expose* of savage philosophy as outlined in a former chapter.[1] The begin-

[1] Above page 379.

ning only of a pantheon was mentioned. Some of the greater fetich gods were described. We have seen the sky and the earth worshiped as fetiches of great power. In their name, the priest exorcised all evil demons. It is well to take up the thread at this point, and show a somewhat later development of their religious conceptions. Zi-anna meant simply the sky as a fetich. We have evidence that, at a very early stage, the sun was regarded as the representative of this fetich.[1] But another process was at work. One of the names of Zi-anna was very appropriate, In-lilla, "Lord above." In process of time, and in full keeping with the laws of mythology,[2] In-lilla and Ana became differentiated from each other, both become gods. In an entirely analogous manner we have seen Hea derived from a title given to the fetich earth.[3] But Hea, as lord of the earth's surface, was early regarded as the god of the sea. That is in an especial sense the primal sea from whence all was derived.[4] This same conception gave birth to a number of gods and goddesses. The origin of this new religion seems to have been Eridu. Hea was the center of this pantheon, his mother was Ba'u which also meant the primal water.[5] His wife was Damkinna. His daughter was Channa or Chamma, meaning originally "fish", from whence came possibly the fish god. But the most important personage of these secondary gods was the first-born son of Hea. We have stated that one of the

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[1] In the time of Ur-ghanna, of Sirgulla, the sun was addressed at times in the place of Zi-anna. Hommel, p. 254, note 2.

[2] See above page 336.

[3] See above page 385.

[4] See above page 386. The form I-a means simply "water-dwelling." It must have originated at a time when the earth was regarded as a dwelling, the home of animated beings, and derived from the water. Their belief was that the earth floated on the water.

[5] In Genesis i. 2, this word appears as Bohu.

names of Hea was Dugga, meaning "the good." [1] This important god whom we have just mentioned was called sometimes the son of Hea, at other times the son of "the good" or Mirri-dugga.[2] To these, we must not forget to add the goddess Ninni, who seems in a certain sense to have been the feminine personification of the primal ocean as Hea was the masculine.[3]

This pantheon had become fully established at a very early date. The very earliest kings bear names connected with this pantheon, such for instance as Ur-ghanna, Ur-ba'u, Dun-ginna, in which Dun is but another form of Ba'u. The inscriptions too of these early times are principally concerned with these gods. In the oldest phase of the Sumerian religion, Mirri-dugga and Hea play the most important parts. We have seen that all the ills of humanity were regarded as the work of evil spirits. The remedy then was to drive them away. For ordinary occasions, a magical song or incantation was sufficient. Here is the incantation said over a fever-stricken patient:

"Painful fever, violent fever,
The fever which never leaves man,
Unremitting fever,
The lingering fever, malignant fever,
Spirit of the heavens, conjure it!
Spirit of the earth, conjure it!"

The Shamans had such magical formulae for almost every conceivable case. But here we learn the important *role* played by Hea and his son Mirri-dugga. Hea was the good god, the one who knew all things, in his wis-

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[1] See above page 651.

[2] We here follow Hommel, p. 255. Lenormant reads this name Silik-mulu-dug. "Chaldean Magic," p. 19, note 1.

[3] Hommel: "Babylonien und Assyrien," p. 256.

dom he knew just what steps to take to put to flight the most powerful demons. His secret name, which he never divulged except to his son, possessed enough virtue for this purpose. But this good and beneficent god could not be approached directly by the priests. Here comes in the good offices of his son Mirri-dugga. He was the mediator between God and man, when the sick persons had submitted to all the purifying processes known, but without avail, then was Mirri-dugga besought to help him, and such appeals were seldom in vain. Let us quote the following tablet of such a cure:

"Mirri-dugga has seen his misery.
He has entered the house of his father Hea and said:
'My father, the disease of the head came from the under world.'
And he spoke to him the second time,
'What shall this man do, he knows not wherewith he may be healed?"
Then answered Hea his son Mirri-dugga.
'Go, my son, take a vessel and put therein a quantity of water from the mouth of the stream.
Impart to this water thy pure, magic virtue,
And sprinkle therewith this man, the son of his god."[1]

But more interesting is it to learn of their mythology. These people, as we have seen true of all races in a certain stage of development, sought to give an explanation to the mysteries of life. Some of these mythical stories probably go back to a most profound antiquity, perhaps to a time when the Yellow Races had not left their common homeland in the Altai mountain regions.[2] But undoubt-

[1] We have translated Prof. Hommel's German translation in "Babylonien und Assyrien," p. 355. Compare with translation in "Chaldean Magic," p. 22. [2] See above page 360.

edly this mythology grew with their pantheon. It is difficult to decide just how much of it is due to the Semites, and how much to the Turanians. At present it is sufficient to say that they undoubtedly had long stories to tell of the creation, the fall of man, the confusion of tongues, and the flood. We will return to this subject again.

Amongst these highly developed Turanian tribes, the Semites appeared at an extremely early date, as an invading people. They were nomads, who then lived doubtless much the same life as the nomadic Arabs of to-day. They overflowed the central table land of Arabia, and, passing to the north, finally effected a lodgment in Northern Chaldea, from whence they gradually extended their influence to the south, until after many centuries of contact, the whole country became Semitised. We have to briefly consider the Semitic character in general, and the probable advance they had made when they entered Chaldea, which, at the lowest estimate we can allow, must have been as early as 4500 B. C.

Speaking of the Arabs, Duncker remarks as follows: "The life of the roving tribes in the interior whom the Arabs denote by the general name of Bedawi,[1] *i. e.* "Sons of the Desert," has undergone few changes; at the present day but slight deviations have been made from the customs and conditions of the ancient time."[2] Elsewhere he remarks that the general features of this life have remained "unchanged for thousands of years." It is quite probable that they are living much the same life and are much the same people as the Semites in general before the separation of the northern branch.[3]

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[1] Bedouins.

[2] "History of Antiquity," London, 1877, Vol. I., p. 102.

[3] Tiele: "History of Religion," p. 62.

If we now turn to the Bedouin tribes of the desert, we will probably have before us a picture not greatly exaggerated of the primitive Semites. On many points, they are, of course, far in advance, but as regards their manner of life in general, as well as their mental characteristics, it is equally certain they are capable of assisting us to form right ideas of the life and character of the Semitic people, at that far away time, before the great northern migration commenced. Every one has read more or less about the nomadic tribes of the Arabian desert, and of their strange combinations of good and bad qualities, which show themselves in both mental and moral directions.

Living in a healthy climate and passing most of the time in the open air, it is not singular that the Arabs are fine specimens of physical manhood.[1] Their size is about the average of men in general, their figure robust and elegant.[2] They are capable of prolonged exertion. Their intellectual faculties are good, we must never forget that from them came the wonderful Civilization of the Saracenic Empire, but, in common with all Semitic people, there is "poverty of thought, with sharp observation of details, an understanding of the calculating kind, always directed to the practical, thus the imagination is held in subjection, and the flight of fancy in unknown regions is restricted."[3] This quality, therefore, renders them not fitted for original research, though capable of carrying to practical ends the investigations of others.

They are very good examples of a people in a tribal state of society. The several tribal divisions, with almost

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1 Palgrave calls them "one of the noblest races of earth." "Travels, etc.," Vol. I., p. 24.

2 Clark: "Arabs and Turks," Boston, 1876, p. 31.

3 Hommel: "Babylonien und Assyrien," p. 262.

perfect individual freedom, are fully developed. They have various orders of chiefs, but the power they possess is very limited. The poorest member of a tribe regards himself as the equal of the chief. As to their moral qualities, we are given accounts which do not agree. The explanation

The Architect.

is probably not difficult to find. The Arab is still in that state of society in which all who are not bound to him by tribal ties have no rights he is bound to respect. Towards strangers, he may act with great cruelty, he may even rob or murder with complacency, but within his tribe his actions are regulated by another standard alto-

gether. "Outside of his tribe, the true Arab has little conception of any moral duty or relation whatever, except as the result of a voluntary compact. But within that narrow circle his conduct was often governed by a high and delicate moral sense."[1]

In matters of religion, we find much of interest. The Arabs, and the Semitic people in general, are no exception to the general law of religious development we have already pointed out. We need not go over the ground again. Monotheism, or the belief in one God, was no more instinctive with the Semites than with any other people.[2] In the case of the Arabs, this religious development was affected by local circumstances which we will try to point out. They seem to have started with Ancestor worship[3] and Fetichism. We read that they worshiped "trees, stones and mountains, which were regarded as occupied by souls."[4] Some of the greater fetich gods made their appearance. Fire was an object of worship among them, if we may judge of the reverence shown to it on many occasions.[5] The worship of the sun seems to have been very ancient, the names of the sun god, Illa and Shamash, occur among all the Semitic people.[6] So of the moon. The light moon was worshiped as Allat, the dark moon, as Manat; or the two united, as Al-Uzza.[7]

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[1] Clark: "Arabs and Turks," p. 34.

[2] On this point, see Goldziher: "Mythology Among the Hebrews," p. 260.

[3] Plain traces of Ancestor worship still exist among them. Palgrave says: "Sacrifices in which sheep or camels are devoutly slaughtered at the tombs of their dead kinsmen are of frequent occurrence." Their dead, they think, are not only pleased with but require "sacrifices at their tombs, and the blood there shed nourishes and satiates them." "Travels, etc.," Vol. I., p. 10 and 33.

[4] Tiele: "History of Religion," p. 63.

[5] Crichton: "History of Arabia," New York, 1855, p. 189.

[6] Tiele, Op. cit., p. 63. [7] Ibid., p. 64.

It has been shown several times in this volume that tribes in the nomadic state assign the highest importance to the personified night sky. "In their journeys and expeditions with caravans or for plunder," says Sprenger of the Arabs, "they generally traveled during the night. When one rides on a camel at a slow pace through the monotonous desert, the nights seem very long. But the heart is filled with quiet delight by the stillness of the night and the enjoyment of the fresh air, and the eye involuntarily looks upwards. Hence we find even in the Koran and in the poetry of the Bedawi frequent allusions to the starry heaven and its motion."[1] It is then no wonder that religion among the primitive Semites took the form of Sabeism, worship of the "hosts of heaven." The stars generally were regarded as fetiches. Some became of more importance than the others. Nearly all the constellations in the Zodiac were thus singled out.[2] The Pleiades and the planets were especially objects of veneration. Astronomy, however, was very rudimentary among them, the worship paid being scarcely more than Fetichism.[3]

We have, in a former chapter, pointed out that in some cases Ancestor worship might lead to Monotheism.[4] It certainly remains true that the political institutions of partially developed people greatly modify their ideas in this matter.[5] Let us see how this applies among the Arabs. A recent writer, speaking of their religion before the age of Mohammed, says: "With some vague notion of one supreme god, their worship was chiefly paid to a multitude of sub-

1 From Golziher, Op. cit., p. 56.

2 Crichton: "History of Arabia," p. 191.

3 Tiele: "History of Religion," p. 63.

4 Above page 383.

5 Goldziher: "Mythology Among the Hebrews," p. 264.

ordinate deities, called *Djinn* or genii, of which each tribe, and family had its own."[1] This is a direct result of Ancestor worship, the gods peculiar to each family and tribe and division of tribe, are nothing more nor less than the results of worship, once paid to deceased chiefs.[2] To this let us add that tribal life is, at least theoretically, well developed; the several divisions of the tribe recognize, at least nominally, the authority of the tribal chief. The tendency is, then, for each tribe to have a tribal god. Further still, the influence of the old customs would show itself whenever a number of tribes coalesced so as to form a nation. Over all of the subordinate tribal gods, there would be ranged a supreme god. The difference between the development of Monotheism amongst Semitic people and surrounding people is largely to be found in this. The Semitic people approached Monotheism through Ancestor worship, the surrounding people approached it through the stage of polytheistic nature worship.[3]

When in the course of time, migrations carried more or less united tribes, more and more to the north and east, and they commenced impinging on the more highly cultured Turanian tribes of Mesopotamia, we can quite readily picture the probable course of events. With their superior energy, greater mental endowment and greater capacity of endurance, the Semites would surely though gradually gain the supremacy. To this we must add the further fact, al-

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[1] Crichton, Op, cit., p. 35.

[2] Palgrave tells us that he never met a Bedouin who had any idea of the spiritual nature of God. He was for them simply a powerful chief. "Travels etc." Vol. I., p. 33.

[3] It need not surprise us that the Semites did not develop a rich polytheistic system. We need but recall what was said above, as to the mental traits of Semitic people. It requires differently constitued people for this work.

ready pointed out, that Turnian people seem to be very susceptible to culture influences from other races. They speedily became Aryanized or Semitized as the case may have been.[1] So in the course of time, all Mesopotamia, partially as the result of conquest and partially by virtue of the fact just pointed out, became Semitized. This result was reached at an early day in Northern Chaldea, but was not apparently completed in Southern Chaldea till about the time of Hammurabi. In this section of country, the Turanian influence was very strong.

Now, no two people thus coalesce without the resulting culture showing plain traces of this mixture. The law of the survival of the fittest here comes into play. The old, perhaps already stagnant culture of the Turanians, sprung into new life, when it became the possession of a Semitic people, and at the same time, was modified by the former Semitic culture. This result is to be seen in several different directions. In social organization the more completely developed state of tribal society among the Semities would cause every department of government to become more strongly marked off, but would retain largely the organization already effected by the Turanians. Hence the fact that the titles of many officials are derived from Turanian words.[2] A new energy was imparted to all the departments of government, and now first arose what might be called kingdoms. The whole country was generally, nominally at least, under the rule of one tribe; now it was Accad in the North, now Ur, Karrak or Larsa in the South; finally Babylon, which was made the capital.

In arts and sciences, the Semites had but little to impart to the Turanians. In one direction only were they

[1] Above page 388.

[2] Above page 375. Lenormant: "Chaldean Magic," p. 354.

capable of imparting information. That was in the field of astronomy. To their former fetichistic worship of the stars, and practical knowledge they had gained as to their movements, names, etc., was now added notions of magical influence from the Turanians and the result was the science of astronomy; or, as it was in its first stage, of astrology, which seems to have been practiced in Chaldea, only as Semitic influence was extended.[1] The Semites adopted the cuneiform system of writing, and along with it the literature of the Babylonians. In other branches of knowledge the new culture was the result of a mixture from both sources.[2]

It is not at all singular when we reflect on the new energy and blood imparted to the old Turanian culture, that we should detect what might be called a revival of learning springing up in the wake of Semitic occupations. It seems from all the evidence attainable that from the age of Ur-ba'u of Ur to Hammurabi was a period of great literary activity. Each city that rose to the dignity of a royal city had what might be called royal libraries, and these were evidently well supplied with books, which were nothing but clay tablets. The subject matter of these books were the old mythical stories and legends, vast collections of magical formulae and astrological tablets, long poems of the creation and deluge, descriptions of the underworld, and collections of the folk-lore stories in which occur numerous fables of speaking animals.[3]

Probably in the field of religious culture this mixture

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1 This view is different from that sometimes stated. See Budge: "Babylonian Life and History," p. 106. But see also Lenormant: "Chaldean Magic," p. 364, also Bertien, in J. R. A. S. for 1886. p. 410.

2 "Chaldean Magic," p. 329.

3 Smith: "Chaldean Genesis," p. 23 *et seq.*

of the two people is most noticable, and here is where it suddenly becomes to us of great interest, since among these Semitic people were probably the ancestors of the Hebrews.[1] The simple system of Semitic religion (that is Ancestor worship, Fetichism, which paid especial attention to the heavenly bodies, and a vague conception of Monotheism) was suddenly brought in contact with the religion of Chaldea. The result was that they adopted this religion almost entirely, though in some important respects it was modified by Semitic thought. We must examine this point more in detail.

The belief in magic and sorcery, and the potency of invisible spirits everywhere swarming about them was common to both, since it is a necessary consequence of Ancestor worship. The Semite may not have reduced this belief to a system, as the Turanian had, but they believed in it just the same. To this day the Arab, though nominally a Mohammedan, and says his prayers with his face turned toward Mecca, bows to the right and to the left to propitiate the spirits he believes to be everywhere about him. It is not strange, then, that they at once accepted all the Turanians had to say on this subject; nay more, that they treasured up the numerous incantations as a most valuable inheritence. The language in which they were written became a sacred language, and the words used were regarded as inspired. Copies were made only with the greatest of care.[2]

In the main, they had also accepted the Turanian Polytheism, though changes are noticable. In some cases, they adopted the name and culture of a god with almost

1 This point will be discussed further on.

2 Any mistake in pronouncing these magical formulae would render them useless, hence the extreme care. Sayce "Assyria," p. 67.

no change. This was the case with the god Hea, more so in this instance than in any other, since he and his wife kept their old Accadian names in the new religion. In some cases, the names were but slightly changed. The Turanian Ana re-appears as the Semitic Anu, but here comes in a principle in Semitic religion, each god must have a goddess, and so as companion for Anu we have the goddess Anat, not known in the earlier period. In other cases, the old Chaldean god was replaced by a Semitic one entirely analogous. Shamas, the sun god of the Semites, taking the place of Ud, or Babbar, Sin the moon-god, the place of Uru-ki. Some times, again, the old gods are replaced by Semitic ones, not the exact analogous, but similar to them. Thus the Semites worshiped the planet Venus as Ishtar. She drove out the old goddess Ninni. Even the old favorite Mirri-dugga was gradually replaced by Merodach, a local solar god of Babylon.

A portion of the old pantheon, the numerous water-gods as set forth a few pages back, is lost to sight, such as remained, together with the new Semitic gods are recast in a new and more philosophical system. In the first place, the monotheistic tendency was satisfied by placing Shamas, the sun god, at the head. He was addressed as Bel or Baal, meaning the supreme lord, and worshiped under various forms. It would be tedious and unnecessary to extend this part, we give in a note some further remarks concerning the twelve greater gods of the new pantheon.[1]

1 The twelve greater gods of the new pantheon are the following: Anu, Hea and Bel; gods respectively of the heaven, surface of the earth and the under-world. [The Bel here mentioned must not be confounded with Bel or Baal, the title of the sun god.] The next are Sin, Shamash, [who was indeed the most important of all] and Raman; gods of the moon, sun and atmosphere. Then we come to the planetary gods, this

In another direction, it is supposed that Semitic influence worked for good. Believing with the Chaldeans that all evils were the work of spirits, they had advanced to the further thought that the gods were abundantly able and willing to protect them from these evils, consequently whenever sickness or other trouble came upon them, it must be because they had sinned. There was then but one course to pursue; to confess his sins, declare his good intentions, and seek reconciliation with his god. This was certainly an advance over the older conceptions. In the first stage, morality was not a part of religion. Here we find morality and religion approaching each other.

So, when in distress, through a calamity or any other cause, the Babylonian would fain ask himself such questions as these: "Have I estranged father and son, brother and brother, or friend and friend? Have I not freed the captive, released the bound, and delivered him who was confined in prison? Have I resisted my god, or despised my goddess? Have I taken territory not my own, or entered with wrong motives the house of my fellows?"[1] With many similar questions he sought to know the reason of his sufferings. He enumerated every relation and circumstance of life. "He besought the forgiveness of the gods and prayed with sobs and tears for reconciliation with them."[2]

Sometimes this longing found expression in beautiful penitential psalms. Let us quote one, which was written

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arrangement being probably true only of a late period. Nindar, Merodach, Nergal and Nebo, or Nabu; gods of Saturn, Jupiter, Mars and Mercury. The goddess Ishtar, a very famous goddess, was god of the planet Venus

[1] Budge: "Babylonian Life and History," p. 14.

[2] Delitzsch, from Hommel: "Babylonien und Assyrien," p. 264.

before the use of the Turanian language had entirely died out:[1]

"My lord in the wrath of his heart has punished me.
God in the strength of his heart has overpowered me.
I lay on the ground and no man extended the hand.
In tears I dissolved myself, and none my palms took.
I cried aloud; there was none that would hear me.
The feet of my goddess I embraced.
To my god, who knew, though I knew not, I made supplication.
To my goddess, who knew I made supplication.
How long, O my god?
How long, O my goddess?
O my god, seven times seven are my transgressions, my transgressions are before me.
My transgressions are before me, may thy judgment give me life."[2]

The union of morality with religion had not gone to the extent of enabling the Semites to form the conception of a life beyond the grave, which was to be a recompense for the life led here. On this point they could teach the Chaldeans nothing. All they believed in was of a shadowy existence in a shadowy land, which they called *Shu-alu*, the origin of the Hebrew *Sheol*.[3] This is not singular, since the Semitic tribes of the desert are not at all given to speculations.[4] They had not developed a rich mythological system. Therefore it is not at all singular that they should have adopted the mythology of

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[1] Sayce: "Records of the Past," Vol. VII., p. 151.

[2] Budge, Op. cit., p. 149.

[3] Hommel, Op. cit., p. 265.

[4] On this point, see interesting remarks by Palgrave, "Travels, etc.," Vol. I., p. 68-9.

the Chaldeans, to which we must now make a brief reference.

It seems that at a very early date there were extant in Chaldea long poems on the creation of the world and kindred topics. These doubtless existed as oral traditions long before they were reduced to writing.[1] Some of the scenes depicted on the cylinder seals of the very earliest times are now known to refer to these subjects.[2] When the great revival of learning took place, of which we spoke some pages back, these numerous poems were reduced to writing, Many copies of them were made and they formed a large part of the literature in the various royal libraries. We have recovered almost nothing of this literature. It is to be hoped that at least a portion of it may yet be discovered in the mounds of ruins which dot the plains of Chaldea, in many cases all that remain of once prosperous cities.

Asurbanipal, king of Assyria in the seventh century B. C., took great pains to build up the royal library of Nineveh. For this purpose, his agents made thorough search in the yet existing libraries of Chaldea for copies of those ancient "books," for so we may call them, of which the leaves were clay tablets. Such tablets were copied for Assurbanipal's library. In the ruins of this library building, discovered by Layard, were found thousands of fragments of these tablets. These have been most laboriously compared and pieced together, and thus we have at least the outlines of some of these grand old poems. We may hope that some day more perfect copies will be obtained and that we may fill out the details.

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[1] Smith: "Chaldean Genesis," p. 29.

[2] See above cuts, page 654-5. Reference is there made to what are are known as the Izdubar legends.

But as it is, most important and interesting results have been obtained. It must be remembered that the Assyrian tablets claim to be copies of older Babylonian tablets, and further, in one or two instances, we have actually found the older tablets from which they were copied.[1] There can be little doubt that the various poems and stories were cast in the forms in which they now exist, at least as early as 2000 B. C. There is, further, no reason to doubt that, in their origin, these stories go back very much further in time. We have no reason to suspect they are of Semitic origin, or even that Semitic influence greatly modified the original accounts. They are poems and stories of Turanian Chaldea which the Semites received along with so many other elements of Turanian culture.

There were three slightly different versions of the Creation. The one, of which we have perhaps the fullest account, consisted of several tablets, none of them exist entire, and even of the best we have but few fragments. As the account of the Creation as given in Genesis bears a great likeness to the account set forth in these tablets; we will spend some time with them. It is, indeed, interesting thus to find such an early copy of the Creation-poem, of which the writer of Genesis saw fit to retain at least the outlines. It seems to us that one of the strongest arguments that the writer of Genesis was in some way assisted in his work by Divine guidance lies in the fact that he rejected so many details, set forth in the Babylonian account. What he has compiled for us is a brief account from an old poem, one of the very oldest in the world, from which we draw the conclusion that God created all

[1] Smith: "Chaldean Genesis," p. 29-33.

things. All hail the day when we will cease to draw any scientific conclusions from this account, or insist on giving any literal meaning to the words.[1]

The first tablet begins as follows: "When above were not raised the heavens; and below on the earth a plant had not grown up; the abyss also had not broken open their boundaries; the chaos (or water) Tiamit (the sea) was the producing mother of the whole of them." "These waters at the beginning were ordained, but a tree had not grown, a flower had not unfolded. When the gods had not sprung up, any one of them; a plant had not grown, and order did not exist." The tablet then goes on to tell of the creation of the gods. We must notice how much simpler is the condensed account given in Genesis: "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. And the earth was waste and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep." The tablet we notice speaks of the sea water as Tiamit. In the original Hebrew, in the verse just quoted, "the deep" is T'hom.[2] We see we have here not only an exact agreement in sense but even the same word is used.

Of the second, third, and fourth tablets, we have at present only a few small fragments, as far as we can judge they seem to refer to the creation of a firmament, and of land. The fifth tablet is a valuable one. We have made out the following, from the fragments we have. "It was delightful all that was fixed by the great gods. Stars, their appearance (in figure) of animals he arranged to fix the year through the observation of their constellations,

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1 This account is mainly drawn from Smith: "Chaldean Genesis," London, 1876. Prof. Sayce in "Fresh Light, etc.," 1885, gives another version, but no changes of importance occur.

2 See also Budge: "Babylonian Life and History," p. 142.

twelve months (or signs) of stars in three rows he arranged, from the day when the year commences unto its close." "He marked the positions of the planets to shine in their course, that they may not do injury, and may not trouble any one..... And he opened the great gates in the darkness shrouded, the fastenings were strong on the left and right. In its mass (the lower Chaos) he made a boiling, the moon he caused to rise out, the night he over shadowed, to fix it also for the light of the night, until the shining of the day, that the month might not be broken, and in its amount be regular. At the beginning of the month, at the rising of the night, his horns are breaking through to shine on the heaven. On the seventh day to a circle he begins to swell, and stretch toward the dawn further .... When the god Shamas (the sun) in the horizon of heaven, in the east,..... formed beautifully and ... to the orbit Shamas was perfected... the dawn Shamas should change....."

The fifth tablet was as we see taken up with the creation of the sun, the moon, and stars. We notice some astrological references to the influence of the stars and planets. In true barbarian style, the moon is represented as of more importance than the sun. The gradual growth of the moon is noticed. The fragment becomes too broken to read when we come to the creation of the sun. We must compare this account with the greatly condensed account in the Bible. "Let there be lights in the firmament of the heaven to divide the day from the night; and let them be for signs and for seasons, and for days and years ... And God made the two great lights, the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night."

We have two fragments which probably belonged to the seventh tablet. They seem to refer to the creation of

animals, and possibly to the creation of man. It will be noticed that, at the end, two very important creatures, before whom the animals had to go, are mentioned. The inscription with many breaks reads as follows: "Were delightful the strong monsters .... they caused to be living creatures .. cattle and creeping things of the city they fixed .... the assembly of the creeping things, the whole which were created ... which in the assembly of my family ... and the god Hea (the lord of noble face) caused to be two ... The assembly of the creeping things he caused to go." Here unfortunately the tablet stops. Still the parallelism between this and Genesis will be noticed. The account in Genesis being much the more simple of the two.

Ancient Cylinder.

Mr. Smith supposed he had discovered in the fragments of this royal library an outline account of the fall of man. That, however has been called in question.[1] So we cannot certainly say that the Chaldeans had this legend. The subject of a very ancient cylinder is by some supposed to refer to the temptation in the Garden, perhaps however this is a forced interpretation.[2] Prof. Sayce thinks that this series of tablets ended with an account of the institution of the Sabbath. At all events, this was an institution among the Chaldeans. It was called "a day of completion of labor." It was enacted that on that day "flesh cooked on the fire may not be eaten, the clothing of the body may not be put on, a sacrifice may not be offered, the king may not ride in his chariot, nor speak in

[1] Sayce: "Fresh Light, etc." p. 25.

[2] See "Art in Chaldea and Assyria," p. 95, note 2.

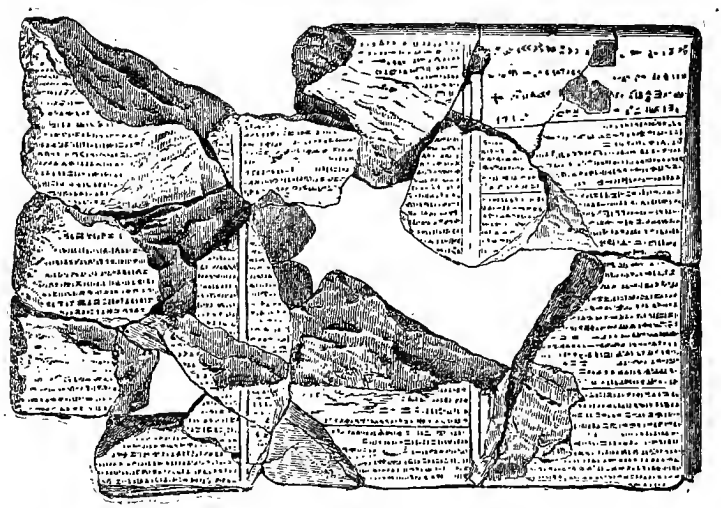
public."[1] A few words as to this account in general. No one conversant with the facts, seriously doubts that the account in Genesis was drawn from the same original as this. As Prof. Sayce remarks: "Even the very wording and phrases of Genesis occur in it." Both accounts are, beyond a doubt, drawn from ancient Turanian sources. But we must equally notice how the account in Genesis has been purified from Polytheistic coloring, and made to conform to Monotheism. It will be observed further that each tablet corresponds to some day's work in Genesis. Possibly this arrangement in tablets suggested the idea of days or divisions of time to the author of Genesis. One point more let us notice. It was long ago pointed out by Sir Henry Rawlinson that the Babylonians believed in two principal races; the Adamu, or Brown race, and the Sarku, or light race. These probably referred to the swarthy Turanians, and the lighter Semitic people. From numerous inscriptions we know that the Adamu were considered as the first created men, and as being under the especial care of the gods. A fragment reads: "May he be established, and may his will not fail in the mouth of the dark race which his hand has made." After the Semitic conquest, the Semites naturally gave themselves the honor of being the first created men, and so the phrase "Adamites" came to mean the white race of Semitic descent.[2]

We have scarcely made a beginning in this interesting field of Chaldean literature, but we must desist. In

[1] Sayce: Op. cit.

[2] Sayce: "Fresh Light, etc.," p. 27. Let us pause to observe how sadly the cause of Biblical interpretation has been hindered by an effort to read into the beautiful poetical language of Genesis a literal meaning. We all ought to be glad to see this burden lifted off of its pages. Once more the truth is taught us, that the mission of the Bible is infinitely higher than to teach us the petty details of science. Let us not strain the poetry of the Orient above what it will bear.

the long poems of the conflict of Mirri-dugga and the dragon Tiamit, the journey of Ishtar to the under-ground world to claim her husband and the Izdubar legends, we would find the original of much of the mythology and poetry of the Greeks. The Izdubar legends was a mythical poem on the year. Izdubar is a solar hero, who performs a succession of feats. It was divided into twelve tablets, one for each month. It becomes of very great interest to us since the eleventh tablet of the series, cor-



Deluge Tablet.

responding to the rainy month of the Chaldean year, gives a quite complete copy of an early form of the flood-poem. The correspondence between this cuneiform account and the Genesis account is very striking. The difference is one of detail only.

With very great care, all fragments of this important poem have been pieced together. The preceding cut gives us an idea of the work involved. We are to make the same remarks on this legend as on the others. It is a part of an ancient poem, retained by the author of Genesis, but

freed from all traces of Polytheism and teaches the power and omnipotence of God. We regret that want of space prevents our tracing out the close parallelism that exists between these two accounts. The Izdubar legends belong to the very oldest periods of Chaldean antiquity. Prof. Sayce and others think that Izdubar is the Nimrod of the Bible.

We must now take our leave of ancient Chaldæa. It is indeed a most interesting country. The period of which we have treated is one that has only been recovered by the exertions of modern scholars. A few years ago, all was darkness where now we have considerable historical light. Let us hope that much greater results will reward the labors of our present explorers. We find in Chaldea the place of contact between the Semites and the Turanians. We have seen the country remain finally in the hands of the Semites. But the resulting culture is a mixture of the culture of the two people. We have paid especial attention to the religious culture, since in this direction the Turanians exerted perhaps their greatest influence, one which still makes itself felt. We will now turn our attention to other branches of the Semites, as they continued their further migrations in Asia Minor, carrying with them in all their wanderings this new culture, the origin and development of which we have now considered.

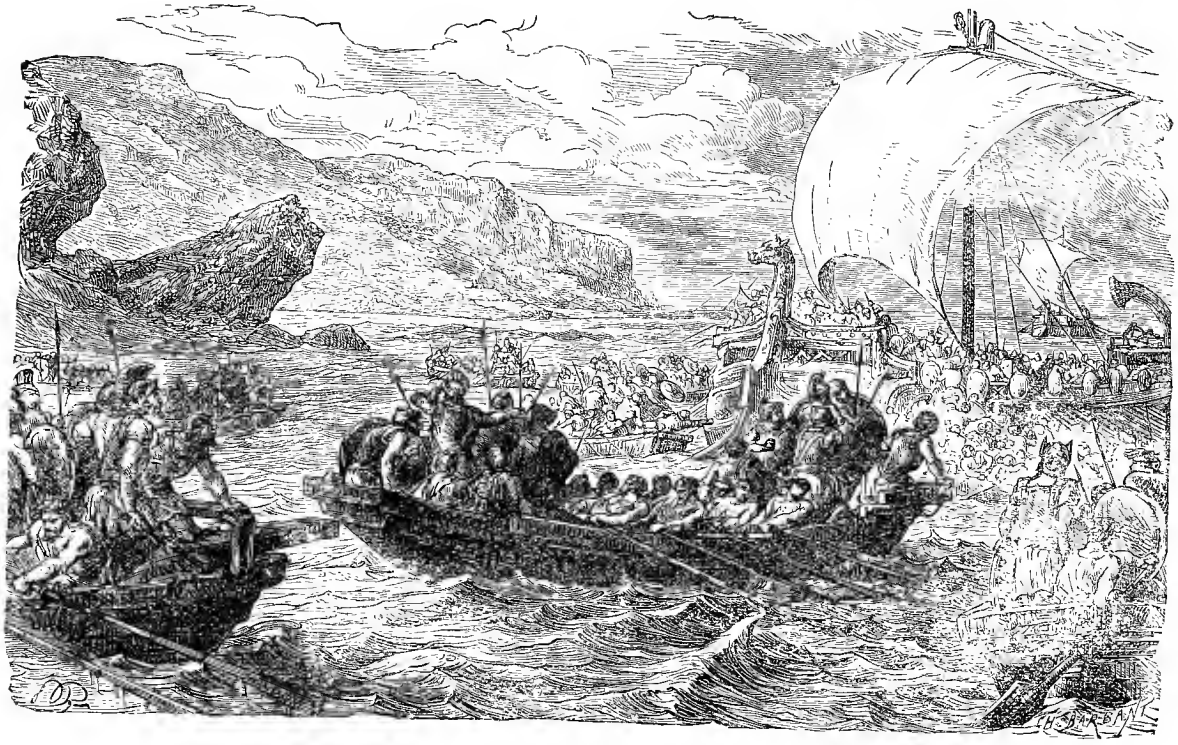
# CHAPTER X.

## THE SEMITES.—Continued.

INTRODUCTION—The Syrians—The Egpptians and the Syrians—Syrian Culture—Syrian Religion—The Phoenicians—Date of Phoenician Migration—Phoenician Cities—Phoenician Art—Phoenician Commerce—Phoenician Influence on Civilization—Phoenician Colonies—The Canaanites—Ethnology of the Canaanites—Canaanite Culture—El—Baal—Ashtoreth—Ashera—Sacrifice among the Canaanites—The Hebrews—Their Divisions—Chemosh Worship—The Israelites—Peculiar Relations of the Israelites—Outline of Israelite History—The Egyptian Period—Their Final Settlement in Palestine—Their Union with the Canaanites—Outline of Israelite Religion—The Popular Belief—Not different from that of the surrounding People—Rise of Judaism—Conclusions.

STUDENT of culture, when he takes a mental survey of the past, can trace the course of some people steadily forward in the career of Civilization until their sad decline commences. Of no people is this remark truer than of the several branches of the Northern Semitic people.

Thanks to the labors of scholars in many departments, we can conceive their condition as they move out of the Arabian desert; a nomadic people, in many respects like the nomadic Arabs of to-day; with strongly developed ideas of tribal life, which exert a great influence on all branches of their culture, including even their religion. We can follow these several people as they come in contact with the culture of the Turanian people surrounding them; see them absorbing that culture, ex-



PHŒNICIAN SHIPS.

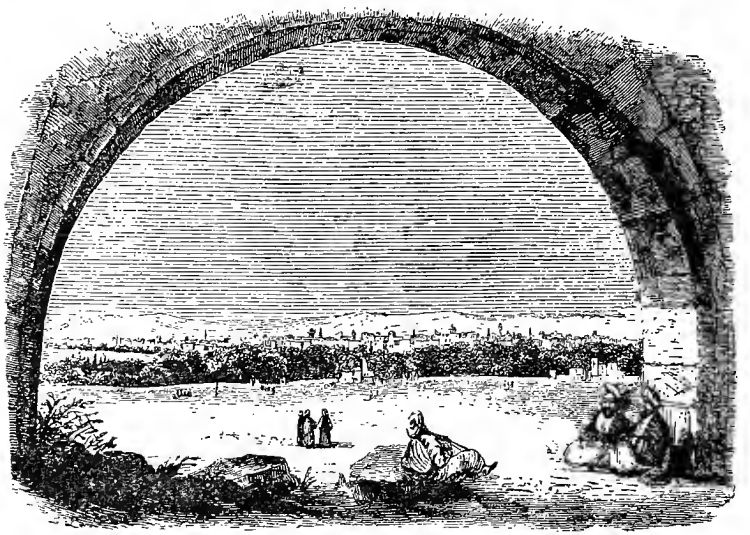
tending and developing it, until they assume the commanding position in the Ancient World. From this position they are driven only by the superior energy of the Aryan people.

We have traced, in the preceding chapter, the contact of a Semitic and Turanian people in Chaldea. We have seen this extending over some centuries of time, ending finally in the triumph of the Semites, but have also noticed that the resulting culture was largely a mixture of the culture of the two people. But while all this was in progress in Chaldea, other movements were going forward amongst other branches of this people. We are not yet able to say when the Syrians commenced to move into the country afterward known as Syria. From linguistic considerations, we judge them to be one of the first to leave, and this migration probably took place before much of any contact between the other members of the northern branch and Turanian Chaldea.[1]

Still we are not able to say when this was. The Syrians called themselves, in ancient times, Arameans. The country they took possession of was, taken all in all, a fertile one, and some portions, as for instance the plain of Damascus, very rich. Probably in very early times, the Arameans extended over a larger section. The name given in very ancient times to Mesopotamia was Aram-Naha-rain, *i. e.* "Aram of the rivers." When the Syrians commenced their movements into this section, the country was probably in the possession of the Hittites. In all probability, the course of events in this section was not essentially different from what it was in Chaldea, save that the Hittites were not as cultured a people as the Accadians.

[1] Sayce: "Science of Language," Vol. II., p. 167. Schrader, Z. D. M. G. for 1873, p. 423.

But of all this conflict, we have no details whatever. We know that after the expulsion of the Hittites, and when the Egyptians entered on their career of conquest, they found Syrian tribes in firm possession of the country, and, further, they seemed to be second only to the Hittites in importance. The Egyptian name of Syria was *Rutennu.* Thothmes I. invaded Syria, but his greater son, Thoth-



View of Damascus
[*From a Tomb.*]

mes III., made expedition after expedition throughout that country. All the great conquering Pharaohs mention the Rutennu. The point to be noticed at present is that at as early a time as the sixteenth century B.C., the Aramean tribes were in firm possession of the country afterward called Syria. There was no strong, well-developed government, but numerous petty, independent tribes divided the country between them.

Furthermore, they had arrived at a settled mode of life, and had made considerable progress toward Civiliza-

tion. Thothmes III. levied on them as tribute "a great quantity of grain, corn, barley, incense, fresh dates, wine, fruit," all the agreeable things of the country.[1] The Pharaohs failed, however, to secure any lasting supremacy over the Rutennu. Our next source of information is the historical books of the Bible. We notice that concentration of government has gone forward. In the time of David we find several petty principalities in Syria. In the northern part, extending quite to the Euphrates, was Zobah.[2] Hamath seems to have been the capital.[3] Ancient Palmyra (Tadmour) seems to have been situated in this province.[4] Damascus was at the head of another important principality.[5] Of still smaller provinces we will mention Maachah[6] and Rehob,[7] both to the south-west of Damascus.[8]

In the process of time, Damascus became the recognized head of the Syrian power, and, under the rule of the Hadads, it was the most influential kingdom of Western Asia. The kingdoms of Israel and Judah more than once felt the weight of their oppression. But the end was near. About the middle of the eighth century B. C., Damascus was overrun by the Assyrians, and became simply a province of that great empire.

It is very difficult to decide what part the Syrians took in the work of advancing Civilization. From the position of their country, we see they held the great trade routes from Chaldea to the West. It is therefore not at all singular that we detect a brisk trade with Babylon.[9] Now trade

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[1] "Records of the Past," Vol. II., p. 23. Duncker: "History of Antiquity," London, 1877, Vol I., p. 342.

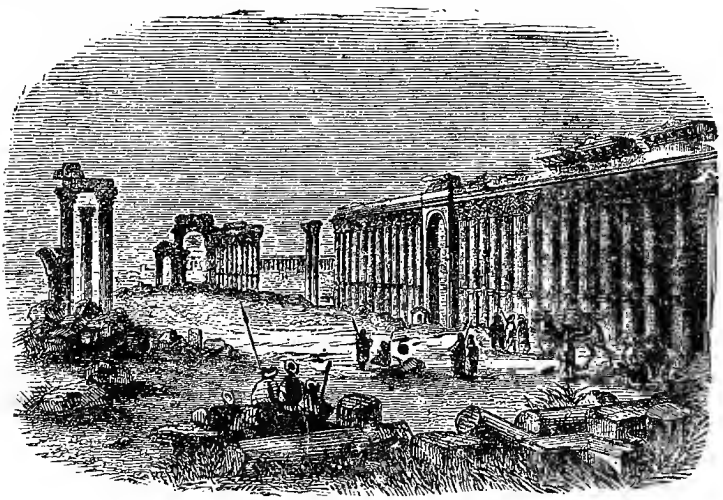
[2] II Samuel x. 16. [3] II Chronicles viii. 13.

[4] II Chronicles viii. 4. [5] II Samuel viii. 5.

[6] I Chronicles xix. 6-7. [7] II Samuel x. 6.

[8] Deut. iii. 14. Compare with Judges xviii. 28. [9] Josh. vii. 21.

or commerce is one of the foremost agents in advancing Civilization, and, in this direction, we have no doubt the Syrians took a leading part. In matters of religion, it is almost impossible to speak with certainty. It is not to be expected that there was any great differenee between them and the other Semitic people. We know that at Damascus Raman,[1] was worshiped as chief god. We must observe further that they seem to have understood the nature of



Ruins of Palmyra.

prophecy, doubtless there was in their population people claiming to possess prophetic power.[2]

Brief and unsatisfactory as is the foregoing, it is about all of importance that can be gathered of the Syrians. Turning now to the western branch of the Northern Semites, let us consider the Phoenicians, and here we have to regret the limited space at our command. It will be seen in the sequel that Civilization owes a great deal to the Phoenicians. Strabo found among them traditions of their

1 Above page 707, II Kings. v. 18.

2 Kings v. 1-19, vi. 12, viii. 7-16.

migration from the shores of the Persian gulf, and the Islands of Bahren are named as the starting point.[1] It is a question when we first have historical notice of these people, some think that the Egyptian monuments of the sixth dynasty speak of the Phoenicians;[2] others would connect Phoenician with the land of Punt of the Egyptian inscriptions.[3] When the Egyptians commenced their invasions of Asia, they found the Phoenicians in secure possession of their coast cities. An Egyptian officer of the time of Rameses II., in an account of his travels, mentions the Phoenicia cities. He knows that Gebal was a holy city, wherein was the shrine of a famous goddess. Of Tyre, he remarks: "Water is carried to it in barks, it is richer, in fish, than in sands."[4]

So we see that we are not yet able to say when the Phoenician first migrated from the Persian gulf. According to Lenormant, an Egyptian officer of the twelfth dynasty[5] made an expedition to the Dead Sea. In his report no Canaanite towns are mentioned.[6] We have already suggested that the Elamite invasion of the twenty-third century B. C., was the real cause of this up-turning of people in Western Asia. When the Phoenicians commenced their movements, Syria was probably already occupied by the Aramean tribes, their near allies, the Canaanites, pressed them out of Palestine and they had to be content with the sea-coast.

If ever a people made the most of its opportunities, that people was the Phoenicians. Their territory was a

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1 J. R. A. S. for 1879, Herodtus speaks of their migration from the Red sea, i. 1 and vii. 89. 2 "Art in Phoenicia," Vol. I, p. 15, note 1.

3 Rawlinson: "Egypt," Vol. II., p. 222, note 3.

4 "Records of the Past," Vol. II., p. 3.

5 About 2500 B. C., Brugsch.

6 "Art in Phoenicia," Vol. II., p. 15, note.

mere strip about one hundred and thirty miles in length along the shore, from the island of Aradus on the north, to the Crocodile river south of Mt. Carmel.[1] Along this distance, but a few miles from the coast, rise the precipitous flanks of the Lebanon mountains. About the middle of this coast-line was located the ancient city of Gebal, this seems to have been the first Phoenician city. As is so often the case in other localities, this ancient city became in time the holy city. We have seen that in the time of Rameses II. this holy character was attached to Gebal. There was a famous temple to Astarte, which we find figured on some of the later coins of the place. The cone of stone rising from the center of the enclosed court represents the goddess.

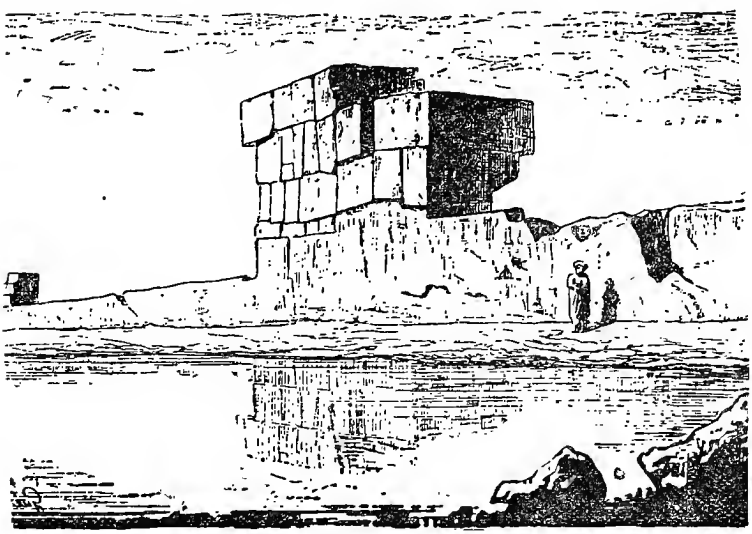
Coin of Bybylos.

A few miles to the south, flowed the ancient river sacred to Adonis. When in the Fall its waters plunged into the sea, tinged with red from the in-washed earth, the Phoenicians of old pretended it was reddened by the blood of Tamuz, the sun god, wounded by the boar of Winter, this as we shall soon show, was but a variant of that older myth of Ishtar and Izdubar. But whatever supremacy Gebal enjoyed, it was soon taken

[1] Conder: "Heth and Moab," p. 87.

from her. Sidon, further to the south, became at an early date an important city and soon was the recognized head of Phoenicia. At first this was but a fishery, but it had a good harbor, and the surrounding plain is fertile.

In the meantime, two other Phoenician cities were rapidly rising to importance. These were Arvad on the north, and Tyre on the south. Tyre, in time, came to be the principal city of Phoenicia. Both were built on islands a short distance from the main land, and consequently



Walls of Arvad.

could bid defiance to an enemy that did not command the sea as well as the land. Without specifying the order, we may say that when we begin to catch historic glimpses of Phoenicia, we find nine principal cities on their coast. The sites of all were well chosen, and even at present they are not deserted. Nor have modern nations discovered any better locations for their cities. They have simply continued to build on the sites selected by the Phoenicians.

From the very circumstances of their location, the Phoenicians were driven to the sea. They became fishermen, then traders, and then colonists on a grand scale. The practical trading instincts of the Semitic race here found full expression. They were not great artists themselves, but they understood to perfection how to take the artistic products of others, and, with them as models, perhaps improve in their own work, but all the improvement that was put forth was with the sole desire to make salable wares.

Take, for instance, the potter's art, or ceramics. They undoubtedly brought this art to great perfection, but it was for the sake of building up a trade with the yet uncivilized tribes of Europe, settled along the northern shores of the Mediterranean. What the Phoenicians did was to combine in a very skillful manner the art of Egypt and Chaldea.[1] From very early times, Egypt knew how to make a kind of enameled pottery called Egyptian faience. The surface of the pottery was covered with a mixture of powdered glass, of various colors, and gum, and then exposed to a heat intense enough to vitrify the mixture. This art was so peculiarly Egyptian that the Greeks called it Egyptian stone. This was a most profitable article to trade with. It was like the glass beads, with which modern traders bought valuable cargoes from the savage people with whom they came in contact, but, in this matter, the Phoenician articles were "got up to sell," the enamel being less brilliant and solid.

And so in many other departments of industry. They knew how to work metals, and made exquisite articles in gold, silver and especially bronze. At this time,

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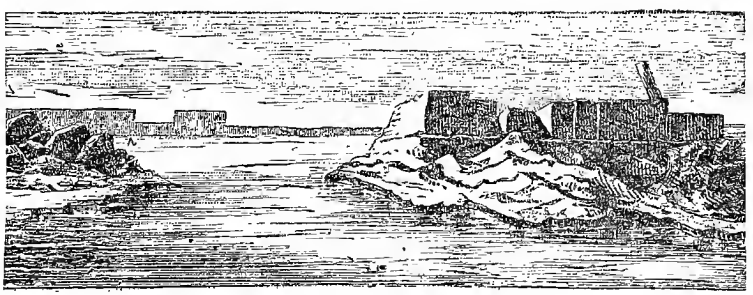
1 "Art in Phoenicia," Vol. II., Chap. V.

European tribes were probably in the later stages of the Bronze Age, and Phoenicia flooded certain parts of Europe with articles of bronze.[1] And the same is true of the manufacture of glass. This was probably an invention of the Egyptians, its origin perhaps dating as far back as the Ancient Empire.[2] But here again, the Phoenicians were too well aware of its value as an article of trade not to attempt its manufacture. The pupil soon surpassed the teacher, and for centuries this art was of the very highest value to the Phoenicians.



Walls of Tyre.

Probably the one article that did more than any other to advance the interest of the Phoenicians, was the knowledge of how to dye woven fabrics all shades of purple. The profits drawn from this industry were simply enormous. The dye stuff. is said to have been worth its weight in silver.[3] It was obtained from a small mollusc, which abounds in the Mediterranean, about one drop from each little body. This was the celebrated Tyrian purple, and garments dyed with it were in great demand in the ancient world.

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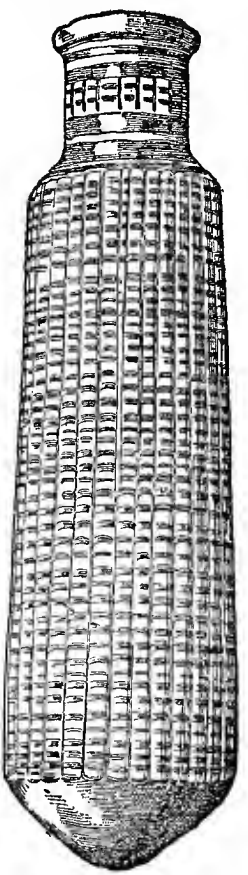
1 Consult Dawkins: "Early Man in Britain," p, 410, 412 and 457 *et seq.*

2 "Art in Phoenicia," Vol. II., p. 326, note 3. The oldest dated object of glass is of the eleventh dynasty. [Sayce.]

3 "Art in Phoenicia," Vol. II., p. 424.

Now if we recall their location, stretched for about a hundred miles along the shore, with no chance to develop themselves on the land, we can see how with their trading instincts and practical abilities, they would turn to the sea. All primitive people were afraid of the sea, but the Phoenicians must soon have made themselves familiar with it. Their boats which at first would creep up and down the coast, and only occasionally venture from one headland to another, would gradually be trusted farther and farther from land, until, in time, the Mediterranean was explored from one end to another.



Phoenician Bottle.

At that time, Europe was in the culture of the Bronze Age. All their primitive arts and industries were rude indeed compared to what the Phoenicians knew, profiting by the knowledge of Egypt and Chaldea. The pottery and the glassware of Phoenicia, the gorgeously colored woven fabrics, and the articles of cunning workmanship in gold, silver and bronze, must have seemed priceless treasures to the barbarians of Europe, for which they cheerfully gave in exchange many times their value in raw material. And some of this raw material was greatly prized in the Orient; such as amber from the Baltic, and tin from Spain or even Britain, and thus in both ways the thrifty trader reaped his profit. What wonder, then, that the Phoenician cities became famous

throughout the ancient world for their wealth. The wealth of Tyre is strikingly described by the prophet Ezekiel.[1]

But all this took many centuries of time. Only by slow advances was a chain of trading posts established up and down the shores of the Medeterranean. It was perhaps as early as 1100 B. C. that the foundation of what afterward was known as Carthage in Africa was laid, which was destined to become the most famous city of all the Phoenician colonies. At length, but just when is not known, the Phoenicians came to Spain. This became one of their most famous trading countries. They established

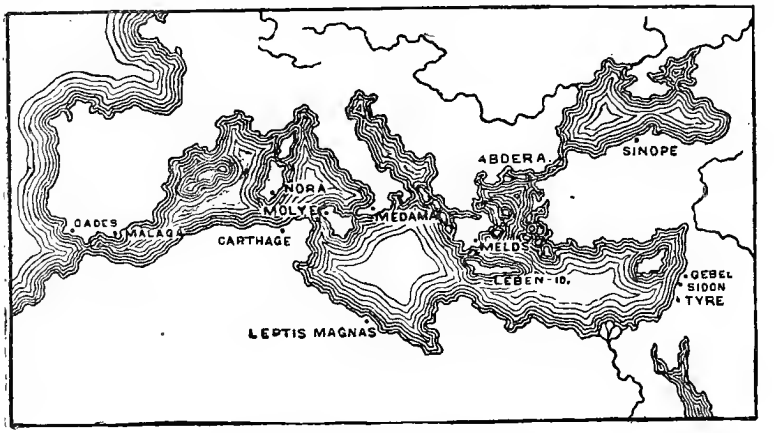
The Shell-Fish from which the Phoenicians obtained their Purple Dye.

their trading stations in the south of Spain, and called the country Tarshish. At that time, the country was rich in metalic wealth. Gold, silver, tin and copper were abundant, and some centuries of careful mining were required to exhaust them. The country was also fertile. Fabulous stories were in circulation throughout the Oriental world of the wealth of Tarshish, but no one knew just where the happy country was; the Phoenicians guarded their secret well.

But this is not all we can say for the Phoenicians. Every one knows that Cornwall in England and the Scilly Islands off the coast were rich in tin. At a very early

1 Ezekiel, Chap. xxvii. and xxviii.

date indeed the Phoenicians were aware of the fact; and, long before the foundations of Carthage were laid, they drew form thence supplies of tin. At first the tin was probably brought overland through France.[1] Afterwards, they ventured out into the Atlantic and so reached the shores of England by sea. It is even said that they established a station on the Isle of Wight.[2] Here again, as time passed on, the utmost pains were taken to prevent the other nations of the Mediterranean, who were beginning




Map of the Mediterranean.

to show a maritime spirit, from learning the secret of the Tin, or Cassiterides Islands, as the Scilly Islands were then called. Strabo gives us an interesting account of a Carthaginian captain, whose ship was pursued by the Romans, and, to avoid capture by them, he deliberately wrecked his vessel, preferring to cast it away rather than allow the Romans to learn the secret of the way to the Cassiterides.[3]

We have, in several places, pointed out that the victories of peace, as far as advancing Civilization is concerned, are far more important and lasting than those of war. It

[1] Lindsay: "Merchant Shipping," London, 1874, Vol. I., p. 10.
[2] Ragozn: "Story of Assyria," p. 91. [3] Stabo iii. 5.

was just in this respect exactly that the Phoenicians were able to do so much for Civilization. They have never had justice done them in this respect. The Greek and Roman writers were probably ignorant of the fact that the foundations of their Civilization were due to the Phoenicians. They inherited from their ancestors, an extreme dislike of these Semitic traders. The reason for this is not far to seek. Part of it is founded on racial antipathy, of all antipathies the most unreasonable. The Aryans and the Semites never did have much love for each other. "Between the two races, there has been from the beginning of things both constant and fertile communications and a perpetual misunderstanding; they have never been able to let each other alone, and they have never agreed."[1]

Undoubtedly the Phoenicians were to blame for some of this dislike. "They were moved neither by the passion for truth nor by that for beauty; they cared only for gain, and, thanks to the condition of the world at the time they entered upon the scene, they could satisfy that lust to the full. In the barter trade they carried on for so many centuries, the advantages must always have been for the more civilized, and the Phoenicians used and abused that advantage. Tyre and Sidon acquired prodigious wealth; the minds of their people were exclusively occupied with the useful; they were thinking always of the immediate profit to themselves in every transaction; and to such a people the world readily denies justice, to say nothing of indulgence."[2]

At this distance away, we ought to be able to calmly sum up the results. The simple fact is Civilization is greatly in debt to the Phoenicians, quite independent of

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1 "Art in Phoenicia," Vol. II., p. 429. 2 Ibid., 430.

the spirit with which the Phoenicians did their work. To illustrate, they gave the world the alphabet. It is needless to dilate on the importance of this invention. The mere fact that they invented it as an aid in keeping their books, has nothing to do with its value. When they commenced to cautiously feel their way from point to point, and from island to island along the Mediterranean; the tribes of Southern Europe were not farther advanced than Upper Barbarism, they knew but little of each other, and all their arts and industries were crude and feeble: when the Phoenician period ended, great nations had arisen, commerce was active, international law had made its appearance; arts, science and industry were all flourishing. "The seamen of Tyre and Carthage, the Hannos, Hamilcars, and a crowd of others whose names have long ago been forgotten, played on the narrow stage of the Mediterranean and the threshold of the Atlantic a part analogous to that of the great voyagers of later centuries, of those who discovered America and Australia, of the missionaries who have buried themselves among savage tribes, and of those indomitable explorers who are now spending their lives in laying bare the interiors of unknown continents to the Civilization of modern Europe."[1]

We must speak of one more result wrought out in Phoenicia. We have pointed out that Civilization is simply a process of diferentiating the individual from the mass. Savagery knows only of groups; Civilization, of individuals. It is claimed that Phoenicia was the first to arrive at this stage. It is said that Phoenicia, "created what the great Oriental states, or rather agglomerations of men, had never known, namely, the citizen, the individual citizen, full of

[1] "Art in Phoenicia," Vol. II., p. 430.

pride in the independence of his narrow fatherland, full of ambition for himself and for her. By enforcing on each individual a sense of his own personal value, this regime made him capable at certain critical moments of extraordinary devotion and energy."[1]

We will, for the time being, pass by the question of religion. Before passing on to consider the Canaanites, let us dwell a minute on the duration of Phoenician supremacy. Seen from a distance, houses miles apart seem near each other. It is just so in history, events that are in reality separated by long periods of time, seem to be but little removed from each other. Yet time went by no faster then than now, and a hundred years was the same length of time as at present. We have been a nation a little over one hundred years. It becomes us to be modest when we reflect that for more than one thousand years, the Phoenicians were the masters of the Mediterranean. Their base of operations was a country about as large as two average counties in an average state. Yet from this as a starting point, they exerted an influence on nascent Civilization such as was the lot of no other nation in antiquity. Only within the last few centuries have the Anglo-Saxons and their descendants enacted on a larger scale, and possibly with more momentous results the *role* of the ancient Phoenicians.

The Phoenicians had probably been driven to their location on the sea-shore by pressure from tribes of the Canaanites; a people very closely related to the Phoenicians, who probably marched with them from the common home-land on the Persian Gulf. Perhaps it would be better to consider the Phoenicians and the Canaanites as

[1] Ibid., Vol. I., p. 27.

really one people; or, if we wish to make any distinction at all, call them respectively Canaanites of the North and Canaanites of the South. "In language, race, culture, and above all religion, they differed only as one Greek state differs from another."[1] We will understand, then, when we talk about Canaanites, those Semitic-Phoenician tribes who settled in that portion of the country afterward known as Palestine.[2]

Of these tribes, we have almost no political history. We know them only by scattered notices of the Egyptian writers, and slight notices here and there in the Old Testament. We can form some conclusions, however, of them which are not devoid of interest. The date of their migration into Palestine must have been somewheres between the twentieth and twenty-third century B. C. According to Lenormant, at the time of the twelfth Egyptian dynasty, they were not in possession of the country around the Dead Sea.[3] But the Pharaohs of the eighteenth dynasty found them in secure possession of the land.

When the Canaanites entered Palestine, they, of course, found it in the possession of other people, and undoubtedly centuries of inter-tribal warfare passed away. In some places, the aborigines probably held their ground; in others, the Canaanites were successful; while in others still, the two people coalesced. Even as late as the time of the Israelites, these aborigines still remained in places. We shall probably not err if we conclude that, ethnically, these aborigines were Turanian, akin to the Hittites on the north, though it is also probable that, in course of time, they had become intermixed with the Arabs from

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[1] Sayce: "Contemporary Review," 1883, p. 386.

[2] Sayce: "Ancient Empires," p. 181.

[3] "Art in Phoenicia," Vol. I., p. 15, note 1.

the south, and so more or less completely Semitized.[1] We can see how it would be that such of the aborigines as maintained their independence would be given the credit of being great warriors and fighters, in fact, something altogether above ordinary men. In the Bible they are generally spoken of as giants.[2] We need simply remark that these people were more numerous in Southern Palestine. Hebron seems to have been their head-quarters.[3] The Amalekites were probably the descendants of these people.[4] The position of the Amorites is still a matter of dispute, they were probably Canaanites, who had intermixed considerably with the aborigines.[5]

In the great battle of Megiddo, between Thothmes III. and the Hittites, the Canaanite tribes were present as allies of the Hittites. Thothmes gives us a list of one hundred and nineteen towns of the Upper Rutennu. In a number of them, we recognize the names of towns of Palestine. This shows us that at that time Palestine was in the possession of a number of tribes, whose kings, or chiefs, dwelt in the fortified towns. Fully in keeping with this conclusion, are the Old Testament accounts. Quite often these people are referred to, in a collective sense, as Canaanites.[6] In some cases the

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1 While this is conjecture, there are good reasons for it. Originally all the northern part of Asia Minor was Turanian. In the long course of time, when the Northern Semites were diverging from the head of the Persian Gulf, it is extremely likely that the Southern Semites, the Arabs proper, were also pushing north. Nothing is to hinder the idea that they came in contact, and intermixed with the Turanian inhabitants of Palestine.

2 II Samuel xxi. 16-22.

3 Ewald; "History of Israel," Vol. I., p. 229.

4 Ibid., p 230.

5 Sayee: "Contemporary Review," 1883, p. 386. Compare with "Ancient Empires," p. 181. Ewald makes them nearly pure aborigines: "History of Israel," Vol I., p. 235. 6 Genesis xii. 6.

name Amorite is used with this same extensive meaning.[1] In other cases they name one or more tribes, and the number ranges from two to eleven.[2] We have almost no details of the home life of these Canaanite tribes. They seem to have led a quiet agricultural life,[3] owning and selling land[4] and acquainted with the use of money.[5] In the main, the tribes must have been mutually independent of each other, governed by their tribal councils,[6] and in times of war led by their chiefs to battle.[7]

In matters of religion, we come to a most interesting field which we will now briefly outline. This branch of the Semitic folks, although they were to some extent, influenced by the Turanian religion of Chaldea, remained much nearer the original Semitic system of religion. We notice clear survivals of Fetichism. They worshiped mountains, or indeed any striking feature of nature; grottoes, mountain vales, caverns, springs, rivers and trees. The cavern from which rushes the Adonis[8] has for thousands of years been considered one of the most sacred spots in Syria. Especially was this culture shown in the worship of stones, aerolites and strangely shaped stones were objects of veneration. We must not forget that at this day the fanatical Mohammedans regard with the greatest veneration the sacred stone at Mecca.[9]

Though thus plainly presenting traces of Fetichism, the Canaanites had advanced considerably beyond that stage. It is, however, with the utmost difficulty that we

1 Genesis xlviii. 22. Numbers xxi. 13. Amos ii. 9-10.

2 This latter number is given in Genesis xv. 15-19, but it includes the Phoenicians and some people, as the Hittites, who were not Canaanites. See Genesis xv. 19-21; Exodus iii. 8, 17, xxiii. 23, 22; Deuteronomy vii. 1.

3 Judges xviii. 7.

4 Genesis xxiii.

5 Ibid., verse. 16.

6 Josh. ix. 11.

7 Joshua xii. 9-24.

8 See above page 726.

9 "Art in Phoenicia," Vol. I., p. 57 *et seq.*

can form any conception of their religion. We must constantly recall the Semitic foundation on which Turanian influence would build. And, in the structure thus reared, we are sure to find traces of some confusion in thought.

Source of the Adonis.

Along with all the rest, is that mythic tendency in thought, by virtue of which names of some attributes of the supreme god loose their primary significance and become

the names of distinct gods. We have before pointed out that all branches of the Northern Semites worshiped the sun. Hence it is, that whatever god was recognized as the supreme god partakes of the nature of a solar god.

The general name for god among the Semitic people was El. At Gebal the sun was worshiped as El. As Elyon, the "most high god," he seems to have been known among some of the Canaanite tribes, for we read that Melchizadek was priest of "Elyon."[1] But at Gebal, El was simply a name of the sun. Hence we understand the mythic story told of El how "he rent his father, the sky, into pieces, filling the streams and rivers with the blood that flowed from the mangled corpse;" this is the rain spilled upon the ground when the sun pierces the storm clouds of the sky.

Baal, meaning "lord," was another word used several different ways. Often it meant about the same as our word god. "We hear of Baal-Peor, the god of the mountain of Moab; of Baal-Berith, the covenant god of Shechin; of Baal-Zebub, the god of Ekron . . . of Baal-Hamman, "of Carthage, who represented the fierce heat of summer." In addition to these, there were innumerable local "Baalim." "Wherever the high place had been consecrated on the sacred summit of the hill; wherever the temple had been founded in the midst af the populous town, there was the special Baal, who looked after the interests of his adorers, hating their enemies and loving their friends." This is a plain trace of fetich worship of an earlier stage, only we must notice that now the idea prevails of one universal fetich; but observe, further, that this cult was local and tribal.

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[1] Genesis xiv. 18.

Another title of this sun god was "Melech," king. At Tyre he was worshiped as "Melkarth," "king of the city," or as "Moloch," in still other places. But the sun god did not stand alone. The goddess Ishtar of old Accadia was adopted into the Canaanite religion as Ashtoreth or Astarte, she was regarded as the wife of Baal;

Baal-Hamman.

and, just as Baal represented the sun, so did Ashtoreth represent the moon. She was sometimes addressed as the "Queen of Heaven." She was not the only goddess whose worship was wide spread among the Canaanites. The goddess Ashera was also known. She "was the goddess of birth and growth; the season over which she presided was the season of Spring, and to her the first-

fruits were offered. She was symbolized by an upright cone of stone, or the trunk of a tree which had been chipped of its branches." She also was the companion of Baal. Near every altar to the god, there was raised also a symbol of the goddess. The Old Testament writers confounded the goddess and the symbol.[1]

Religion among the Canaanites exerted an unhealthy influence in two directions. The worship of the goddess was at times the occasion of the exercise of rites which seem to us very strange to have been practiced in the name of religion. In a former chapter, we have suggested, that possibly here was a faint echo of a still earlier state of society.[2] Their ideas in regard to sacrifice led them to another extreme as well. To trace the rise of the idea of sacrifice is a most interesting procedure, but one to which we cannot give the necessary time. Beginning with the offerings of material objects buried with the deceased, it passes into the form of feasts for the dead: and, finally in the Barbarian world, whenever any important concession is wished from the gods, or whenever any calamity would be averted, or curse removed, it is deemed necessary to approach the gods with sacrificial offerings.

So among the Canaanites, we find that the first fruits of the harvests, cakes, milk and cream; or if animals, oxen, kids, rams, lambs, goats and birds were placed on the altars. We have found tables enumerating the various objects of sacrifice suitable for Baal, and the price at which

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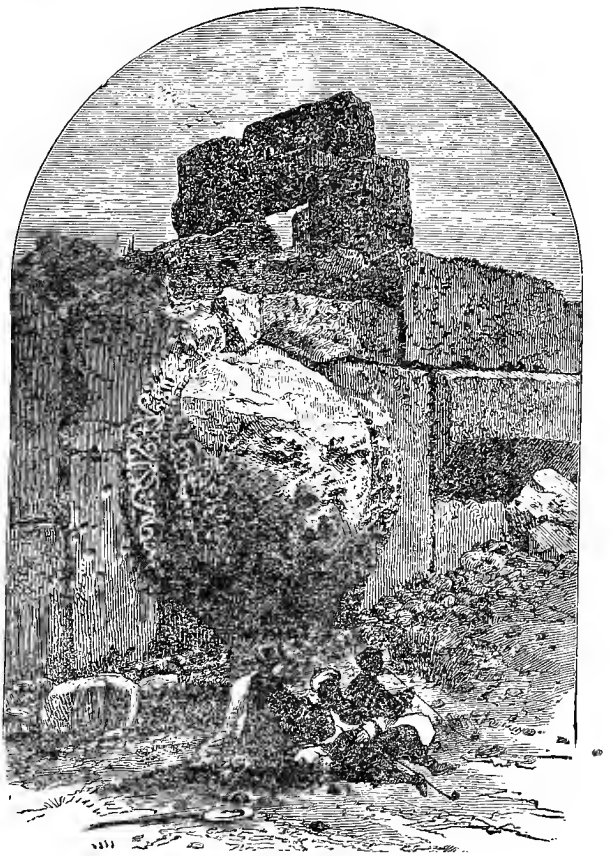
1 Most writers decide that Ashtoreth and Ashera were different goddesses. See Kuenen: "Religion of Israel," Vol I. Sayce: "Contemporary Review," 1883, p. 392. Tiele: "History of Religion," p. 82. Ragozin regards them as the same: "Story of Chaldea," p. 112. Nothing is clearer than that Ishtar was worshiped in two different ways in Assyria. We should not be surprised if it should finally be decided that both of these names referred to Ishtar. 2 Above page 141

each could be commuted. There is no question but at times human beings were offered up in sacrifice; and these victims were not simply slaves and captives of war, but included sometimes the children of the noblest families of the



Baal of Baalbeck.

land. The victims were burned alive, an offering unto the stern Moloch. At a later date, circumcision probably took the place of human sacrifice.

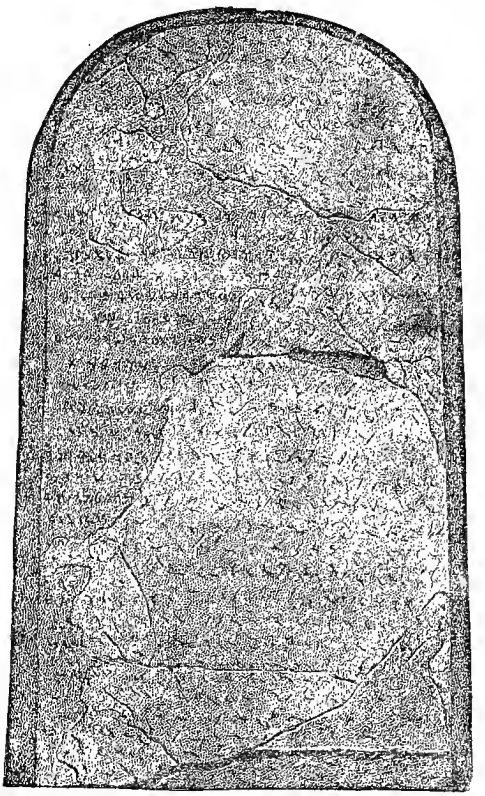
If we will compare this sketch of the religion of the Canaanites with that of the Babylonians, we will notice that it is much nearer the original Semitic religion. It

was but little influenced by the Turanian religion. They borrowed, however, some mythology from the Accadians. They knew of the descent of Ishtar to the underground world to release her husband Tamuz. They had also formed a myth to explain the origin of human sacrifice. The inhabitants of Gebal told how El adorned his only begotten son, Yeud, with emblems of royalty, and took him to the highest peak of Lebanon, and there offered him up in sacrifice to appease the angry gods. But, as we have pointed out, the Semites were not given to forming mythological stories. We must further notice that nothing worthy of Monotheism was known to the Canaanites. Each local tribe had a local god, who like their local chief was supreme in local affairs. But he had no voice in what happened outside of his bounds. It matters not that these local gods were but varying names of the sun. Going along with all this, there was a scarcely concealed belief in Fetichism.[1]

We have now before us an important branch of the Western Canaanites. We refer to the Hebrews. "The Hebrews" is the general name for four closely related bands: the Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites and Israelites. We will first give what little there is to be said of the first three people. They seem to have moved to the west at some date, later in time than the Canaanites. The Ammonites settled to the east of the Jordan, the Moabites to the east of the Dead Sea and the Edomites south of Palestine; the Canaanites being too strong to be dispossessed. Ancient history knows almost nothing about these people; and they are unimportant, as far as the development of Civilization is concerned. Their chief interest lies in their association with the Israelites.

1 For this sketch of Canaanite religion, we have drawn quite freely from Rev. Prof. Sayce's article in "Contemporary Review" for 1883.

When they first appeared in the west, they probably were not as far advanced in Civilization as their near relatives, the Canaanites. In all that goes to make up their religion, they must have been very similar. They had their innumerable local "Baalim, "[1] and some were of celebrity, such as Baal-Peor.[2] Among the Ammonites they worshiped, as their peculiar god, the sun under the name of Milcom, a variant of Malech,[3] while the Moabites worshiped the sun as Chemosh; but both people knew of other names of this deity, such as Moloch.[4]



The Moabite Stone.

A great deal of interest has been excited, of late years, in the discovery of what is known as the Moabite stone, a cut of which is here shown. It is covered with inscriptions and turns out to be an account of the successful rebellion of Mesha, king of Moab, against the kingdom of Israel, mentioned in the Bible.[5] The interesting

1 Numbers xxii. 41. 2 Numbers xxv. 3.
3 Above page 741.
4 Judges xi. 24. I Kings xi. 5., xii. 33. 5 II Kings iii.

point about it is that it was written in nearly pure Hebrew, and it abounds in expressions showing the nature of Chemosh worship. It ascribes the victory of the Israelites to the fact that "Chemosh was angry with his land." Spoils taken in war are offered before Chemosh. War is declared in accordance with his command. "Chemosh said to me: Go take Nebo against Israel." If successful victory is ascribed, to Chemosh. "Chemosh drove him out before me." The goddess Ishtar is mentioned, and women and maidens taken in battle were dedicated to her.[1]

Passing now to the Israelites, a few words of explanation are necessary. An entire volume could be devoted to this interesting people, their history, culture and religion. Practically, however, they cut but very little figure in the Ancient World. Only once in their checkered career, and then for a brief period only, did they occupy a commanding position. The greater portion of the time they constituted but one of the petty nationalities of Western Asia, the vassal of Egypt or Assyria. Their importance lies altogether in the field of religious culture. Religion, assuming that form peculiar to the Israelites known as Judaism, remained nearly stationary among the people who founded it. That modification and enlargement of the Jewish religion known as Christianity, becoming the religion of the European Aryans, has had a wonderful growth and exerted a very great influence on the culture of the Medieval and Modern Worlds. Christianity, however, being unknown in the Ancient World, we need not here discuss it.

All we deem necessary to give is a brief outline of their political history, and some points in the history of

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[1] Sayce: "Fresh Light, etc.," p. 74 *et seq.*

their religious culture. This is, however, a very difficult task to perform. Probably no two minds see things in exactly the same light. Statements in regard to the culture and history of the Jews, which would be at once assented to if made of any other people, are examined very closely; and sometimes the party who makes them finds, to his great surprise, that statements that seem to him very moderate and reasonable are bitterly excepted to by others. But the world moves, and every day we are learning more and more of the past and probably, at no very distant day, our scholars will come to an understanding among themselves on this and other points.

We trust that few will be found to take exceptions to the following statements: God–who is no respecter of persons, and is near to every one of us, and hath in every nation those who fear him–has at all times and all places done all that he could for all people. We may be very sure that the Israelites formed no exception to the general rule. Their national development, their growth in every department of culture, including religion, must have been by substantially the same stages as those of all other people of antiquity, they seem to have been the first to form worthy conceptions of God, and were the first to develop a Monotheism in any just sense of the term, and this conception existed among the leaders of the people, if not among the mass, as early as the eighth century before Christ. At this early date, the Persians only, of all the people of Asia, had made any advance in this direction.

The outline which we shall give of their history and culture seems to us to be clearly indicated in the books of the Old Testament. Biblical criticism is such a vitally important point that only those should enter on it who have devoted years of study to the work. Those who are

versed in the intricacies of Hebrew grammar, and thoroughly posted, not only in Old Testament literature, but in Semitic literature in general. But few come up to this requirement, the great mass of us must wait patiently for final results in this discussion, which, when reached, let us fearlessly accept.

At present, we have to admit that our scholars are not agreed among themselves, and we may have to change the outline which we have to present of Israel's history. We believe, however, that not only is this outline, as drawn from the Old Testament, in accordance with the book itself, but has on its side the very best scholarship of the day, and we believe as these critical studies continue, it will become more and more clear that no people have been an especially favored people, but that all have had to advance by slow degrees, with many a halt, to their present position in the scale of culture. If the Author of All, in His infinite wisdom, has seen fit to so order the course of events, we may be sure it was for the best.[1]

One who will reflect on the manner in which tribal people split up into branches and sub-branches, would naturally conclude from what he had already learned as to the location of the several Hebrew people, that the Edomites and Israelites were not only younger in time than the Ammonites and Moabites, but, further, that the Israelites were a later separation still from the Edomites.

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[1] Consult Wellhausen: "History of Israel," Edinburgh, 1885. Kuenen: "Religion of Israel," London, 1875. Bishop Colenso: "The Pentateuch," London, 1862. Ewald: "History of Israel," London, 1869. Savage: "Beliefs about the Bible," Boston, 1883. The above represent one side of the case. Among the many presenting the opposite view, we would name Bissel: "The Pentateuch," New York, 1885. Here is found an excellent historical review of the discussion. Of less value is Green: "The Hebrew Feasts," New York, 1885.

This is in accord with all the beliefs of the Israelites on this subject.[1] Now, when tribal divisions take place, the migrating bands that form the new people, simply leave the old home land and journey on in search of a new country. In this case, the Israelites must have parted company with the Edomites after they were in possession of Mt. Seir and the country round about.[2]

Now, it is interesting to inquire where would they go? The country in their immediate vicinity was very dry and poorly suited to the wants of herdsmen. Canaan, at this time, was in the firm possession of the Canaanite tribes, probably the superior of the various Hebrew people in the scale of Civilization. But we may rest assured that attempts would be made to invade and conquer this much coveted land. The Moabites and Ammonites doubtless made similar efforts from their location.[3]

So the Israelites must have made an attempt to establish themselves in Southern Canaan, and, as far as we can judge, some success must have attended their efforts; and Hebron, near the center of Judea, seems to have been the seat of their power.[4] Though their relations with the Canaanites are sometimes represented as friendly,[5] yet such could not have been the universal rule.[6] They could only

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1 Thus, the Ammonites and Moabites were descendants of Lot, Genesis xix. 37-8; while the Edomites and Israelites were descended from Isaac; the Edomites from Esau, the older brother. Genesis xxxv. 1.

2 Genesis xxxii. 3. Observe that the Israelites, under Jacob, are leading an unsettled life; but the Edomites, under Esau, are settled. That is what we would expect since the Edomites are the older people.

3 Genesis xiii. 10. Lot is said to have chosen the plains of Jordan, *i. e* the country opposite Moab and Ammon.

4 Hebron was the home of Abraham. [Genesis xiv. 18.] Here was the burial place of Sarah. [Genesis xxiii. 17.] Nearly all the places mentioned in connection with the life of Abraham and Isaac are in South Palestine; Hebron, Gerar [Genesis xx. 1.,] Beersheba [Genesis xxvi. 37.] It is especially mentioned of Isaac that he "dwelt in the south country." [Genesis xxiv. 62.]

5 Genesis xxiii.

6 Genesis xxxiv.

have held their own by subjecting the neighboring people, and for this they were probably too feeble.[1]

Be this as it may, their stay in Southern Palestine was probably not very long. For some thousands of years, the Semitic, Turanian and mixed tribes in Western Asia had been, from time to time, making forays into Egypt. Whenever Egypt was torn by internal convulsions, the Delta was sure to be over-run by nomadic tribes, eager to pasture their flocks in that fertile section. When order was once more restored, these tribes were either expelled or placed under tribute. In the course of time, these subjects were Egyptainized. In this manner, wave after wave of Asiatic folks had swept over the Delta. Probably the most successful being that mysterious Hyksos invasion, when for some centuries Egypt was under the rule of these invading tribes and their descendants. This wave was probably set in motion by that great upheaval of folks in Western Asia about the twenty-third century B. C.

The reign of the Hyksos was, probably, long past when the Israelites parted company with their Edomite brethren. According to the belief of the Israelites themselves, as the result of a severe famine, they also sought the plains of the Delta.[2] It is as yet premature to decide when this move was made. Judging from what light we have at present, we conclude it was early in the nineteenth dynasty, perhaps in the last quarter of the fifteenth century B. C. We must recall that the nineteenth dynasty was a Semitic one,[3] and that the first pharaohs were engaged in war with the Canaanites, Phoenicians and Hittites, the very people who had probably expelled the Is-

[1] They are represented as giving away before the Canaanites. Genesis xxvi. 17-26.

[2] Gensesis xlvii. 4.

[3] Above Chap. vii.

raelites from Canaan; such a dynasty would be apt to grant an asylum to the fleeing Israelites.

Being but few in number and but a portion of the somewhat numerous Semitic people in the Delta, the probabilities are that the Egyptians never distinguished between the Israelites and other Semitic tribes subject to them. This is, probably, one reason why we search in vain for any mention of the Israelites, as such, in hieroglyphic records of Egypt. The common Egyptian word *Shasu* probably includes them all. Some have thought the expression *Aperu*, used of some captives or slaves of Rameses II., referred to the Israelites; this is, to say the least, doubtful.[1] The belief of the Israelites is that after a time the Egyptians changed their friendly attitude and treated them with great oppression.[2] This would be quite in accordance with Egyptian custom. We must further recall that the third pharaoh of the nineteenth dynasty entered into treaty relations with the Hittites;[3] and, further, that the immense public works he executed called for the employment of vast bodies of men. It is possible that, as a matter of policy, he deemed it wise to exact a severe tribute from them in the shape of public labor, with the object of keeping them in subjection, and of preventing them uniting with the enemies of Egypt.[4]

This oppression being harder than the freedom loving Semites cared to endure they left Egypt, and in this "mixed multitude" who left were the various tribes of the Israelites.[5] Quite a number of Egyptian scholars think this departure from Egypt occurred in the reign of Menephthah. This would make it near the end of the fourteenth century

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[1] See Kuenen: "Religion of Israel," Vol. I., p. 171. Compare with Brugsch: "Egypt," Vol. II., p. 88 and 128-9

[2] Ex. i. 8-13. [3] Above, Chap. vii. [4] Ex. i. 10. [5] Ex. xii. 138.

B. C. It is barely possible that Manetho refers to this exodus, but it probably cut no very great figure in Egyptian history. The Egyptians had been used, from the very earliest times, to Semitic tribes coming and going in the Delta; and, even in the reign of Menephthah, we know that some tribes asked and obtained permission to pasture their flocks in the Delta.[1]

The probabilities, then, are that by the end of the fourteenth century B. C., the Israelites, in company with some other tribes,[2] had resumed a more or less nomadic life in the vicinity of Kadesh.[3] This would make their stay in Egypt some over one hundred years, and this we find to be in accordance with their belief. They generally reckon about four generations for the Egyptian period; but the first were in the prime of life when they went into the country; and they left in the life-time of the fourth.[4]

The Israelites could not yet have been very numerous. We may suppose that they made an attempt to force their way into Palestine, but whatever success may have attended their first efforts, they were, as yet, no match for the Canaanites.[5] As before observed, this country was not at all suited to their wants. It is a dry and semi-desert place, besides there were other wandering tribes to dispute with them for possession; their relations with these tribes are sometimes represented as friendly,[6] and sometimes hostile.[7]

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1 Above, page 601. 2 Numbers xi. 4.

3 Numbers xx. 1 *et seq.*

4 Gen. xv. 16. If we examine the various genealogies in the Pentateuch, it will be found that, counting the children of Jacob who went down to Egypt, as the first generation, Moses, Aaron and their contemporaries are the fourth generation. Compare Ex. vi. 16-20. Liv. x. 4, Numbers xxvi. 7-9. Colnso: "The Pentateuch," Vol. I., p. 96 *et seq.* Kuenen: "Religion of Israel," Vol. I., p 159.

5 Numbers xxi. 1-4. We must observe, however, that the final conquest of this place was later. Compare Judges i. 17.

6 Numbers x. 29-33. 7 Numbers xxxi. 1-4.

We are, therefore, not surprised that they soon abandoned the country, and we learn of their presence on the east bank of the Jordan.

Let us now stop to inquire into contemporaneous movements in Palestine. The Amorites, under which name the Canaanites generally are sometimes referred to,[1] had succeeded in wresting from the Ammonites a considerable part of their territory.[2] The tables were, however, suddenly turned against the Amorites by the Israelites, who dispossessed them of their recently conquered land and took it for their own use.[3] But this is not all the change that had come over Canaan. The nineteenth dynasty in Egypt had come to an end and, after some years of confusion, the twentieth had succeeded. In the interval of confusion, Egypt had undoubtedly been exposed to invasion from Asia. When Rameses III. took the reins of government, he at once took summary vengeance on Asia.

One of his first moves was against the tribes in the vicinity of Mt. Seir.[4] To reach this place, he must have come in contact with the tribes at Kadesh. It is at least possible, that this invasion had something to do with the further migration of the Israelites and their sudden appearance on the east of the Jordan. But this is not all; if we may trust the records, this valiant king swept Palestine and utterly defeated the Hittites and the Amorites.[5] In the Old Testament accounts of these early times, we seem to have a clear reference to this invasion of Rameses III.[6]

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1 Above page 738.
2 Numbers xxvi. 26.
3 Numbers xxi. 24-5.
4 Brugsch: "Egypt," Vol. II., p. 140.
5 Brugsch: "Egypt," Vol II., p. 150. Also above page 605.
6 Exodus xxiv. 28-29.

The Israelites seem to have settled down in Gilead, where they soon commenced to affiliate with the surrounding people, and especially with their near relatives, the Moabites.[1] This result, we would certainly expect to follow from the customs of the people generally. A portion of the Israelites made the land of Gilead their permanent home.[2] But another portion crossed the Jordan and established themselves in the land of Canaan. It is at least possible that the terrible defeat that the Amorites sustained at the hands of Rameses III. made this attempt a success. We must understand of this conquest, what we understand in general of tribal invasions and conquest. It was a long, slow process. The two people had much in common, there were no racial antipathies to overcome, they were not widely separated even as regards religion. The Israelites crowded in wherever a chance offered itself. In many places, they were successful and got the upper hand. In other places still, the Canaanites maintained the supremacy.

We must reflect that time went by no faster then than now; as generation after generation passed away, the two people, who were thus confronting each other, must have inevitably approached each other more and more, the line of separation must have grown fainter and fainter; and, finally, the inevitable result stands before us; we learn of one united people, with one common culture. In the case before us, this formative period extended over two centuries of time.[3] At its commencement, we know of a few tribes forcing their way into Canaan. During its continuance, we know only of the gradual co-

[1] Numbers xxv. 1-4. [2] Numbers xxxii.

[3] It was the belief of the author of Chronicles that seven generations of the ancestors of David lived during this period, I Chronicles ii. 1-13.

alescing of these tribes and the Canaanites, the development of a culture common to the two people, and a gradual growth of the idea of political unity. At its conclusion, we see before us a united people, with tribal lines, however, very distinct, under the rule of a king, with the capital city at Jerusalem.[1]

Without further argument for the credibility of this historical outline, we will leave it to the judgment of each individual reader whether we have not fully established one of our main propositions–that the national development of the Israelites forms no exception to that of other people. Neither do we deem it necessary to extend this outline further. As far as the Ancient World is concerned, they played but an insignificant part. It is true that under David they became an important people of Western Asia, but this importance disappeared in the reign of Solomon; and at his death, two petty kingdoms took the place of David's kingdom. Henceforth they were often at war with each other, and generally one or both were under tribute to their stronger neighbors, until, finally, both disappeared as independent people before the resistless march of the Assyrians to whom we will soon turn.

Let us briefly consider the development of religion. Here, owing to the very great interest taken by the whole Christian world in the subject, no one should presume to discuss it until after years of study. In this matter, also, considerable depends on the date and historical order of the various books of the Old Testament. We have already referred to the fact that a great dispute is at present waging over this very point, a dispute mostly confined to theological fields, but its waves swing in an ever widen-

[1] The entire account, as given here, is fully in keeping with the book of Judges. The gradual coalescing of the two people is there indicated.

ing circle. Into that question, we can not possibly enter, but we can take a general view of the whole field.

It is a matter of history that, about eighteen hundred years ago, Christianity made its appearance in Palestine, at first but a Jewish sect. Only by slow degrees, did it become apparent to the Apostles that they were at liberty to depart from Jewish traditions on many points. The stone which the builders rejected has since become the head of the corner; but, if Christianity thus arose from a foundation of Judaism, we are at liberty to ask from what did Judaism itself arise? What religious culture was it of which Judaism took the place? And what were the probable steps of advance. We feel perfectly at liberty to ask these questions, feeling sure that our scholars will some day be able to answer the same fully and to the satisfaction of all. In the meantime, we will indicate what we think was the line of advance.

In this inquiry, we must state, first, that we are here concerned only with the belief of the *mass* of the Jewish people; what some of their leaders, their prophets and priests believed, taught and urged this "stiff-necked people" to accept, lies outside of our quest. What we want to know is the first stage of *popular* Jewish belief on this subject. The Bible was not written to afford us light on this point. Still, a careful reading of it will show, in the clearest possible manner, what that belief was. It is surely worth our while to understand this point, and to see under what difficult circumstances the great leaders of the Israelites struggled to bring their people up to a higher plane of thought.

We have dwelt with sufficient emphasis on the religious conceptions of the western branch of the Northern Semites. It is scarcely possible that, at the start, the re-

ligious views of the Israelites were materially different. Even a very superficial reading of the historical books of the Old Testament clearly establishes this position. Of king after king, it is told how he built high places, which were nothing but altars to the local Baal; and set up the Ashera, that is the symbol of the goddess Ashera; we are told, time and again, that these emblems were on every high hill, and under every green tree; and when we recall the lascivious worship of the goddesses Ashtoreth and Ashera, we know what to make of some verses in the Old Testament.

The above is not true of simply one period of history. From the opening chapter of Judges to the closing chapter of the historical books, including the writings of those prophets who wrote before the captivity, stronger language than we have used is employed to depict the religious culture of the people of Israel. These things are not glossed over one whit by the writers of the Old Testament books. All should understand, however, that what we have had to say, we apply only to the *mass* of the people. We fail to see any essential difference between the first stage of *popular* belief of the Israelites, and that of other branches of their kin-folks. The Phoenicians mourned the untimely death of Tamuz; so did the Israelites.[1] The Phoenicians worshiped Ashtoreth as the "Queen of Heaven" and offered cakes and fruits; so did the Israelites.[2] Each city of Phoenicia had its local Baal; so had each city of Judah.[3] The surrounding people sacrificed their children to Moloch by fire; so did the people of Israel.[4] The common Semite belief was in witch-

1 Ezekiel viii. 14. 2 Jeremiah vii. 18. 3 Jeremiah xi. 12.
4 Hosea xiii. 2; [R. V. Marginal reading] II kings xvii. 17, xxi. 6; Judges xi. 30, 31, 39; II Kings xviii. 10, and other places. Compare with

craft, magic, divination, the evil spirit theory of disease, and they had their household gods; passage after passage in the Old Testament shows that the mass of the Israelites held all these superstitious notions.[1]

This is not all that we are at liberty to say. Bearing in mind that we are talking only of the *popular* idea of the *masses* of the people in the first stages, we have no hesitation in saying that their conception of Monotheism was similar to that of their kin-folks. We have seen that the Semites, generally, held a qualified Monotheism. Each important branch had a national god, who, as far as that branch was concerned, was regarded as the supreme god, but he was not considered as exercising any jurisdiction in the affairs of the other people, save that national vanity in each case claimed that each individual national god was the strongest god. Such was the Assyrian conception of Ashur; the Moabites, of Chemosh, and the Ammonites of Milcom. Now, losing sight entirely of whatever conceptions the priests and prophets may have entertained of the nature of Yaveh,[2] the general mass of the people held exactly the same view of him as above set forth.

Hear how Jephthah answers the children of Ammon: "Wilt not thou possess that which Chemosh thy god giveth thee to possess? So whomsoever Yaveh, our god, hath dispossessed from before us, them will we possess."[3] So when Sennacherib sent his representatives to demand that

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I Samuel xv. 33. Agag was hewn in pieces "before Yaveh." Also consider the symbolical sacrifice of circumcision.

[1] Of the many passages, consult II Kings xvii. 17, xxi. 6, xxiii. 24; I Samuel ix. 9, 13, 16; Judges xvii. 5, xviii. 14; Genesis xxxi. 19, 30, 32, 34; Zechariah x. 2. [R. V.]

[2] Such seems to be the original form of the word translated Jehovah. See Sayce. "Contemporary Review," 1883.

[3] Judges xi. 24 [R. V.] The word "Lord" here is Yaveh.

Hezekiah should surrender Jerusalem, the wily diplomat proceeded to harangue the Jews in their own language, taking occasion to institute comparison between Yaveh and the gods of the surrounding people. Hezekiah's embassadors begged him to speak in the Syrian tongue. They knew well enough that the common people would be impressed by his argument.[1]

But enough has been said. As far as we are authorized to draw any conclusion at all from the Bible as to the religious culture of the mass of the Israelites, it is exceedingly plain that it was not materially different from that of the other branches of this people. If any one thinks we have overstated the case, we advise them to consider the severe denunciations of the Israelites by the prophetic writers, such as Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Hosea and Amos. Let us now turn to consider that higher stage of culture, known as Judaism, to which the prophet had been laboring to bring the people.

It is not expected that we should enter into any analysis of Judaism, nor are we concerned as to where the leaders of the people got their ideas. All that we need inquire about are some of the main points wherein they wished to correct the popular mode of thinking; and when this change was fairly effected among the mass of the people. First as to the idea of Monotheism. The qualified Monotheism, of which mention was just made, was really nothing but Polytheism. The prophets of the eighth century B. C. were almost in dispair because their people refused to accept their teachings—that Yaveh was their only god. Their writings abound with denunciations of the people for their actions in this matter. It was their belief that the impend-

1 II Kings xviii. *et seq.*

ing political ruin was the punishment of Yaveh on their country for this sin. A people, however, very slowly change a matter of religious belief. It was not until during the capivity that the people accepted this view.

But a belief in but one God necessarily denies the existence of other gods; therefore Yaveh was not only their sole national God, but was God of the whole universe as well. This conception, which is strongly urged in the Old Testament, was accepted by the Jews generally, when they gave up their idolatrous observances. But the further idea, that God's loving kindness was extended to all nations, that he was as much their god, by whatever name they might worship him, provided they worshiped him in spirit, as he was of the Israelites, was not adopted by the Jewish people. Even some of the Apostles in New Testament times could scarcely believe that the gentiles had a part in their inheritance.[1]

Th second point, of which we will speak, consisted in attaching morality to their religion. We must remember that, in the earlier stages of society, morality and religion were not at all connected, religion was simply a mass of ceremony. The Old Testament writers urge on the people a reformation in this respect. It is scarcely necessary to cite examples on this point. Jeremiah tells the people that circumcision of the heart is what is wanted,[2] and Joel tells them to rend their hearts and not their garments.[3] Ezekiel eloquently writes to show that the ceremonial observances are nothing compared with doing "that which is lawful and right."[4] Isaiah enumerates their sacrifices, their feast

1 Isaiah and Micah do teach that the worship of Yaveh was to extend to all the earth. Isaiah ii. 2-3. Micah iv. 1-2.

2 Jeremiah iv. 4, Compare, ix. 26.

3 Joel ii. 13. 4 Ez. xviii. *et seq.*

days, their Sabbaths and New Moons, and explains that Yaveh is weary of them but rather: "Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of the doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil; seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow."[1] His contemporary, Amos, just as emphatically condemns their ceremonial observances; but tells them to "let judgment run down as water, and righteousness as a mighty stream."[2] Micah answers the supposed inquiries of an anxious Jew, with the remark that Yaveh requires nothing of him "but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God."[3]

When, now, did the popular mind begin to respond to this urging on the part of their leaders. The answer of the Bible is very clear: not until after the captivity. What went back from Babylon to Jerusalem, was not a nation but an organized church. Then, first, was Judaism, as far as the *mass* of the people was concerned, established. A result not brought about until the dawn of the fifth century B. C. So we conclude—entirely independent of the beliefs and teaching of the leaders of the Jewish people, with no inquiry whatever into the source of their ideas, and speaking only of the mass of the people—that the first stage of *popular* belief of the people of Israel was in all respects similar to that of their kin-folks in general; and it was only after some centuries of time, centuries of slow advance in Civilization, that they occupied that more elevated plane of thought known as Judaism.

We will leave the forgoing result to the good judgment of each individual reader. We have paid more attention to the Israelites than their importance deserves,

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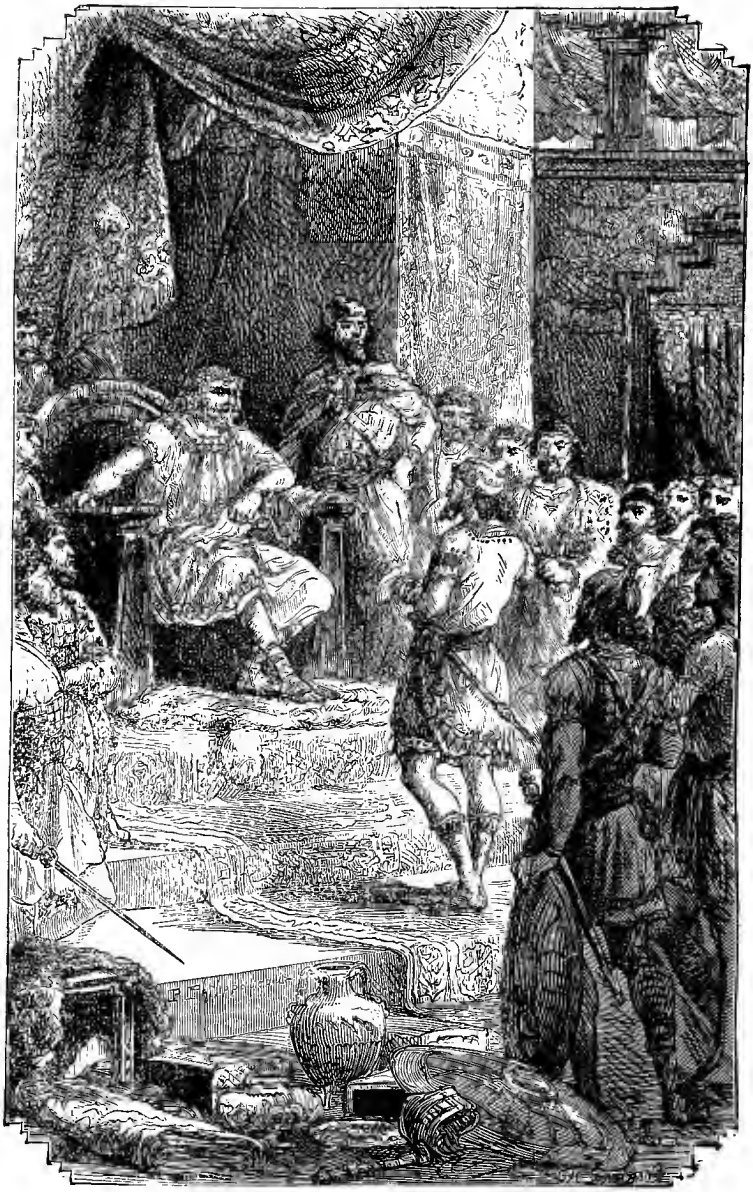
[1] Isaiah i. 10-17 [2] Amos v. 21-24. [3] Micah vi. 6-10.

speaking of the Ancient World in general. For the greater portion of time, they formed two feeble nationalities, scarcely known beyond the bounds of Palestine. We deemed it best to examine into their case to some length, since we wish to make it clear that they formed no exception to mankind in general. Everywhere men have had to advance by parallel lines, with many a halt, from plane to plane of culture. Some have achieved more in one direction, some in another; the People of Israel achieved theirs in the field of religious culture. After weary years of patient waiting, the cactus bursts into a profusion of blossoms. After some centuries of time, Judaism underwent a still greater transformation, and became the religion of the Aryan World, and is by them being carried unto the uttermost bounds of the earth. We may look forward to the time when the prophetic utterances of Isaiah of old shall come to a happy fulfillment, when many nations shall say: "Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob: and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths."

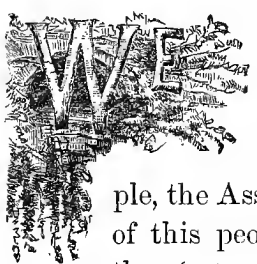


764 EMBASSY TO THE ISRAELITES.

# CHAPTER XI.

## THE SEMITES CONTINUED.

INTRODUCTION—Location of Assyria—Early History of Assyria—Egyptian notices of Assyria—Relations between Assyria and Babylonia Tiglath Pileser I.—Historical Break—Asshur-natsir-pal—His campaigns—Shalmaneser II.—Growth of Assyria—Wars with Syria—The Second Assyrian Empire—Tiglath Pileser II.—Assyrian Commerce—Wars in Syria and Palestine—Sargon—Conquest of Israel—Conflict with Egypt—Sennacherib—His defeat in Palestine—Comparison with the Biblical account—Esar-haddon—Conquest of Egypt Assur-banipal—Conquest of Egypt—Elamite War—Conquest of Babylon—The Decline of Assyria—Rise of Aryan Power—The Scythic Invasion—Fall of Nineveh—Outline History of Egypt and Babylonia—Assyrian Religion—Assyrian Literature—Conclusion.



WILL now return to Mesopotamia, "the land of the two rivers," and learn of the history and culture of the remaining branch of the Semitic people, the Assyrians. In many respects, the fortune of this people was peculiar. If we may say that the *forte* of the Phoenicians was commerce and trade; that of the Israelites, religious culture; then we may assign to the Assyrians the field of statesmanship and war. Tiglath Pileser II. really built up an empire. The first worthy of its name to appear in the ancient world, since it did not rest on tribal society as a basis. The whole policy of Assyria was in this direction. With remorseless energy, they proceeded to crush the life out of the petty nationalities of Western Asia, to break up and

scatter their constituent elements, and to re-arrange them into one compact whole.

Assyria was that part of Mesopotamia lying to the north of Chaldea. From what faint light we possess, we can but dimly make out a few points in the early history of the country. All they teach is that for a long time, indeed, a mixture in culture went forward in that section. At first, that country was roamed over by numerous Turanian tribes. They were spoken of collectively as the Gutim, or Goim, a word translated "nations" in the Bible.[1] At a very early date, the Accadians seem to have

Emblem of Asshur.

established a colony on the Tigris midway between the Greater and the Lesser Zab. They called their principal city Asshur,[2] a word significant of their location, meaning, perhaps, "water-boundary,"[3] or "well-watered plain."[4]

In process of time, the Semitic tribes succeeded in establishing themselves in all that country. They slightly changed the old name of the city and called it Asshur, with the meaning of "gracious." It so happened that in their system of mythology they worshiped the visible sky as a god under the name of *Sar*.[5] In process of time, this

[1] Genesis xiv. 1.
[2] Ragozin: "Story of Chaldea," p. 2.
[3] Sayce. [4] Ragozin.
[5] Smith: "Chaldean Genesis," p. 50, 69.

became their national, supreme god[1] and his name was changed to that of the country of Asshur, which again was the source of the words Assyria and Assyrians.

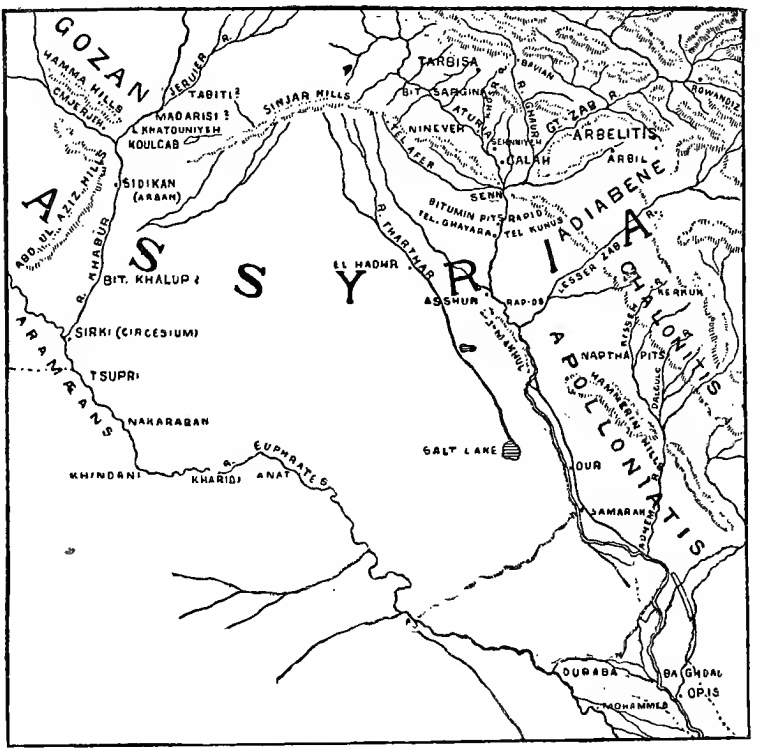
But it was some time before the town or city of Asshur became of sufficient importance to give its name to a section of country and to a distinct people. We do not possess any notices of Asshur or its people until comparatively late in the history of Chaldea. According to an inscription of Tiglath-Pilesar I., about the middle of the niteteenth century B. C., the city of Asshur was ruled by patesi. The names of two of these are known, Ishmi-Dagon and his son Shamas-Raman. Temples had then been erected to the honor of Anu and Raman.[2] This shows that the government was fully organized. The title patesi is generally thought to indicate that the people were tributary to Babylon.

The people prospered and occupied the country farther up the Tigris, and, finally, the seat of power was transferred to a section of country about sixty miles above Asshur. Here, in very ancient times, stood two important cities, in close proximity to each other, known as Nineveh and Resen; the site of the latter has never been satisfactorily determined; on the ruins of Nineveh, stands the modern town of Kouyunjik. We might remark, in passing, that Asshur is now represented by the modern town of Kalah Sherghat.

From Egyptian monuments, we learn somewhat of the condition of Assyria in the reign of Thothmes III. In the annals of that king, we read how he set out to "plow the country of the vile Mesopotamia," an account of his victory follows. We read: "His majesty then

1 See remarks page 758.
2 Sayce: "Ancient Empires," p. 104.

came to the city of Nineveh on his return." A list of tribute then follows. The tribute brought especially by the chief of the *Assuru* is mentioned, this must refer to the Assyrians.[1] These events happened in the sixteenth century B. C. We gather from this scource that the Assyrians were simply one of the several people living in Mesopotamia.[2]




Map of Assyria.

We discover from other sources that the Assyrians were the growing power in Northern Mesopotamia. Perhaps as early as the sixteenth century B. C., the title of

1 "Records of the Past," Vol II., p. 17 *et seq.*

2 It is well to see Max Duncker's criticism on this Egyptian account. "History of Antiquity," Vol. II., p. 29.

their ruler was changed from patesi to "Lord of countries" or king, and they began to dispute with Babylon about the boundaries of their land.[1] About the middle of the fifteenth century, it required a treaty to settle this point. A fragment of an ancient tablet mentions this fact in the following words: "Kara-Indas, king of Kar-dunias[2] and Assur-Bel-Nissu, king of Assyria, a covenant in their borders with each other covenanted, and a pledge concerning those boundaries to each other gave." Another fragment, dating about the beginning of the fourteenth century, tells of the renewing of this treaty.[3]

A few years later, and we discover that Assyria has grown stronger than Babylonia. The tablet just referred to tells us that the Babylonian king married the daughter of the Assyrian king, but when the child of this marriage ascended the throne, he was murdered by the party opposing Assyria; thereupon, the Assyrians interfered, and placed a king of their own on the throne. This may be considered the turning point in the history of these two kingdoms, from this time, for many centuries, Assyria was the greater power in Mesopotamia. About 1320 B. C., there was a king in Assyria named Rimmon-nirari I., who has left us an inscription, in which he speaks of wars with the surrounding people. Calah is supposed to have been founded by his son Shalmanesar I.

Quite a long time now passed away, and about all we know of it is that Assyria is steadily growing stronger. Late in the twelfth century B. C., we come to the reign of Tiglath-Pileser I., who is regarded as the founder of the

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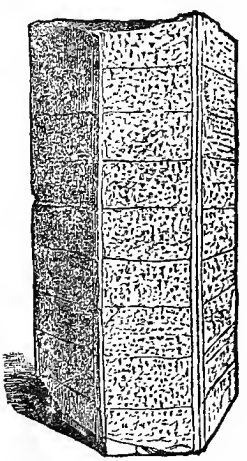
1 Sayce: "Assyria," London, 1845, p. 27. Compare with Smith: "Early History of Babylonia," in "Records of the Past," Vol. V., p. 8.

2 Babylon.

3 "Records of the Past," Vol. V., p. 82.

first Assyrian empire. When we are dealing with ancient history, we sometimes fail to note the length of time of which we are speaking. In the case before us, let us not forget that eight centuries are included between the first glimpses of Assyria and the formation of the first monarchy. For all that time, we have only here and there a few facts. During that time, Egypt had been the great power, and second to it was the Hittite confederacy in Asia Minor. During that time, the Phoenicians had become the great traders of antiquity, and had established their chain of trading stations here and there on the Mediterranean, which became centers of Civilization for the yet barbarian tribes of Europe.



Inscibed Prism of a King.

During that time, life in old Chaldea must have flowed on in the placid channel it had pursued for some thousands of years. In other parts of Asia we detect great movements of people. Such as the invasion of China by the Jung tribes and, at a later date, by the Chows. Whenever the clouds have for a moment lifted, we have seen Assyria occupying a more commanding position than before. The time had now come when it was to assume the leading position in the Oriental World.

We fortunately possess quite long inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser I. At ancient Asshur, there was found an octagonal prism covered with the annals of his reign.[1] We must, however, make some allowance for Oriental vanity. Reading these annals we would conclude that he

[1] A full translation of this is given in "Records of the Past," Vol V.

swept everything before him. But in this account, a victory over a few nomadic tribes is described as a conquest of "kings and people." Their fortified encampments are described as "cities." An unexpected raid, a sudden blow and the quick return march of the Assyrians laden with plunder reads the same as the account of a deliberate campaign.

We conclude from the accounts of his times, that the country he had to rule over at the commencement of his reign was a very small area on the Tigris; but, in the course of his active, vigorous, war-like reign, he did succeed in reducing to tribute a great number of surrounding people, and spread the dread of the Assyrians through a wide extent of country. He crossed the Euphrates with his army, but the extent of his conquests in Asia Minor may be somewhat in doubt,[1] though it is generally supposed that he penetrated quite to the Mediterranean.[2] However, his conquests in this direction were not permanent. He sums up the results of the first five years of his reign as follows: "There fell into my hands altogether between the commencement of my reign and my fifth year 42 countries with their kings, from the river Zab, plain, forest, and mountain, to beyond the river Euphrates, the country of the Khatti, and the upper ocean of the setting sun. I brought them under one government."[3]

In the next cut we have a rock-hewn image of Tiglath-Pileser set up near Karker at one of the sources of the Tigris. These campaigns were not confined to the first five years of his reign. Near the end of his reign, he became involved in war with Babylon, and it seems on the whole to have end-

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1 See "Duncker's judicious remarks in" History of Antiquity," Vol. II., p. 41 *et seq.* 2 Sayce: "Assyria," p. 28.

3 "Records of the Past," Vol. V., p. 20.

ed with the advantage in favor of Babylon, since Sennacherib, over four hundred years later, speaks of recovering the images of the gods which the Babylonians took from Assyria in the wars with Tiglath Pileser I.[1]

Tiglath-Pileser I.

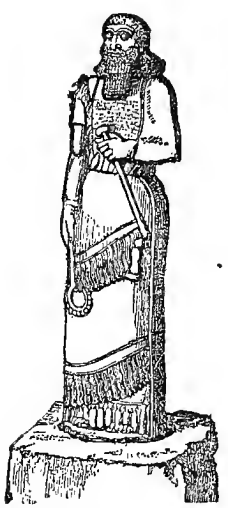
The immediate successors of this king were not able to keep the benefit of his conquests. Two centuries pass by in which but little is known of Assyria, which seems to have shrunken to its former, rather limited, area. Not until near the beginning of the ninth century B. C., did Assyria once more become a formidable power. In the meantime the Israelites had risen to the height of their power under David, and had entered on their decline. These were centuries of progress in the world's history. The fires of Civilization in Europe, after long languishing, were now burning with a clear and steady glow. The great Mazdean system of belief took form and shape and commenced to exert an influence in the Oriental world. At length, Assyria once more rouses from her lethargy and becomes the greatest power in Western Asia.

Asshur-natsir-pal.

Early in the ninth century B. C., we find Assyria ruled by

[1] Smith: "History of Sennacherib," London, 1878, p 134. Prof. Sayce gives a different account of this Babylonian war. "Assyria," p. 28. Compare with Rawlinson: "Seven Great Monarchies," Vol. I., p.

an energetic king, Asshur-natsir-pal. [This name is spelled several different ways.] We have also a long account of his reign.[1] From it we gather that far and wide he carried the Assyrian arms. He took care to leave lasting impressions of the dread of the Assyrians on the people into whose territory he marched: "I overthrew, I demolished, in fire I burned" is the way he says he treated their cities and forests. He then calmly relates how he treated those unfortunates who fell into his hands: "The rebellious nobles who had revolted against me, and whose skins I had stripped off, I made into a trophy." Of another place, he says: "3000 of their captives I consigned to the flames." Of still another, this terrible account is given; "Many soldiers I captured alive; of some, I chopped off the hands and feet; of others, the noses and ears I cut off; of many soldiers I destroyed the eyes; one pile of bodies, while yet alive, and one of heads, I reared up on the heights within their town."



Supposed tatue of Asshur-natsir-pal.

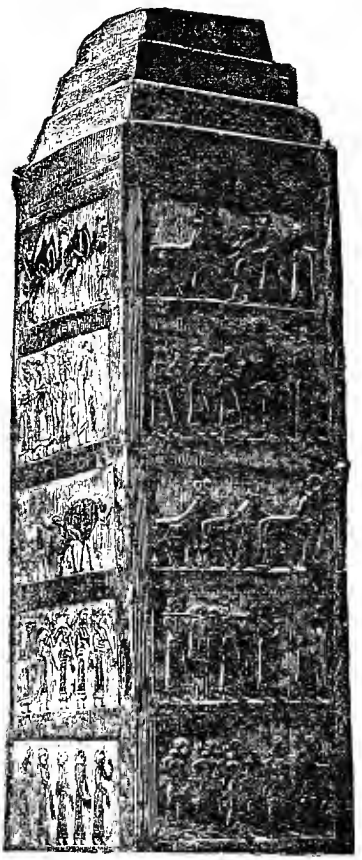
The son and successor of Asshur-natsir-pal was Shalmaneser II., and in his long reign of thirty-five years, the first Assyrian empire reached the height of power.

The records of his reign are quite full, contained on three principal monuments. The first is the Black Obelisk. A square pillar of hard, black stone, about seven feet high. The sides are covered with

393. Duncker: "History of Antiquity," Vol. II, p. 40.

1 A translation of his annals is given in "Records of the Past," Vol. III., p. 37.

sculpture and writing. The second[1] is a monolith from Kurkh. The full-length figure of Shalmaneser is sculptured upon it, and the surface is coverered with inscriptions. The third monument are the plates of bronze (See cut page 778) that formed the covering of two large gates or doors found at Balawat a few miles from Nineveh.



Black Obelisk.

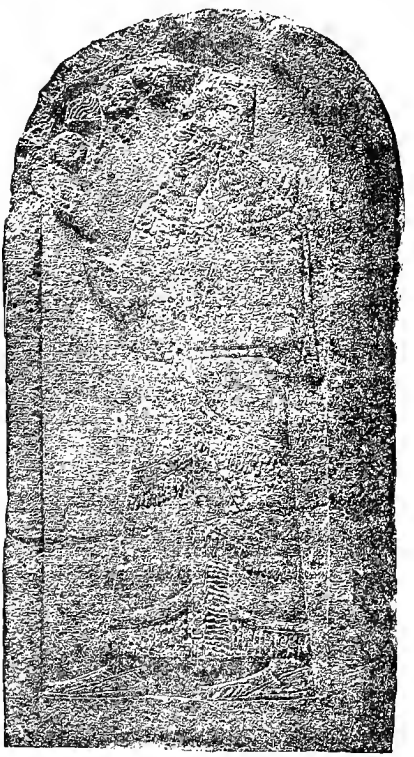
One fact, made apparent by the reading of these inscriptions, is that the various people in South-western Asia were now aroused to the danger threatening them from Assyria. Accordingly, a coalition was formed to oppose Assyria. These people ceased their fighting against each other and ranged themselves under the leadership of Hadad-idri.[2] This probably explained the somewhat sudden patching up of difficulties between Ahab, of Israel, and Hadad-idri.[3] In this league, there were soldiers from Israel under Ahab, Hittites from Hamath, Phoenicians from Arvad, Ammonites and, strange to say, Egyptians.[4]

[1] Full translations of the inscriptions on the Obelisk and Monolith are given in "Records of the Past," Vol. III. and V., by Prof. Sayce.

[2] The Ben-Hadad of I Kings. [3] I Kings xx. [4] Kurkh Inscriptions by Sayce in "Records of the Past," Vol. III., p. 99-100.

If these last were really present, it shows how far the dread of Assyria had then extended.

The most important member of this league was probably Syria; and, under the skillful leadership of Hadad-idri, Syria was no mean opponent of Assyria. In the sixth year of Shalmaneser, a great battle was fought at a place called Karkar. In the following account from the Kurkh Monolith inscriptions, we must make due allowance for Oriental exaggeration. "The city of Karkar, the city of his majesty, I threw down, dug up (and) burned with fire... From the city of Karkar to the city Gilza-u, a destruction of them I made. 14000 men of their troops with weapons I slew. Like the air-god, over them a deluge I poured, (with) their flight the surface of the waters I filled.



Shalmaneser II.
*Monolith from Kurkh.*

"All their hosts with weapons, I laid low..... In the midst of the battle, their chariots, their magazines (and) their horses trained to the yoke, I took away from them." As a matter of fact, this contest was more nearly a drawn battle.

For, though the confederates were defeated, yet the Assyrians were too badly crippled to follow up their victory; and they returned to

Assyria without the tribute they exacted when successful.

Five years now passed by, the principal event marking them being the subjection of Chaldea. Now Chaldea was always regarded by the Assyrians with romantic interest. There was the home of their gods, and from hence their ancestors had come. It was, in fact, their father-land.

In the inscription on the Balawat gates, this conquest of Chaldea is dwelt upon with exultation. "The triumphant entry into Babylon—a city described as the foundation of heaven and earth, and the seat of life—is spoken of as a solemn occasion, upon which sacrifices were made to all the deities whom the king worshiped."[1] In his eleventh year, Shalmaneser again marched against the Syrians, again was he confronted by Hadad-idri and, though the inscriptions claim a victory, by reading between the lines, we are confident he was repulsed. Three years later this experience was repeated. Still all these attacks were weakening to Syria. The various nations who combined to oppose the Assyrians seemed to feel that their case was hopeless, and so presented no united front. They were even at war among themselves.[2]

In the meantime, Hadad-idri (Ben-Hadad) had been assassinated, and Hazael succeeded him.[3] When, four years later, the Assyrians again appeared on the scene, Hazael with the forces of Syria alone confronted him. The Syrians were defeated in a great battle fought near Mount Hermon.[4] Damascus was besieged and the country ravaged, and the various petty nationalities of Asia Minor hastened to make their peace with Shalmaneser. The cut next presented is one from the Black Obelisk and is of

[1] Harkness: "Assyrian Life and History," p. 17.
[2] II. Kings viii. 28-29: x. 32-33: xii. 17-18. [3] II. Kings viii. 15.
[4] Called Senir in the inscriptions, compare, Deut. iii. 9.

considerable interest to us. Among the people who hastened to send tribute to the Assyrians was the kingdom of Israel. It represents the tribute bearers of Jehu. It is accompanied by the following inscription. "The tribute of Yahua (Jehu) son of Khumri (Omri): silver, gold, bowls of gold, vessels of gold, goblets of gold, pitchers of gold, lead, scepters for the kings hand, (and) stones: I received."[1]

Thus, by the middle of the ninth century B. C., the Assyrians had reached the most commanding position in Western Asia. From the Mediterranean on the west, to Persia and Elam on the east; from the country of the Al-

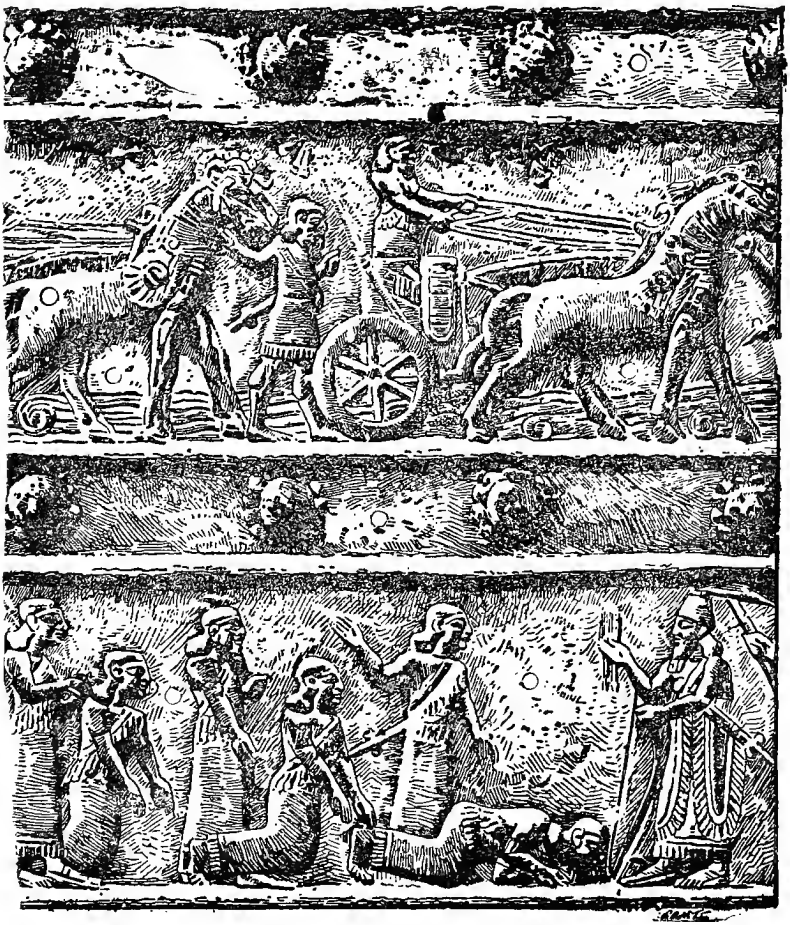
Jewish Tribute Bearers.

arodians around lake Van on the north, to the Persian Gulf on the south, they were masters. We will now hurry along. A hundred years pass by, the events of which we know but little about. It seems to be much such a period as we have noticed on a larger scale in regard to Egypt. On the whole, it seems to have been a prosperous time for Assyria. Its bounds remained about the same. Its power was probably increased by the more thorough subjection of Babylon. In the West, Damascus was occupied and such distant nationalities as Judah and Edom sent tribute.[2]

[1] "Records of the Past," Vol. V., p. 41. It will be observed that though Jehu did not belong to the house of Omri, the Assyrians did not make that distinction.

[2] The payment of tribute by Judah is not generally mentined but

It is somewhat singular that, during such a period as this, when tribute must have poured into Assyria from all quarters, no great advance in arts and Civilization took place. But no such advance is to be noted. The latter



Portion from the Balawat Gates.

half of this obscure century seems to have been a troublous time. The reigns were short. No monuments of any kind are known to survive of this period. The

compare with Sayce: "Fresh Light etc.

more distant provinces resumed their independence. Revolts broke out in the more important cities. In B. C. 746, such an insurrection occurred at Calah, in the course of which the king either died or was put to death. Thus closed what is known as the First Assyrian Empire. Every one must see that we have before us just such a period as terminated each important epoch of Egyptian history. It must point to a common cause; and, in our opinion, the explanation is to be found in the fact that, in both cases, the empires rested on tribal society as a basis.

Tiglath-Pileser I. founded the First Assyrian Empire: the chieftain by the name of Pul, who siezed on the vacant throne and founded the second empire, assumed this ancient name and became known to history as Tiglath-Pileser II. We know nothing with certainty of this personage before he came to the head of affairs, but he must have been a person of no common resources, or he never would have held his high position. Perhaps it was not until some years later, that he assumed the throne-name of Tiglath-Pileser. One or two references to him call him Pul.[1] Tiglath-Pileser II. was an organizer and one of the greatest warriors and statesmen of his times.

It is interesting to trace the course of events in Syria and Palestine. This section of country was coveted by the Assyrians. The first expedition of Tiglath-Pileser was against Northern Syria. Arvad was taken and the kingdom of Hamath destroyed. It was at this time that Menahem, of Israel, deemed it best to make his submission.[2] But he was not alone in this matter. Nearly all

[1] II Kings xv. 19. In the list of Babylonian kings from the year 747 B. C. to the time of Alexander the Great, he is called Pul. Compare Rawlinson's discussion of this in "Seven Great Monarchies," Vol. I., p. 423 *et seq.*, with Smith's discussion: "Assyrian Canon," p. 76.

[2] II Kings xv. 19.

the small nationalities of Palestine did the same, and among this number was Azariah of Judea.[1] All this was by way of preliminary. The real conquest was yet to come. It is interesting to complete the short historical notices in the Bible with the new light from Assyrian sources. Human nature was the same then as now. In all those little states there were two parties. One party, who could see before them nothing but a blotting out of their national existence at the hands of the Assyrians, hoping against hope, endeavored to secure some sort of an alliance to head off Assyria. The other party counselled submission, they believed that the only chance. It was, in truth, a terrible time for these weak provinces, who vainly sought some way to escape from the fatal grasp of Assyria.

From what we can learn from the few notices at our disposal, the majority of the small states of Palestine concluded to unite their forces under the lead of Damascus, and so present a united front. In the kingdom of Israel, Menahem had paid tribute to Assyria. We read that his son, Pekahiah, was murdered and Pekah reigned in his stead.[2] It is, at least, probable that this occurrence points to a contest between the two factions of this kingdom. Judah refused to enter this alliance. The peace party there was in the ascendant. It was probably owing to this refusal to join the league, and for classing themselves as vassals of Assyria, that the various nations of Palestine went to war with Judah. They wished to compel her to join the league.[3]

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1 This event is not stated in the Bible, but see "Records of the Past," Vol. V., p. 46.

2 II Kings xv. 23-26.

3 II Kings xvi. 5. Compare with II Chronicles xxviii. 17-18, where we notice that the Edomites and Philistines are also at war with Judah.

It is no wonder that the people of Judah were sorely dismayed at this sudden onslaught.[1] They, however, called on Assyria for assistance, to which as faithful vasssals they were entitled. The response of Tiglath-Pileser was prompt and decisive. The Syrians were defeated and Damascus besieged. The cities of the Philistines were ravaged. One of their kings committed suicide to escape falling into their hands, and another fled to Egypt. The Edomites, Moabites and Ammonites were severely punished; Israel was overrun, and Samaria captured. Pekah was put to death, and Hosea given the throne. After a siege of two years, Damascus was taken, Rezon slain and the principal part of the population taken captives to Assyria. Ahaz of Judah went to Damascus to meet his master and renew his fealty.[2]

In a former chapter, we have shown how after some centuries of confusion, the twenty-fifth dynasty of Egypt had once more united the country, and was endeavoring to make it a strong and prosperous power. We have now reached the same period of time from the Asiatic side. It was but natural that the new dynasty in Egypt should carefully study the "Palestine problem." They knew enough of the Assyrians to know that if they remained

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There is an error of copyists in the number of years given to Jotham. It should be six instead of sixteen. We fail to see any evidence of the view supported by Ragozin: "Story of Assyria," p. 229, that Judah had sought to form an alliance with Edom, Moab and Ammon, and had refused tribute to Assyria in 738 B. C. True, Judah does not appear in the tribute list, but all evidence shows that she had remained true to her obligations as a tributary vassal from the time of Azariah.

[1] It was at this time that Isaiah comforted the king and people of Judah. Isaiah vii. 2-10.

[2] Smith: "Assyrian Discoveries, p. 282 *et seq.* II Kings xvi., 7-10. It is possible that the inhabitants of Samaria put Pekah to death and raised Hosea to the throne, as a sort of peace offering to the Assyrians. [II Kings xv. 30] The inscriptions, however, state the other way.

inactive until Assyria had converted all Palestine into an Assyrian province, their turn would come next. Hence it is, that we begin to detect evidence of Egyptian diplomacy in the relations of Assyria with the petty nations of Palestine. On the other hand, we can see how gladly the party, in all these several states opposed to Assyria, would welcome the help of Egypt. They could not bring themselves to think they were to become but a fractional part of Assyria. They still dreamed of independence and power.

Tiglath-Pileser was succeeded in the year 727 B. C., by Shalmaneser IV., who was probably a successful general. In fact, it would seem as if the first kings of the second empire were elected to the office, which probably accounts for the number of energetic kings that made their appearance.[1]

The death of Tiglath-Pileser was the signal for revolt. In Palestine, the kingdom of Israel took the lead in this matter. The Assyrians took prompt steps to crush this revolt. Israel was overrun, Hosea taken prisoner and Samaria besieged. The city of Tyre, which had joined in this revolt, was also besieged.

Shalmanesar IV. reigned but five years when he was succeeded by Sargon,[2] who was a successful general and probably on that account elected to the throne. He it was that completed the conquest of Israel. Samaria was taken, and the principal people taken captive to Assyria.[3] But now Sargon had to turn his attention to other parts of Assyria. The Elamites were stirring up trouble in the South-

1 Most authorities speak of these kings as siezing on the throne when it was made vacant by death. We believe that the new monarchy was an elective one, though the tendency would be for this office to pass by inheritance.

2 722 B. C.

3 II Kings xvii. 6.

east. In the Eponym Canon, this expedition to Elam occupied the year 721 B. C. This interval of time must have been well employed by Egypt in forming a league of the states of Palestine. We are somewhat surprised to read the names of some of the cities joining this league. Samaria and Damascus appear on the list. This shows how the Orientals are given to exaggeration. We have just read how Samaria was utterly destroyed, and its people carried away captives two years before.

Sargon.

The next year Sargon turned his attention to this confederacy, and, after defeating the confederates in Syria, he pressed on toward Egypt. At Raphia, near the confines of Egypt, was fought the first great battle between Egypt and Assyria, to which we have already referred, and which ended in the defeat of the Egyptians.[1] This campaign quieted matters in Syria, and Sargon turned his attention in other directions. We will only note in passing that, in the campaign of 717 B. C., the Hittites, as an organized

[1] See page 619.

power, disappear from history. Carchemish was taken by assault, and their country was converted into an Assyrian province. We will pass by the war waged with the Alarodian tribes of the Van.

For some years, Babylon had been in open revolt. Merodach-Baladin, who was at the head of affairs there, endeavored to form a new alliance of the little states of Palestine and Syria. Probably Egypt was assisting in this matter. The chances must have seemed good since the kingdom of Judah, which had stood aloof from these leagues heretofore, entered into this alliance. The arrival of the embassy from Babylon at Jerusalem is mentioned in the Bible.[1] We also see what precautions were taken to hide from Sargon the real meaning of this embassy. It was under the pretense of congratulating king Hezekiah for recovery from his sickness. We also notice how strongly Isaiah was opposed to this alliance. He represented the Assyrian party of which we spoke some pages back.[2]

Sargon came down upon the allies in the West, and crushed them before full arrangements could be made. He took Asdod and shattered the confederacy before it was fairly started.[3] Sargon must have moved with unexpected swiftness, he says he crossed the Tigris and Euphrates at their flood. The reinforcements from Egypt

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[1] II Kings xx. 12. [2] Isaiah xxxix. 1 *et seq.*

[3] That Judah at least took some steps toward joining this confederacy, see Smith: "Assyrian Discovery," p. 291. Prof. Sayce thinks that at this time Sargon overran Judah and captured Jerusalem, and that Isaiah refers to this siege and conquest [Isaiah x. 28-32 and xxii. 1-15.] In all the inscriptions of Sargon to which we have had access—"Records of the Past," Vol. VII, IX ; "Assyrian Discoveries," Chapter XV.; "Assyrian Eponym Canon," p. 125-131.,— we have failed to find any statement of Sargon to this effect. The majority of writers on Assyrian topics do not mention such a conquest by Sargon. Compare Duncker: "History of Antiquity," Vol. III., p. 91 *et seq.*, with Sayce: "Ancient Empires," p. 129.

did not have time to put in their appearance. After thus disposing of the allies in the West, he crushed out the revolt in Babylon.

Sargon first held his court at Calah, but he built for himself a very noted palace and city called Dur-Sargina, now known as Khorsabad. This is the best preserved Assyrian ruin and has been carefully studied and described. The walls were covered with sculptures, and winged bulls guarded each entrance. It is asserted that considerable advance in the arts took place during his reign.[1]

Sargon was murdered, probably by his soldiers, in his new city, 705 B. C. Sennacherib, his son, was made king in his place. In this case, although the son succeeds the father, we are reasonably sure that Sennacherib was not the oldest son. This is shown by the meaning of his name, which is "the moon-god has increased the brothers." We have quite full details of his reign, and his selection was a wise choice for the people.[2]

Sennacherib had no easy work ahead of him. The death of Sargon was the signal for the tributary states to rebel, and Sennacherib's first years were years of almost continual warfare. We now come to that most interesting invasion of Palestine, a small part of the details of which is given in the Bible.[3] The inscriptions complete this account. We gather from them that Phoenicia and the various small states in and around Palestine entered into an alliance with Egypt to throw off the Assyrian yoke. In this alliance, Judah takes a prominent part. Not until his fourth year (B. C. 701) did Sennacherib march to break

[1] Rawlinson: "Seven Great Monarchies," Vol. I., p. 445.
[2] Prof. Sayce thinks less favorably of him: "Assyria," p. 41.
[3] II Kings xviii. and xix.

this new coalition. From a reading of the inscriptions giving an account of this war and the account in the Bible,[1] we draw the following account of this invasion.

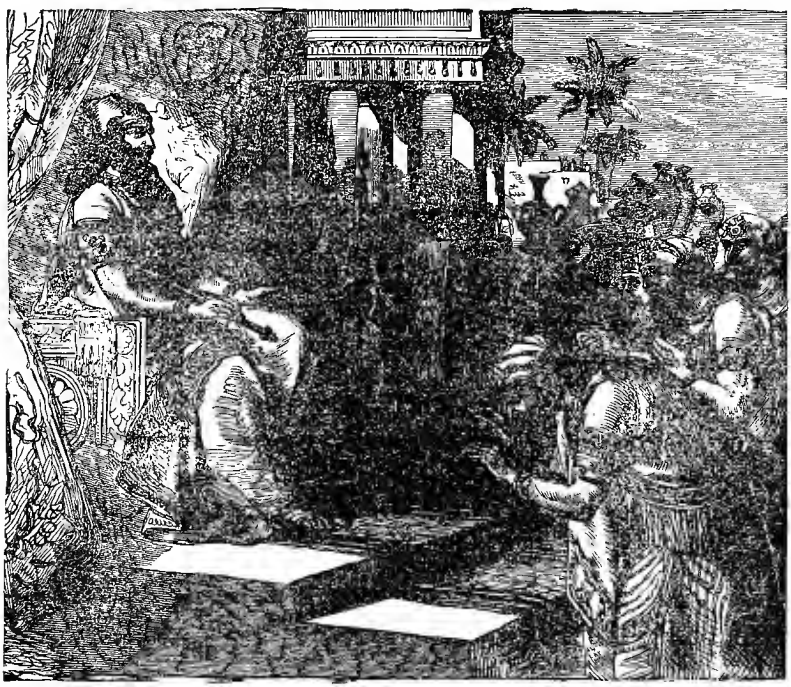
The Assyrian army made its appearance in Phoenicia, and, one after another, the Phoenician cities submitted. He marched south, taking all the coast cities. He then

Winged Bull, Palace of Sargon.

received the submission of most of the allies. The list of those who sent him tribute is–Samaria, Sidon, Arvad, Gebal, Ashdod, Ammon, Moab, Edom and Syria. It is somewhat surprising to meet with Samaria. But Judah still refused tribute and so did Ekron, and a few cities near,

[1] The inscription in the original Cuneiform characters, and a translation of the same into Assyrian and English are arranged in order in "History of Sennacherib," Part IV.

such as Lachish and Libna. A detachment of the Assyrian army overran Judah, taking all the small places, while Sennacherib reduced Ekron and laid siege to Lachish. It was at this critical time that Hezekiah concluded he had made a mistake in entering the confederacy, and so he sent his embassadors to Lachish to sue for peace.[1] A heavy tribute was imposed upon him by Sennacherib, and one ar-



Tribute to an Assyrian King.

ticle, not named in the Bible, was the surrender of Padi, king of Ekron. It seems that Padi wished to keep on good terms with Assyria, but his subjects had revolted against him and sent him in chains to Jerusalem. In the meantime, Sennacherib heard of the approach of the Egyptian

[1] II Kings xviii. 14.

army under Tir-ha-ka (See page 620) and he now demanded the unconditional surrender of Jerusalem, which was refused by Hezekiah and a siege commenced.

Lachish was at length taken by the Assyrians. We have a representation of Sennacherib on his throne and the spoils of Lachish passing before him. Libna was next besieged, and, from this place, Sennacherib sent once more to urge Hezekiah to surrender.[1] He probably wished to withdraw his army from before Jerusalem so as to concentrate it to meet the now rapidly approaching army from Egypt. We read in the Bible how Hezekiah, encouraged by Isaiah, refused. Soon after occurred the decisive battle between the Egyptians and the Assyrians at Eltekeh, about ten miles from Libna. The Assyrian inscriptions claim the victory, but, as has been pointed out,[2] many little incidents connected with the account make it almost certain that the Assyrians were completely defeated.[3]

At any rate, the Assyrians at once abandoned the country, and Sennacherib never cared to invade Syria or Palestine again, though he was king for twenty years longer. A portion of this time, he was waging war in Babylon but most of the time he was at peace. He rebuilt Nineveh and built for himself a magnificent palace there. After a reign of twenty-five years, Sennacherib was assassinated and one of his sons (not the oldest) was made king in his place. We possess a very curious monument of Sen-

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1 II Kings xix. 9.

2 Duncker: "History of Antiquity," Vol. III., p. 138-9.

3 Probably this battle is referred to in II Kings xix. 35. The "Angel," mentioned in this verse, might have been any instrument of destruction, and an Egyptian army will answer this description as well as anything. It may be, however, that the Assyrians were, as they claimed to be, victorious in this battle, and that the sudden calamity that fell on them was an outbreak of the plague. See Ragozin's ingenuous explanation in "Story of Assyria," p. 311.

JEWS TAKEN CAPTIVE TO BABYLON. 789

nacherib. It is generally spoken of as his will, but it is difficult to believe that the Assyrians had reached the point of allowing property to pass by will. It is an acknowledgment of a gift to his son, Esar-haddon, of "chains of gold, stores of ivory, a cup of gold, crowns and chains, besides all the riches of which there are heaps."[1]

Sennacherib.

It is quite probable that Sennacherib was partial to this son, Esar-haddon, and this led to his asassination by his two older sons.[2] The Assyrian inscriptions, that probably refer to that event, are badly defaced at the point where they become legible. We learn that, at the time of his father's murder, Esar-haddon was in command of an army in Armenia. The army had gone into winter quarters, and everything must have seemed favorable to the conspirators. But Esar-haddon was not the one to sit quietly by and allow his brothers to divide the empire between them.

He says: "From my heart I made a vow ..... Immediately I wrote letters (saying) that I assumed the sovereignty of my father's house." He broke camp, and marched for Nineveh. On the way, he fought a battle, presumably with the troops of his brothers, and was victorious.[3] According to some accounts, on the field of battle itself, the soldiers proclaimed Esar-haddon king.[4]

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[1] "Records of the Past," Vol. I, p. 136.

[2] II Kings xix. 37. [3] "Records of the Past," Vol. III., p. 103.

[4] Sayce: "Fresh Light, etc.," p. 128.

He himself piously ascribed his success to the great gods to whom he had "lifted up" his hands. He had been assured of their favor before leaving Armenia. An oracle had been sent him saying: "Go, fear not! We march at thy side! We aid thy expedition!"[1]

Esar-haddon proved to be one of the best kings of Assyria, he was not only an excellent soldier, but he had great political tact. It is said of him that he was the only king of Assyria who endeavored to conciliate the nations he had conquered;[2] and, in his inscriptions, when he speaks of conquered kings, he often adds: "I took pity on him." It is not surprising, then that under his reign, Assyria reached the very zenith of her power. He quickly recovered whatever had been lost during the troublous times that followed the death of Sennacherib, and, in most cases, he seems to have retained them by kindness. He gave back lands and provinces to conquered kings, and assisted them in rebuilding their cities and temples. We are not told by what means he conquered Syria and Palestine; but he commanded the obedience of twenty-two kings in that section, and, among the number, we read: "Manasseh king of Judah."

Perhaps the most notable event of this king's reign was the conquest of Egypt. The details of this event and the causes leading to it are lost, but still we can outline the course of events. It had been the policy of Assyria ever since the formation of the second empire, to extend her rule over Western Asia, and she longed to lay Egypt under tribute. Two battles had already been fought between the Egyptians and the Assyrians, but neither had decided the question of supremacy. The battle of Elte-

[1] "Records of the Past," Vol. III., p 102.
[2] Sayce: "Assyria," p. 47.

keh, for the time being, crippled the authority of Assyria in Palestine; but, as we have just seen, early in the reign of Esar-haddon this had been recovered, possibly all this had been regained in the life-time of Sennacherib.

But we gather that Tirhaka was scheming to form a new union of the petty states in Western Asia. Strange to say, he was successful. In the year 673 B. C., Esar-haddon conducted a campaign against Egypt and her allies. The allies' names are not given in the fragment we possess, but Tyre and Judah were probably among the number. The fragment, probable date of which is 672 B. C., reads: "Esar-haddon, king of Assyria, his forces sends against Tarqu, king of Kush, and the men his allies."[1] The Egyptians were defeated and Tirhaka retreated in haste to Egypt. Then came the subjugation of Judah; Manasseh being carried captive to Babylon.[2]

Tyre, owing to its insular position, was able to withstand a siege. The next year, 672 B. C., Esar-haddon built fortresses "over against it" and "cut off" its food and water. Then he marched for Egypt. The difficulties of the march are described. He seems to have penetrated into Nubia in pursuit of Tirhaka, who probably eluded him; but Egypt, from Thebes to the sea, passed under the power of Assyria, and was divided into Satrapies. As far as possible, Esar-haddon recognized the old division of nomes, and the chiefs of the nomes were made the Assyrian viceroys. This shows the kindness and tact of

1 Smith: "Assyrian Eponym Canon," p. 141. Notice that Tirhaka is styled "King of Cush," and recall that his dynasty was Ethiopian. See, also Duncker: "History of Antiquity," Vol. III., p. 155.

2 II Chronicles xxxiii. 11. Esar-haddon had built a palace at Babylon, and resided there a part of the year. This conquest and the woe it brought upon Jerusalem seem indicated in II Kings xxi. 12-17. but, somewhat strangely, the carrying away of Manasseh captive to Babylon is not mentioned by the author of Kings.

Esar-haddon. Tyre probably soon submitted and probably received very easy terms. And we note the further fact that Manasseh was soon released and permitted to return to his kingdom and crown.[1] Esar-haddon could say of Manasseh as of another king: "I had mercy on him. I washed out his rebellion."[2]

We have seen that both the father and grand-father of Esar-haddon had been murdered, and, in one case at least, the result was due to the intrigues of the king's sons. As if to provide against such a deplorable result as this, Esar-haddon associated with him as co-ruler his son Assurbanipal. Assurbanipal was probably regent during his father's absence on his Egyptian campaign.[3] Shortly before death, Esar-haddon resigned almost all the cares of government into Assurbanipal's hands, and retained for himself only the government of Babylon. In 668 B. C., death made Assurbanipal sole king in Assyria. His reign was long and, on the whole, brilliant, but the rapidly setting sun of Assyria had already become obscured in clouds when his reign was brought to a close.

The records of the first period of Assurbanipal's reign are very full and complete. All that we need is an outline, so we will simply remark that it required two expeditions, led by the king in person—besides which his generals quelled one revolt—to thoroughly subdue Egypt. In his second expedition, Thebes, the great city of Upper Egypt, was given up to plunder. The details of this sack are dwelt on to some extent. Among the objects carried away were "two lofty obelisks covered with beautiful carv-

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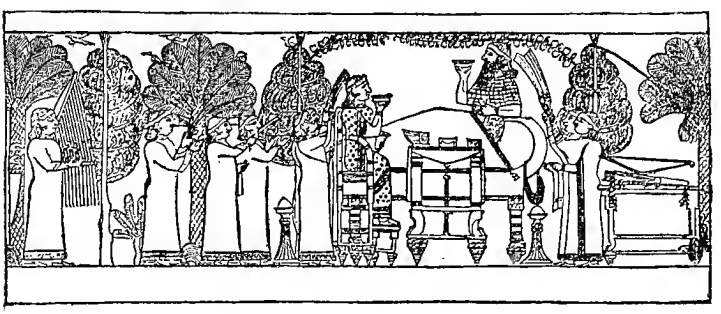
[1] II Chronicles xxxiii. 13.

[2] "Records of the Past," Vol. III., p. 117; Smith: "Assyrian Discoveries," p. 312-14; Duncker: "History of Antiquity," Vol. III., p. 157.

[3] Smith: "Assyrian Eponym Canon," p. 163-4.

ings, twenty-five hundred talents their weight (over ninety tons), standing before the gate of a temple."[1] During the reign of Assurbanipal, the Assyrians overthrew the ancient kingdom of Elam. We have not space, nor is it necessary, to give the details of this conquest. The Elamites and the Babylonians united their forces; and, at the head of the Babylonians, was the younger brother of Assurbanipal, Saulmugina, whom he had made viceroy of Babylon. It took four years of almost constant warfare to quiet matters in this section. The issue of the conflict was the downfall of Elam and the complete subjugation of Chaldea, but this result was only achieved after great exertion by Assyria.



Assurbanipal's Feast with his Queen.

During the course of this war, Egypt had revolted and the Assyrians made no attempt to renew the conquest of that country. In spite of this loss, Assyria was still the greatest power of Western Asia. Assurbanipal, as if grown weary of wars, contented himself with preserving his empire as it was after the conquest of Elam but loss of Egypt. It is just at this point that our historical light suddenly fails us. We know that quite a number of years now pass by of apparent peace and prosperity for

[1] "Assyrian Discoveries," p. 328.

Assyria. During which, the arts and sciences flourish, and Assyrian literature entered on its most glorious period.

Yet, at this very moment, causes were at work, which were destined, in the course of a few short years, to completely overthrow the Assyrian power. A change was now about to take place; the political power in the Ancient World was about to pass from the hands of the Semites to those of the Aryans, and they were the ones who were destined to carry forward the Civilization of the world. The wisest ruler in Assyria could probably not have long stayed the gathering storm. Assyria suffered no long and lingering death as did Egypt. 650 B. C., Assurbanipal was at the height of his power, and Assyria was probably as formidable as it ever was. Twenty-five years later, it no longer existed as a great power, and, before the beginning of the sixth century B. C., Nineveh had been plundered by a foreign army, and its palaces and public buildings were falling into ruins. In short, the hour had struck, and Assyria was no more.

We have but briefly spoken of the growing belief in the minds of all classes of scholars that the birth-place of the Aryan race was in Europe.[1] We have pointed out that the great upheaval of people in Western Asia, in the twenty-third century B. C., was probably caused by Aryan tribes forcing their way among the Turanian people to the east of the Caspian. We have seen this eastward migration of the Aryans extending even to China. We have also suggested that the Alarodians were Turanian tribes more or less Aryanized by Aryan people coming from Europe through the passes of the Caucasian mountains. We shall, in the future, show that Aryans had

[1] This subject will be fully considered in Vol. III., Chap. i.

early crossed the Bosporus and Aryanized the western portion of Asia Minor. In the meanwhile, a portion of the first Aryan invaders to the east of the Caspian had wandered to the south, and had split up into two divisions, one of which finally penetrated to India. The other, marching west, had forced themselves among the Turanian tribes of the Zagros mountains, and was subjecting them to Aryan influence.

The Assyrian monuments mention Aryan tribes in that somewhat illy defined section of country known as Media, to the south-west of the Caspian sea, as early as the middle of the ninth century. By the middle of the sixth century, there had grown a somewhat close confederacy of tribes in that section of country. The Assyrian kings from Sargon down had held these tribes under tribute, though they were doubtless very restless vassals.

Enlarged View of the Queen.

This confederacy was formed the same among the Medes as among other people. One tribe gradually growing in power and compelling the surrounding tribes to range themselves under their standard. Some indistinct historical figures appear on the scene about the middle of the seventh century B. C. We hear of Phraortes as king, and of his greater son, Cyaxares.

When Assurbanipal devoted himself to a life of ease, after his victory over Chaldea and Elam, this Median tribe, under the lead of Phraortes, was strengthening its power in Media. At length, mistaking quietness for feebleness, they ventured to invade Assyria itself;

they were, however, repulsed, and among the slain was Phraortes himself. The Medes, however, under the lead of Cyaxares, who reorganized his forces and probably secured new allies, made a second attempt and it is supposed that they were in the high tide of success, when they were suddenly recalled to their own country, by a new invasion of half-savage Aryans from Europe, by way of Caucasia, which invasion must have dealt a terrific blow to the already tottering power of Assyria.

To understand this movement, we must study the situation of affairs in Asia Minor. We have seen that, from very early times, Aryan tribes from Europe exerted a pressure in that section of country. Probably great waves of migrating people rolled into the country of which we have no record. We catch sight of one such wave about the middle of the eight century B. C. The Cimmerians, a primitive Aryan people from the great Germanic stock, crossed the Bosporus and ravaged the country to the south of the Black Sea. Sinope, on the coast, was the seat of their power. From this section of country, marauding expeditions were continually starting out to plunder the more settled portions of Asia Minor and Western Asia.

About this same time, the Scyths, a Sarmatian people, must have crowded down into Caucasia, by the Western coast of the Caspian; seating themselves in the mountain fastnesses, they commenced also to send out their marauding expeditions to whatever section of country seemed open to invasion. The terror of these half-savage tribes must have extended far and wide. The prophet Ezekiel, in distant Judah, knew of them, and foresaw the important part they were destined to play.[1] The very word used in the

[1] Ezekiel xxxix and xl.

Bible, Gog, occurs in one of the inscriptions of Assurbanipal under the form of Ga-a-gi.[1] The Assyrian power for a time held back this Aryan torrent. Esar-haddon speaks of defeating a band of Cimmerians, and utterly destroying their army.[2] Assurbanipal boasts of defeating Gog, a chief of the Scythians, capturing his two sons, and taking seventy-five of his cities.[3] Gyges, king of Lydia, when his country was overrun by the Cimmerians, thought to gain the protection of the Assyrians by making voluntary submission.[4] The relief was but temporary. When Assyria was closely pressed by Cyaxares the Mede, the Scythian hordes, no longer dreading Assyria, marched their marauding bands in all directions in Western Asia.

We know almost nothing of these devastating inroads. The monuments are silent. Tradition has it that Cyaxares hurriedly abandoned the siege of Nineveh, and returned to defend his own country. Probably many of the cities of Assyria were plundered, the palaces and the temples destroyed. Palestine, in the west, was overrun. The ancient town of Beth-shan, has since their time been called Scythopolis. According to report, the Egyptian king purchased the safety of his own country by liberal presents. But the fury of the tempest soon passed. The torrent may roll down the mountain, working havoc on its way, but it soon loses itself in the level expanse of the plain. So these Scythic bands, that from the highlands of Caucasia poured down into Western Asia, lost their energies under the more ardent sun of Syria and Palestine, and the luxurious living that attended their too

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1 "Records of the Past," Vol. IX., p. 46,
2 "Records of the Past," Vol. III., p. 113.
3 "Records of the Past," Vol. IX., p. 46.
4 "Assyrian Discoveries, p. 331.

successful expeditions. They soon disappear from history, either driven back to their mountain home, or lost among the masses of the people they for a time held in terrified submission.

When the storm clears away, we are conscious that old landmarks have been greatly changed. The larger part of the provinces of Assyria are free from her yoke. Egypt not only pays no tribute but is preparing to take the offensive. Judah, at this time under the rule of a young and energetic king, Josiah, is extending its authority over such of the immediate contiguous provinces as seem most desirable, and the ancient kingdom of Israel has already been annexed.[1] The two Aryan powers, Lydia in Asia Minor and Media to the north-east of Assyria, appear with greatly increased power. Babylonia, on the south, is still, nominally, an Assyrian province, but undoubtedly but half-concealed preparations for revolt were under way.

It seldom falls to the lot of a human being to experience such vicissitudes of fortune as Assurbanipal. At the head of his victorious army, he sacked Thebes and firmly held Egypt to tribute. It was his armies that subjugated Elam, yet when he died, probably in the year 626 B. C.,[2] Assyria had ceased to be an object of dread, and was probably contending for its very existence with the Scythians. His successor was probably Bel-zakir-iskun, and his reign was probably very brief.[3] He was succeeded by Assur-ebil-illi-kain. Here we lose sight of history. We do not know how many kings, mere shadows of their

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1 This explains the operations of Josiah in and around Samaria. II Kings xxiii. 15 *et seq.*

2 Duncker: "History of Antiquity," Vol. III , p. 284.

3 Smith: "Assyrian Discoveries," p. 382-40.

former greatness, succeeded each other in rapid succession. The name of the last king was Esar-haddon II.

We gather that the viceroy of Babylon, Nabopolassar, threw off the yoke of Assyria about 625 B. C.[1] We gather further that the two Aryan states, Lydia and Media, had divided between themselves the various provinces of Armenia and Asia Minor, and had engaged in war themselves to test the question of supremacy. According to tradition, this war was terminated by an eclipse occurring in the midst of a battle. This event is supposed to have happened about 610 B. C.[2] Be this as it may, the Medes and the Babylonians now united their forces. The result of that league was the invasion of Assyria, the siege and capture of Nineveh and the complete disappearance of Assyria as a political power.[3] Here we might bring the historical outline to a close, but, in order to round out the story of the Ancient World, let us briefly outline the course of events in Egypt and Western Asia for a century following the fall of Assyria. As already pointed out, we detect the immense power of Assyria in process of division among several of her strongest vassals, not for the present regarding the Aryan powers, we seek to learn of Egypt and Babylonia.

Egypt at this time was under the rule of the twenty-sixth dynasty; which was a rise to power on the part of the Delta. The Pharaohs of this dynasty were the heads of the Saitic nome, Psammetichus, the founder of this dynasty, was one of the satraps of the Assyrians. When Assurbanipal was engaged in his wars against Elam and

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[1] Sayce: "Ancient Empires," p. 139. Duncker would place this event later. [2] Duncker, Op. cit., p. 288.

[3] The exact date of this event is not known. It lies between the three years of 606, 607 and 608 B. C.

Babylonia, Psammetichus, with the help of the Greek mercenary troops, drove the Assyrian forces from Egypt, and firmly established his own power. We want to notice the presence of the Aryan Greeks in this war since it shows the rising importance of the Aryans. Egypt was greatly exposed to Greek influence at this time, which influence made itself felt in a great many ways.[1]

As Assyrian influence declined, the rulers of Egypt once more commenced to indulge in pleasing dreams of foreign conquest. With no very positive evidence to guide us, it seems quite probable that they invaded the coast region of Palestine and, perhaps, reduced the cities of Phoenicia to a sort of vassalage.[2] The Scythic invasion probably checked his movements in this direction. The second king of this line, Necho, was an energetic one, and he endeavored to establish Egyptian control over all of Western Asia as far as the Euphrates. He spent some time raising a navy to aid in his undertaking.

At this time, Assyria was in her death struggle and was powerless to oppose his advance. But, as pointed out, Josiah of Judah, was equally bent on enlarging the boundaries of his kingdom, and increasing her power and influence by annexing the contiguous provinces. We have seen that he had already taken possession of the territory of the old kingdom of Israel. It is also supposed that he had reduced the Edomites, Ammonites, Moabites and neighboring tribes to tribute.[3] In short, on the wreck of Assyria, he was endeavoring with rapidity and success to advance Judah to the high position held by the Jewish nation in the days of David and Solomon. A conflict,

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1 Rawlinson: "Egypt," Vol. II., p. 465.
2 Ibid. Compare with Duncker, Op. cit. p. 305.
3 Ewald: "History of Israel," Vol. IV., p. 241.

then, was bound to come between Egypt and Judah. A brief mention is made of this war and the result of its one decisive battle in the Bible.[1] The rapidly rising hopes of Judah were doomed to a bitter disappointment. They had but exchanged the Assyrian vassalage for the Egyptian. For many years, the people of Judah mourned the death of their brave young king, and the cause he had espoused.[2]

The triumph of Egypt was but short lived. Her dreams of glory and conquest were to be as rudely broken as were those of Judah. When Nineveh fell, Babylon received as her reward, the territory of Assyria lying to the west of the Tigris river.[3] The Babylonians could not look with complacency on the occupation of Syria by the Egyptians. Egypt and Babylonia had to settle by force of arms the question of supremacy. The battle of Carchemish, 605 B. C., was one of the great pivotal battles of the world. Here the forces of Egypt and Babylon contended for the supremacy of Western Asia. The result of that battle was the complete defeat of the Egyptians. Babylon succeeded to all the power of Assyria in Western Asia.

Nabopolassar, viceroy of Assurbanipal, indeed laid the foundation of this new Babylonian kingdom, but his son, Nebuchadnezzar, was the one who succeeded in carrying out his designs. He it was who carried Babylon to the very height of her glory. We need not recite in detail how he overrun Palestine, extinguished the independence of Judah, carried away the inhabitants of Jerusalem as captives to Babylon, crushed the life out of the Phoe-

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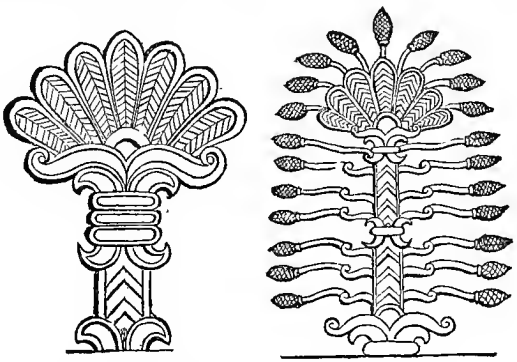
[1] II Kings xxiii. 29-30.
[2] II Chronicles xxxv. 24-25.
[3] Duncker: "History of Antiquity," Vol. III., p. 321.

nician cities, and finally overrun Egypt itself, and reduced that proud country once more to a state of vassalage. He it was that beautified and enlarged Babylon, until it became one of the wonders of the Ancient World. Yet the life of the empire he built up outlasted his own but twenty-three years. After a long and glorious reign of over forty-two years, he died in 562 B. C.; the Babylonian empire was brought to an end by the conquest of Cyrus, king of Anzan or Elam, in B. C. 539. The fall of Babylonia was as sudden and complete as that of Assyria. With the fall of Babylon, we have something more to record than the mere extinction of one kingdom by another. Semitic supremacy in Western Asia passed away. But even more is to be said. We are here brought to the end of the Ancient World in culture. From this point we will study the development of Aryan culture, and the scene is no longer laid in Africa or Asia, but in Europe. Let us now study some of the especial points of Assyrian culture, and make a general summary of Semitic Civilization.

In studying the culture of Assyria, we have a most interesting field before us, and one, for the full elucidation of which a volume would scarcely suffice. We can only glance at some of the main points and compare them with Semitic culture in general. They constituted the most important branch of the Semitic people, and were, for centuries, the most powerful. As time passed on, the language of Chaldea became a classical and even a sacred language. The Shamans, magicians, and sorcerers of Chaldea became the priests, seers and prophets of Assyria. The magical formulae, incantations, and songs became inspired writings. They were copied with the greatest of care, the original language was retained; and the priests, to derive the fullest

benefit from them, must repeat or chant them in the original tongue. A similar reverence was felt for the poems and stories of that primitive long ago. And thus the Turanian mythology of Chaldea was adopted *en masse* by the Assyrians.

But the Monotheistic tendencies, inherent in all Semitic belief, arising as we have seen from their consistent Ancestor worship, led to the same result in Assyrian belief as it did among the other branches of Semitic people. It led to a qualified Monotheism. Along with their belief in the



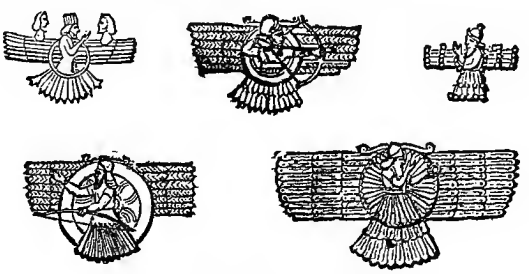
Sacred Tree of the Assyrians.

existence of other gods, they believed in their own local, national god who, as far as they were concerned, was supreme; and national vanity ascribed to him dominion over other gods. This was the god Asshur, and the name probably points back to a time when the sky was regarded as a great fetich, since the word is probably derived from a root "sar" meaning sky.[1] The inscriptions of the Assyrian kings often mention the aid of other gods with reverent gratitude. But Asshur is nearly always the first one mentioned, and always in such a way that we at once detect his superior importance. An inscription of Shalmaneser

[1] Sayce: "Assyria," p. 21.

I. begins: "Asshur, the great Lord, King of all the assembly of the great gods."

Wars are generally asserted to be by his commands. The king, on his expeditions, is "in the service of Asshur." Victory is ascribed to him, some such an expression as this is sure to occur: "Exceeding fear of Asshur, my Lord, overwhelmed them." One king after another complacently excuses his deeds of cruelty, since they were done by commands of Asshur, and for his honor and glory. The other gods, as far as important events are concerned, are supposed to assist in carrying out the commands of Asshur,



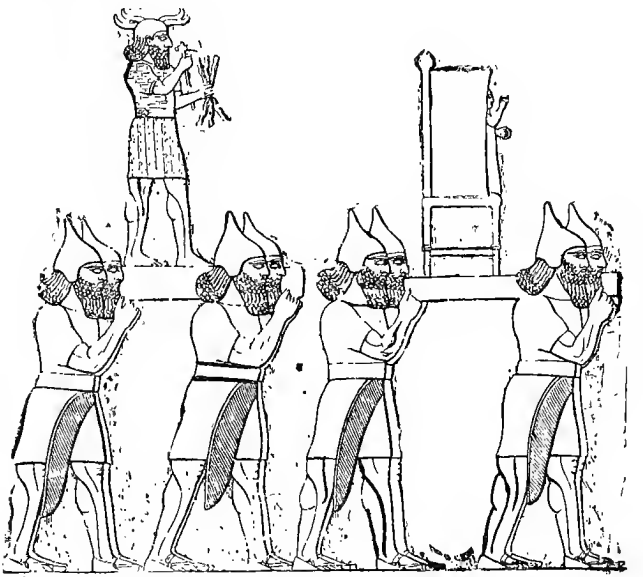
Representation of Asshur.

each in his own particular way, for, as already stated, each of these gods had, so to speak, a special department. These gods, though inferior to Asshur, were still powerful, and, in a certain way, seem to have been nearer to the hearts of the rulers and people than their great national diety.

The goddess Ishtar seems to have been quite a favorite. Her temples were to be found in all of the principal cities. She had a two-fold nature. She was the goddess, not only of love, but of war. As the "Lady of Battles," she was quite a favorite with the Assyrian kings. Esar-haddon, when in trouble about the Elamite war, prayed Ishtar, and received from a prophet the following comforting assurance:

"Fear not, O Esar-haddon,

I am (as) Bel, thy strength,
I will ease the supports of thy heart.
Each of the sixty great gods my strong ones
With his life will guide thee.
The moon god on thy right hand, the sun god at thy left.
Upon mankind trust not, bend thine eyes upon me,
I am Ishtar, of Arbella."



Gods Carried in Procession with their Arks.

The Assyrians built temples to their gods. There are many points of resemblance among Semitic temples wherever built. They had outer and inner courts, as well as an inner sanctuary where the priests only were permitted to go. Before this sanctuary a veil was hung. An inscription of Nebuchadnezzer reads: "Before the curtains of His sanctuary I bowed down my head." In this "holy of holies," there was an altar approached by steps, as well as an ark, regarded as the especial home of the god, in whose honor

the temple was built. We sometimes see this ark carried in a procession by priests, analogous, in this respect, to Egyptian usage. Mr. Rassam discovered in the ruins of the temple at Balawat two inscribed tablets of stone placed in this ark or coffer.[1] In the outer court, there was placed a large basin (called a "sea") filled with water for religious purposes. The gods were worshiped by prayers, songs and sacrifices. Each temple had its corps of priests who were especially devoted to the service of the god of the temple. Minute directions for the guidance of these priests were given.

The priests were provided with a regular prayer book containing prayers suitable for all occasions. The following prayer for the good of a king is really a beautiful one: "Length of days, long lasting years; a strong sword, a long life, extending years of glory, pre-eminence among kings, grant ye to the king, my lord, who has given such gifts to his gods! The bounds, vast and wide, of his empire and his rule, may he enlarge and may he complete! Holding over all kings supremacy, and royalty, and empire, may he attain to gray hairs and old age! And, after the life of these days, in the feasts of the silver mountain, the heavenly courts, the abode of blessedness; and in the light of the happy fields may he dwell a life, eternal holy, in the presence of the gods who inhabit Assyria."

Their collection of sacred writings contained many beautiful examples of psalms, if we may judge of the few fragments we possess. What is finer than the following address to some unknown deity:

"In heaven who is great? Thou alone art great.

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1 Sayce: "Assyria," p. 74.

On earth who is great? Thou alone art great.

When thy voice resounds in heaven, the gods fall prostrate!

When thy voice resounds on earth, the genii kiss the dust!!

The thought in the following fragment is certainly noble and beautifully expressed: "The god, my creator, may he stand by my side!

Keep thou the door of my lips! Guard thou my hands, O Lord of Light."

While on this subject, let us quote this hymn on the death of a righteous man: "Bind the sick man to Heaven, for from earth he is being torn away.

Of the brave man who was so strong, his strength has departed.

Of the righteous servant, the force does not return,

In his bodily frame, he lies dangerously ill.

But Ishtar, who in her dwelling is grieved concerning him,

Descends from her mountain, unvisited of men.

To the door of the sick man she comes.

The sick man listens!

Who is there? Who comes?

It is Ishtar, daughter of the moon-god, Sin."

Compare with the foregoing the following brief but beautiful prayer for the departing soul: "Like a bird may it fly to a lofty place! To the holy hands of its god may it ascend!"

The influence of the priests extended to acts of daily life. Swine's flesh, among some other unclean animals, was prohibited. They had regular fast days, but, in times of public calamity, other days were appointed for fasting and weeping. They also adopted the Chaldean Sabbath,

they called it Sabattu, in the Assyrian this meant "a day of rest for the heart." We have seen that among the Chaldeans it meant "a day of completion of labor," very strict rules for its observance were instituted. They worshiped the gods with sacrifices, a part of the animal only was used for this purpose, the rest being handed over to the officers of the temple. As yet, no evidence of human sacrifice among the Assyrians has been obtained. We may confidently expect to find this, since, as far as we know, all other Semitic people occasionally offered up human sacrifices.

A sacrificial Scene.

Before treating of their mythology, let us briefly glance at their literature. All the ancient capitals of Assyria were supplied with Royal libraries. The "books" of these libraries were clay tablets: all the tablets treating on one subject were of uniform size, the writing employed was, of course, cuneiform. In some cases, the number of tablets in a series amounted to over one hundred. Each tablet in any series was numbered, and the name of the series was given. This name was the first phrase of the first tablet. For instance, the tablets containing the Creation Poem were twelve in number. The first phrase of the first tablet was "When Above;" this was, therefore, the name of the series. The third tablet, for instance, bore this title "Third Tablet of When Above." When a person

wished to consult a "book," he was requested to hand to the librarian (who was always a highly honored official) a writing of the number and name of the tablet he wished.

It is estimated that the Royal library at Nineveh contained ten thousand tablets. Several thousand fragments of these tablets are now in the British Museum, many thousand more remain in the ruins. Assurbanipal made strenuous efforts to build up this library. His agents were everywhere at work, copying the old Chaldean records, contained in the libraries and temples of Chaldea. Many of these were translated from the old Turanian literature of Accad; occasionally the scribe would come across a word he could not translate, so he would write the word *khibi*, "it is wanting," and go on with the text.

A large part of this literature was of the nature of grammars and dictionaries. No Assyrian could call himself educated who could not read the language of Accad, their classical language, and the language of their sacred books. So we find long lists of Accadian characters drawn up, with their pronunciation in Assyrian given. Also lists of Accadian words and grammatical forms, with their Assyrian equivalents. Other tablets contained phrases and sentences extracted from some particular Accadian work and explained in Assyrian. Reading exercises or primers, for the use of the young Assyrian just learning Accadian, were employed.

All branches of knowledge, known at the time, were treated of in these libraries. Mathemathics, astronomy and medicine were all represented. Tables of squares and cubes have been found, and tablets covered with mathematical figures and calculations are in existence. Astronomy was well represented. Great collections of recorded eclipses are found, and it is generally stated whether the

eclipse happened "according to calculation" or "contrary to calculation." But, of course, at that early day astronomy was simply an aid to astrology. The Zodiacal signs had been marked out. Every great city had its observatory and official astronomer, who reported to the king every two weeks. Tablets of such reports are in existence. Medicine was generally handed over to the priests, for the Assyrians firmly believed in the evil spirit theory of diseases. Still they had other methods. Here, for instance, is a prescription from a book on medicine: "For low spirits slice the root of the Destiny tree, the root of the Susum tree, two or three other vegetable compounds and the tongue of a dog. Drink the mixture either in water or in palm wine."

We have seen that the Assyrians were a commercial people. It is an error to suppose that the Second Empire was wholly a military one. Commerce was active, and, from Nineveh, great caravans often started out for the commercial centers of Western Asia. One of the most interesting series of remains of Assyria are contract tablets, thousands of them are now in the British Museum. It is interesting to note that while Accadian was their classical and sacred language, and the Assyrian the common language of the land, the Syrian was the language of trade and commerce. "Not unfrequently an Aramaic docket accompanies an Assyrian contract tablet, stating briefly what were its contents, and the names of the chief contracting parties."[1] The subject matter of these contract tablets relates to all sorts of commercial dealings. All deeds and contracts were signed and sealed in the presence of witnesses, who affixed their seals to the documents

[1] Sayce: "Assyria," p. 133.

or, if too poor to own seals, they made a mark with their thumb-nail. There flourished at Babylon for many years, a great banking firm, the house of Egibi. The business descended from father to son. They were the Rothschilds of the Assyrian world. The probable modern equivalent of their name is "Jacob and Sons." Here is one of their contract tablets concerning a loan they negotiated:

"Ten shekels of the best silver for the head of Ishtar of Nineveh, which Bil-lubaladh has lent on a loan in the presence of Mannu-ki-Arbella (here follows three seals), the silver is to have interest paid upon it at four per cent. The silver has been given on the third day of the month. (Dated) the third day of Sebat, in the eponymy of Rimmon-lid-aui." Then follow the names of a number of witnesses.

Mythological subjects occupied a large place in their literature. We have already referred to the Creation Poem, which covered twelve tablets; this was a translation from old Accadian sources for the Royal library of Assurbanipal at Nineveh. Of late years, scholars have collected many scattered fragments of a great epic poem, which once consisted of twelve books, narrating the adventures of a hero by the name of Izdubar. Many of the cylinders given on former pages refer to these legends. It is generally agreed that this epic is a description of the course of the sun through the twelve constellations of the Zodiac. The whole conception is very finely worked out. As each book corresponds to some sign of the Zodiac, its contents are descriptive of that sign.

For instance, the sun entered the constellation of the Lion in the fifth month. So appropriately enough, the fifth legend treats of the victory gained by the hero Izdubar over a lion. From the ninth to the twelfth month is the

Winter season of the year. The books corresponding to these months relate the journey of the hero to the under-ground world (the spirit world), the adventures that there befell him, and his final return, purified and invigorated, to the world of light. The series of legends is very transparent all the way through. Our interest in them suddenly increases when we reach the eleventh book. This was the rainy season of the year. The month was called "The month of the curse of rain," then the sun entered the constellation Aquaries. We are prepared, then, to hear of the adventures of Izdubar on the water.

It happens that this is the best preserved tablet of all, or rather we have fortunately discovered more fragments of it. To our astonishment, it turns out to be an account of the flood. Izdubar meets in the under-ground world a renowned ancestor of his, Hasisadra, who had been translated alive into the assembly of the gods. He it is who relates to Izdubar all about the flood. Making allowance for the vein of Polytheism in this account, the agreement between it and that given in Genesis is most striking. The copy we have was made for the Nineveh library. There is no reason to doubt that this is a correct copy of an extremely ancient poem, one in the possession of the Accadians long before the Semites entered Chaldea.[1]

We have now completed our review of what we might call the Semitic period in the culture history of the

---

[1] We have extracted our account of the culture of the Assyrians from the following: Budge: "Babylonian Life and History," London, 1885; Sayce: "Assyria," London, 1885; Smith: "Assyrian Discoveries," London, 1883; Smith: "Chaldean Genesis," London, 1876; Harkness: "Assyrian Life and History," London, 1883; "Records of the Past," Vols. I., III., V., VII. and IX.; Lenormant: "Chaldean Magic," London, 1877; Sayce: "Ancient Empires," New York, 1884.

world. Broadly speaking, it is seen to cover the period of five thousand years preceding the Christian epoch. They are seen to be the ones who build, from the foundation laid by the Yellow Races, the superstructure of Ancient Civilization. During that extended period of time, the Aryans had been slowly advancing through the several stages of Barbarism. Those situated on the northern shores of the Mediterranean had entered into the light of Civilization, and there was growing up the Civilization which was destined to take a commanding position in the world. We have now arrived at that epoch in the world's history and so here we bid farewell to the Ancient World.

As we close the lids of this volume and glance away from the busy present adown the long vistas of the past, what strange scenes throng the troubled field of vision! The genial sun of early Tertiary times lights up the scene; and, from the distant East, we see bands of savage men dispersing over the earth. Long ages come and go before the snows of the advancing Glacial Age commence to fall. Then that strange and but poorly understood period of time passes on and off the stage of vision.

During all this prolonged period, doubtless exceeding in duration the subsequent ages, we learn of nothing but tribes belonging to the Black Races in the Paleolithic stage of culture. But the scene now changes, the Yellow Races appear in Northern Asia and spread over the world, carrying with them improved tools and weapons, and possessing a much more highly organized governmental and social system. Every element of our present culture is seen to start from the foundation laid by them.

As in a dream, there passes before us the splendors of that early Civilization in the valley of the Nile; and, more

shadowy and evanescent still, unrolls the history and culture of ancient Chaldea. The petty Semitic states of Western Asia pass in review; and there looms up before us the overpowering greatness fo Assyria, followed by the rocket like rise and fall of Babylonia.

In the midst of these confused and shifting scenes of the past, can we not extract some cheering truths in regard to the growth of Civilization in general? Though nations rise and fall, and races come and go, has not human development ever been upward and onward? We can, then, look forward to the dawning of a better day. We can hope that the Civilization of the future will as greatly surpass that of the present, as the light of day exceeds in brilliancy that of moonlit nights.

# HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION

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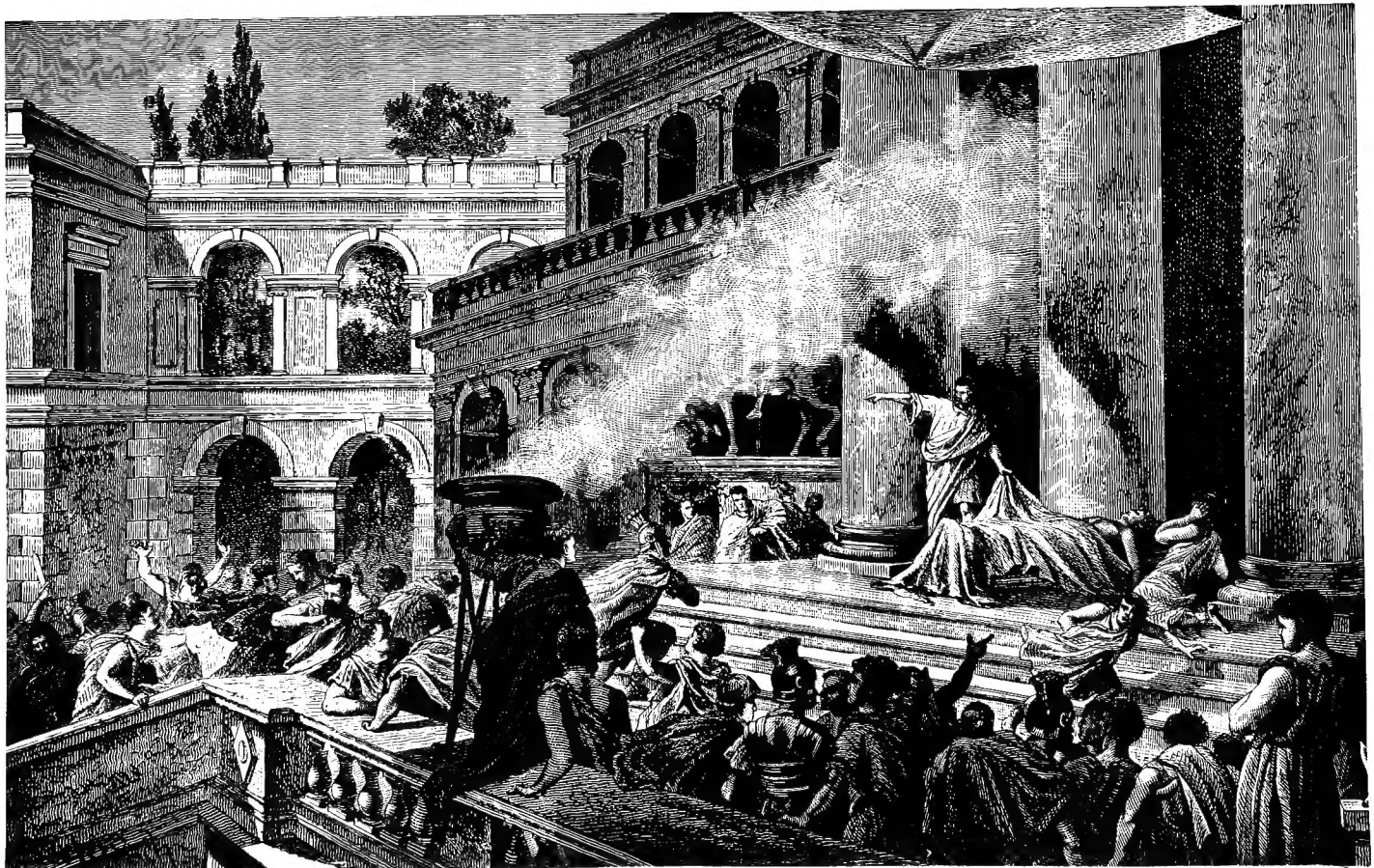

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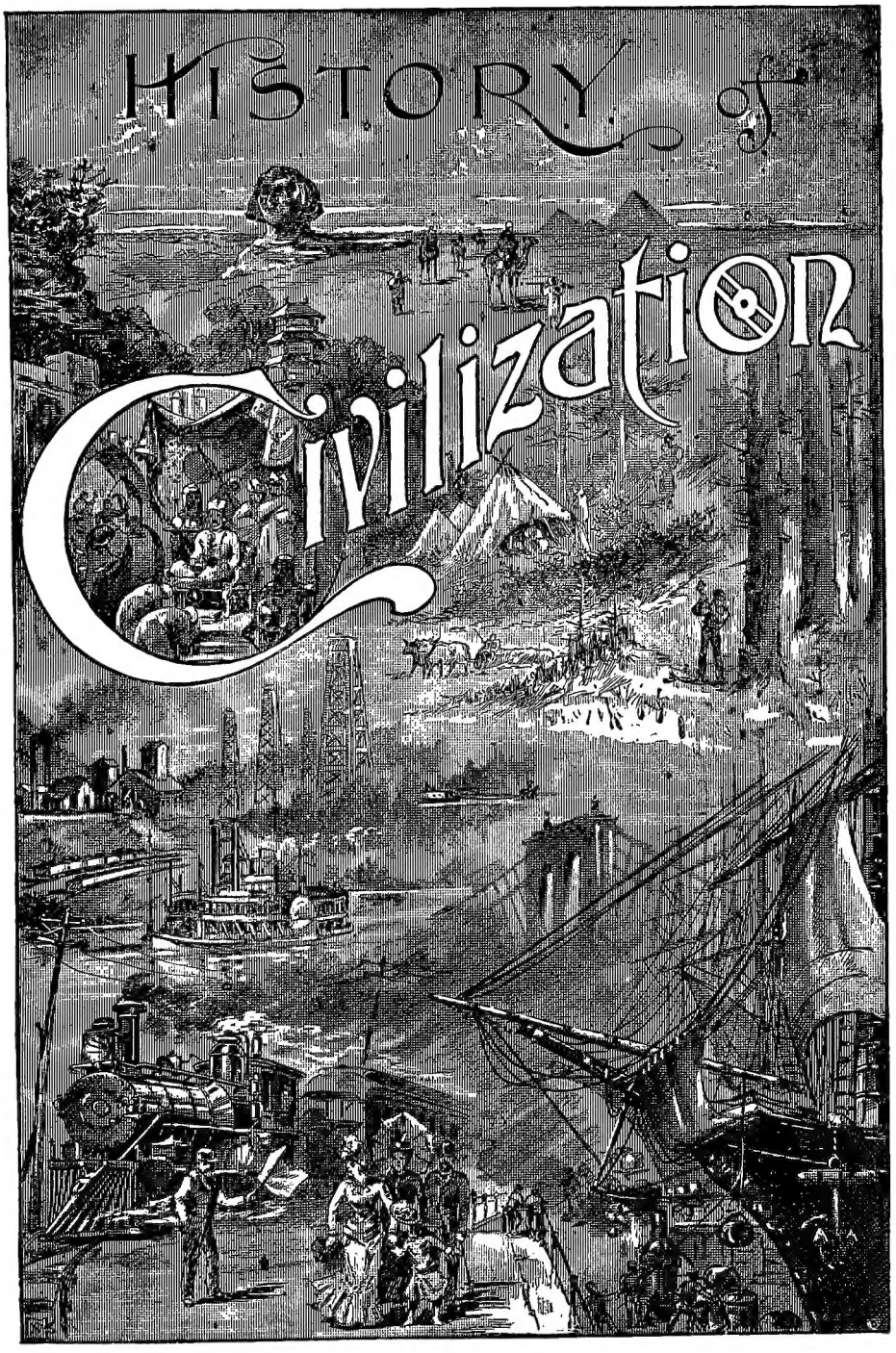
HISTORY OF
CIVILIZATION

# HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION

VOL. III.

# The Medieval World; OR Dark Ages,

BY

E. A. ALLEN.

CINCINNATI:
CENTRAL PUBLISHING HOUSE,
1889.

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# PREFACE.

THIS VOLUME treats of the Medieval World in culture, and is the third of the series entitled "THE HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION." As explained in the preceding volume, the Medieval and Modern Worlds, as far as the history of culture is concerned, are entirely taken up with the consideration of Aryan civilization. Strictly speaking, there are no broad, well marked divisions of Aryan history and culture. The Aryans were the last great people to emerge into the light of history. Their growth in political power and culture has been slow but ever onward, until, at present, their ranks include all the most powerful and progressive nations of the world.

We will, in this volume, treat of that period of Aryan development which culminated in the Discovery of America, the Invention of Printing and the Protestant Reformation. In Part I., we treat of the Political Development of the Aryans during the period of

time just mentioned. We have tried to present a connected account of this development in the five chapters devoted to this part of the work. Although we must let this part speak for itself, yet we can not refrain from speaking of the main assertion sought to be supported in these chapters.

It has been very generally asserted that the Ayrans were Asiatic people; but of late years an opposite theory has sprung up, and is supported by some of the best scholars of the day. In brief, this theory teaches that Europe is, and always has been, the home of the Aryans; that in Europe, owing to the co-working of many causes, was first evolved the Aryan people. The literature on this subject, though rapidly growing, is at present mostly confined to foreign writers, and we have, unfortunately, been unable to examine it very extensively; yet but a very brief examination is required to show that this theory possesses many elements of strength, and we have little doubt that before many years it will be one of the accepted conclusions of science.

After having thus outlined the political development of the Aryans, we turn to consider their development in culture. In this part, we strive to make apparent the fact, that Aryan development has flowed on in an ever-widening and deepening stream. We aim to show that the general idea in regard to the so-called "Dark Ages" is not correct. There has been no retrograde movement in Aryan culture. The freshness and vivacity of Grecian culture may have disappeared, but just so does the charm of morning disappear before the pressure of mid-day. The concluding chapter of this part—Aryan Religion—is a continuation of Primitive Religion of Volume II. Regarding religion as one of the principal factors of civilization, it is incumbent upon us to trace the development of Aryan religion. It will be seen in the sequel that here, as elsewhere, the Aryans played a most important part in the world's history.

Regarding Europe as the home of the Aryan people gives us a new insight into the nature of Aryan civilization. There is being

evolved in America to-day a new type of people, possessing distinct racial characteristics, and they will probably some day evolve a distinctive civilization. Just so we are to regard the Aryans of Europe. Probably centuries of time elapsed before this race type was fully developed, and many other centuries passed over before they had assimilated the culture of Asia, and had fairly started forward in their own career. Prolonging our mental vision back some thousand of years before the Christian Era, we can dimly make out the same succession of events in Western Asia, which resulted in the Semitic civilization.

Considering Egypt as really part of Asia, the civilization of Asia, Europe, and America will correspond, in a general way, to the Ancient, Medieval, and Modern Worlds in culture. This last division has not yet become distinct; we still call ourselves Aryans, and our culture is not materially different from that of Europe. Some centuries hence this distinction will probably become fully apparent. It is only by thus taking broad, general views that we begin to form adequate ideas as to the march of events in the world's history. Compared with these great movements—the slow rise of races of men to a commanding position in the culture history of the world, their culmination and decline—how utterly insignificant is the life of the individual!

In reference to the preparation of this volume, the same general plan was pursued as in the preceding one. Mr. ALLEN was assisted by the two gentlemen already named, viz.: WILLIS BOUGHTON, B. A., University of Michigan, and EMIL REICH, D. C. L., University of Vienna. While we have to thank them for many valuable suggestions as to the work in general, we wish to make a special acknowledgment to Mr. BOUGHTON for his services in Part I, and a similar acknowledgment is due Dr. REICH in reference to Chapters VI, VII and VIII. The author and his assistants have aimed in all cases to present the latest and best sustained views of scholars in the various fields they have touched upon. Where we have differed from the

conclusions generally given, we have only done so after a full consideration of all the facts of the cases; and in all such instances, we have aimed to give in foot notes the authorities and reasoning followed.

We take occasion once more to return our sincere thanks to Mr. A. W. WHELPLEY, Librarian of the Cincinnati Public Library, and his corps of assistants. The same kind assistance mentioned in the preceding volume was continued in this. It is not too much to say that much of the value of this work is owing to the voluminous material to be found in this library. We trust, that all who read this volume will find much to commend, little to disprove, and that such of our readers as never gave much thought to the origin and development of the Aryan people will be tempted to pursue the subject further. We assure them that they will never regret such a course.

E. A. Allen.

CINCINNATI, *June* 1, 1888.

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# Part I.

## History of the Political Development of the Aryan People.

I. Primitive Aryans.

II. Asiatic Aryans.

III. Hellenic Aryans.

IV. Roman Aryans.

V. Rise of Modern Nations.

The hand upon thy dial, Time, now marks
The hour of change. The Orient, effete
With opulence, is crumbling fast to dust.
Lo from its ruins, Phenix like, appears
A new born race.
A heritage is theirs.
O'er-reaching all the earth. The East gives up
Its hoarded wealth. The West invites them come
And occupy its boundless fields. The Earth
Unbosoms mines of jewels rare, while at
The touch of their deft hands fair beauteous forms,
Almost divine, spring from the senseless rock.
With keen and searching minds, they penetrate
The realms of endless thought. In search of truth,
They enter quiet Nature's holy walks
And study God's most subtle laws.
Behold
When Iran comes, a Universe bursts forth
In welcome strains, and rich profusion crowns
The ardent zeal of that aspiring race.

WILLIS BOUGHTON.

# CHAPTER I.

## THE PRIMITIVE ARYANS.

INTRODUCTION—Aryan Linguistic Family—Geographical Location of the Aryans—The Evidence of Language—Aryan Migrations—Celtic—Cimmerian—Dorian—Thracian—The Phrygians — The Slavonians—Aryan Influence in Eastern Asia—Ainos—Coreans—Polynesians—Hindoos—Iranians—Asiatic—Asiatic Origin of the Aryans—Difficulties of this Theory—European Origin—The Evidence of Ethnology—Of Language—Advantage of the European Theory—Conclusion.

IN MANY ways, Nature teaches us that time is long, and that she can not be hurried to her final results. In the fullness of time, the results of her methods of work are revealed, and the time taken to produce a given result is, in a sense, commensurate with its importance. This is to be seen when we consider some of the theories of modern science. They tell us of countless ages

during which our earth swung in space, a glowing orb of light. They speak of eras, exceeding in time the ability of the human mind to conceive, during which our planet was fitting as an abode for sentient beings. They have to say of the long infancy of the human race, of its slow advance in culture, of its triumph over many obstacles, and of the final appearance of that better day, when ideas of truth and justice and such an advanced stage of justice and enlightenment had been reached that we speak of man as civilized. But all this took many millenniums of years to accomplish.

Since then, many centuries have been tolled off in rapidly passing years. From a distance, taking a mental survey of the entire field, making reasonable allowance for that which is yet obscured by darkness, we can detect certain great planes of culture with clear traces of advance from one to the other. Closer inspection shows us that, explain it how we will, the people in these successive stages of advance are also separated by racial differences. We have the culture of the Turanian races, followed in time by the strangely tropical growth of the Valley of the Nile, which was in turn succeeded by the Semitic culture of Western Asia.

It further appears that different portions of the earth's surface have been at different times the seats of the most advanced culture. In this respect, both Asia and Africa hold an important position in the culture history of the world. There was the early home of Civilization, there first the light of history broke through the clouds of prehistoric times. The time was now at hand when the seat of learning and culture was to depart forever from the countries of its birth, to reappear with added lustre in a country beyond the blue billows of the Mediterranean, the

narrow strait of the Bosporus, the tossing waves of the Euxine. That country was Europe. There, for some thousands of years, a sturdy people had been passing through the various stages of Barbarism.

That long period was now past. The hills and vales of classic Greece had now caught and focussed the light of Oriental culture. And sunny Italy, too, had seen the daylight in the East, and was laying the foundation of its world-wide culture. These countries, however, formed but the most advanced outpost of the Aryan people. The grassy steppes of Russia, the vast forests of Germany, the fiord valleys of Norway, were likewise the homes of numerous kindred tribes, though some centuries were to elapse before they were to come to their full inheritance. Let us now take up this country; study its people in their collective sense; and learn of their condition in that primitive long-ago, before they commenced to move out of their common home; trace some of these migrations to distant portions of Asia; and, in short, study the development and scope of the Aryan, or, as we might call it, European Civilization. We have to inquire first, who were the Aryans, where were they when history dawns upon them, and where did they come from?

It has long been a matter of common understanding that the various languages of Europe are all more or less connected. There are many points of resemblance in the grammar, and even many of the words are the same. Interest in this matter was aroused to a still greater pitch when India passed into the hands of the English. The English officials, scattered in various capacities throughout the country, quickly became aware of the fact, that, not only was this language spoken in India to-day in some respects an European language; but they make the further

discovery, that, in the hands of the priestly caste, there were many volumes written in a tongue that but few could understand, though the books themselves were the sacred books of the Hindoos.

When a few scholars ventured to study this language, they found to their surprise that it, in many respects, resembled the modern languages of Europe. That language was the Sanskrit, and scholars at once set about its study. And, from that study, have come many theories concerning the Hindoos and the Europeans, and their connection with this ancient language. In short, a new science was given to the world, the science of Philology, or the comparative study of language. As a result of that study, we put into one class by themselves, as forming a closely related linguistic group, all the people of Europe, with but few exceptions,[1] and some of the people of Asia—such as the Persians, Afghans, and Hindoos and some of the but half-civilized tribes of the Hindoo Koosh mountains. We can say of the language of all these people, that their grammars are substantially the same, and that they possess great stores of common words. These words occur with a slightly different dress according to the general peculiarities of the individual language. That is to say, the common word appears in a slightly different dress according as it is used by English speaking people or Germans or Russians or Indian Brahmins. But, in all these cases, the real part of the word, the root—the nucleus—can be quite easily traced from language to language.

In another place, we have made the Aryans a principal division of the White Race.[2] All understand that this classification is one of convenience only. Of course, as the various bands separated from their common home,

[1] See This Series, Vol. II. p. 33, note 2. [2] Ibid. p. 82.

they must have become intermixed with other people. Keane asserts: "The Aryan stock itself, whatever its original constitution, has everywhere become so intermixed with non-Aryan people already in possession of the land that the very expression, 'Aryan,' has almost lost its ethnical value.[1]"

This collected group of people has not always been called Aryans. Some scholars have called them "Indo-Germans." Others have used the name "Indo-Europeans." The term, *Aryan*, is a comparatively late name for the great family of nations. It is derived from the Sanskrit word, *arya*, which means, literally, noble.[2] It is also the name of a small country near where the Asiatic Aryans (The Indians and Iranians) first made their home upon reaching Central Asia. Darius, the first great Persian king, has rendered the name immortal by announcing to the world in his funeral inscription at Naksh-i-Rustan: "I am Darius, the great king, the king of kings.....Aryan of Aryan ofispring."[3] We shall adopt it throughout, for it is the most convenient term, if not the most appropriate.

In wondering at the marvelous works of the past, and the more marvelous legends that cluster around everything that is ancient—myths that have been palmed off upon the world as historical facts—we are apt to overlook the fact that we are living in the midst of a far more enlightened world than the ancients ever dreamed of. We incredulously wonder at the ancient splendor of Assyria and Babylonia; we marvel at the architectural remains of

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1 In Ramsey's "Europe," p. 55. Compare with our remarks, Vol. II.p. 33 *et seq.*

2 Müller: "Science of Language," Vol. I. p. 237.

3 Dr. Oppert in "Records of the Past," Vol. IX. p. 75.

Egypt. We forget, that the Aryans began where all the rest left off, and that Aryan Civilization is far more worthy of our admiration. The Aryans have never yet been given full credit for the work which they have accomplished. Let us turn for a time from a slavish worship of antiquity, let us consider, that, if we wish to study art we visit Greece and Rome; if we wish to view the philosophy of the past, we must study Aryan classics; or, if we wish to gain a knowledge of any of the important or vital questions of the present, we turn to the Aryan scholars of to-day. Even in religion, the Aryans have furnished the world with the three most admirable systems of religion that have ever stirred the hearts of men. These are Zoroasterism, Buddhism and Christianity. As for the last, we shall see that it is and always has been pre-eminently an Aryan religion. Though of Semitic origin, it was discarded by the Hebrews. In short, all we can say of ancient culture is that it was the foundation on which Aryans built the massive superstructure of our present Civilization. The Aryans to-day include the progressive race of the world. The science and religion of the world to-day are Aryan. Let us then endeavor to come to a full understanding of the Aryan people and their culture.

The various Aryan people have not always been known by the particular names which they now bear. In ancient times, one important branch was the Celts. Though there is now no separate nationality known by that name, it was once applied to a great people who roamed over a large part of Western Europe. There were two groups of Celts, Gallic (spelled also Gaedhelic) and Cimric. The Irish are the descendants of the former, and the Welsh of the latter.[1] Historians have so often applied the name Gauls to the

1 Keane, Op. cit. p. 559.

Celts that the names may be interchanged freely, remembering that Gauls are always Celts but that the reverse need not be the case. Among the first German tribes to come into contact with civilized people, were the Teutons. Teutonic is a word that has ever since been preserved and may be applied to all German people. The name "Germans" had just come into use in the time of Tacitus, as he tells us in his Germania,[1] and it has ever since clung to the Teutons who have lived beyond the Rhine. From the third to the fifth century A. D., when the Western Roman Empire was about to fall to pieces, a number of entirely new German tribes came into prominent notice. These were the Saxons, Goths, Franks, Vandals, Burgundians, Suevi, Lombards, Angles, and others less prominent.[2]

The Slavonic Aryans, represented by the modern Russians, are a later people and form a distinct branch of the Aryan family. Along the shores of the Baltic, there exists to-day a peculiar people. They are called Lithuanians or Letts. Though not a numerous people, they have a language that is nearer the typical Aryan than any other existing form of speech. We know almost nothing about them, historically, and so can only guess alike at the date when they came thither and of the road by which they came. The most illustrious of the early Aryans were, of course, the Greeks and Latins. Thus far, we have mentioned those Aryans who dwelt in Europe. Europe has ever been pre-eminently the Aryan continent, but the Persians and the Indians may be mentioned as the most striking examples of Asiatic Aryans. A convenient grouping of the Aryans would be the Greco-Latins, the Celts, the Teutons, and the Slaves.

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1 Chap. II.

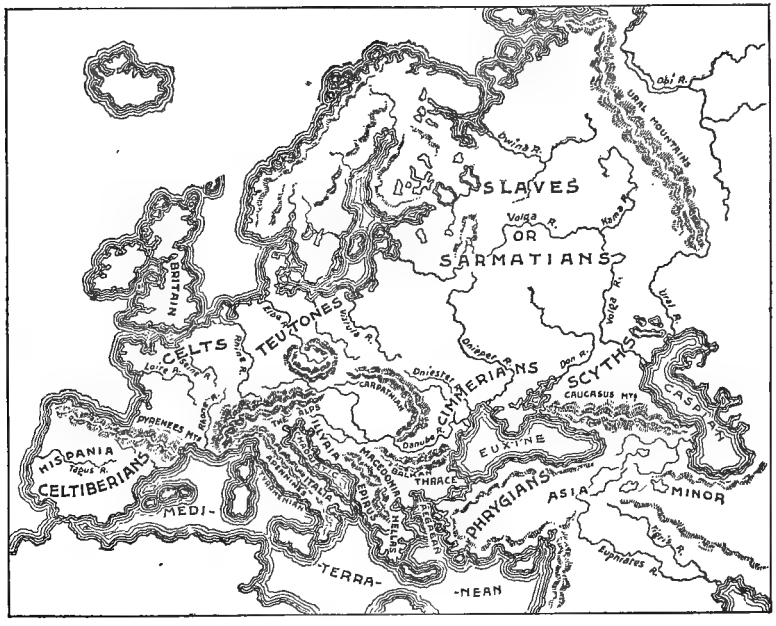
2 Freeman: "Historical Geography," p. 85, 87 and 97.

Now it must not, for an instant, be supposed that the various branches of the Aryan family have grown and developed side by side, each keeping pace with all the rest, and, finally, all together growing into our present Civilization. Such an idea would be far from the true one. Each one of the great nations, that have arisen from the primitive Aryan stock, has had its own period of growth and its own peculiar form of development. The so-called youngest, or Slave, family is still in its infancy and no one can prophesy what its future may be. The very first of what we may call Aryan civilization that appears to us in history was that of the Trojans, who were nearly related to the Greeks and Germans as we shall see later.[1] It was some six centuries after Troy had met her fate before the Persians arose to a commanding position among the nations of the world. Greece and Rome and the Neo-Persian civilization followed in quick succession, only to be superseded by the Romance and Germanic (including English) civilizations of our own time, upon which the sun in its daily course never sets. The light of Aryan civilization first dawned on the East, and there it first attained its meridian height. From that time until this, it has gone steadily forward toward the West, journeying backward for one brief period only, when the Persians arose to a commanding place among the nations of the world in the time of Darius the Great. It crossed the Atlantic, illumined the New World, and the waves of the Pacific, that break on the shores of Asia, will soon, let us hope, glow refulgent with its light.

Before endeavoring to locate the historical homes of

[1] The reader will find this fully treated in Schliemann's "Illios" and "Troja." We will speak of it in detail when we come to speak of the Greeks.

the several families of the Aryan race, we must familiarize ourselves with the geography of Europe, for we shall find that the stage of Aryan life and civilization has been principally upon European soil. From the accompanying map, we will see that Southern Europe is a series of peninsulas, projecting southward into the Mediterranean. Three of these peninsulas are more prominent than the rest. They are Greece, Italy, and Spain. The first was known to the




Map of Aryan Europe.

ancients as Hellas, the second as Italia, and the third as Hispania, or sometimes Iberia. The Black Sea was known as the Euxine. Between Hellas and the coast of Asia Minor, was the Aegæan Sea. The Hadriatic (or Adriatic) was the same as at present, while the western coast of Italy bore the name of Tyrrhenian sea from the Greek name for the Etruscans.

North of Hellas were Macedonia and Epiros, Thrace

and Illyria, ranging in pairs. The latter pair was separated from the northern land by the Balkan mountains. The Alps formed, then as now, the northern semi-circular boundary of the head of the Italian penisula. North of these two mountain ranges was the home land of the numerous German tribes, and north of Hispania was the country which Caesar called Gaul. Roman Britain corresponded pretty well to modern England. Wherever we have occasion to mention the great rivers of Europe, such as the Rhine, Rhone, Danube, Elbe, Vistula, Volga, Don, Dneiper, and Ural, we will use the modern names for them.

In a general sense, we may describe the location of the principal Aryan groups at the dawn of history as follows: The Mediterranean basin, including its great lake, the Black Sea, was the theater of action for the Greco-Latins. The Rhine and Vistula rivers naturally divide Central Europe into three great regions, roughly corresponding to the other three great divisions of the Aryans. The Rhine, in ancient times, formed the dividing line between the Celt and the Teuton, while the Vistula, in more modern times, separated the Teuton from his Slavic kinsman. In very ancient times, however, it is supposed that the Germans were confined to the territory between the Rhine and the Elbe, but they afterwards crowded farther east.

Of course there must have been a time once, when there were no well marked divisions among the Aryans. We have also seen that there was once a time when Europe was in the firm posession of Turanian people. If, then, we were permitted to glance down the long vistas of time, we finally come to a period when the Aryans, as such, can first be distinguished. That time was long before historic

eras. The glaciers had come and gone; the Neolithic Age, had come with its unnumbered hosts of Turanian people, who, after populating these fair lands for unknown ages, were now passing away before the superior culture of the advancing Aryans. The Bronze Age was fast approaching

Lithuanian Forest.

its culmination. The physical features of the country were much the same as now, but nature was permitted to hold wild and universal dominion over almost the entire land.

Man had not yet learned to hew down the forest trees and to drain the marsh tracts. The steppes of Russia were the pasture lands for innumerable flocks and herds. The forests of the north, and the marshes of the lake regions were the homes of the buffalo, the bear, and the boar, and were still inhabited by fierce Turanian tribes. We know but little about the Aryan population there until long after historic times.

As time passed and migrations went forward, the primitive Aryans split up into the great divisions we have roughly outlined. In the forest or marshy region, just described, were located the Slaves or Sarmatian people. Ancient Germania, with its great Hercynian forest and Teutoberger wald, so fatal to Varus and his legions, was the home of all Teutonic nations. It was a country generally bristling with forests, or reeking with swamps.[1] There were river valleys, however, that yielded rich harvests of grain, and every tribe had its flocks and herds. The men were hunters and warriors. Their homes were the forests where they concealed their straw-thached huts, or in whose secret depths they waited the approach of their foes.

The Rhine formed a natural barrier between the Teutons and the Celts, and its shores were their common fighting ground. The latter floated their small crafts down the Rhone, and occupied the valleys and passes of the Pyrenees. They pastured their flocks and galloped their horses through the valleys of France. They snatched the forests of Britian and the bogs of Ireland from the aborigines, and they swept down the valley of the Po on their plundering expeditions. Though they had fixed habita-

1 Tacitus: "Germania," Chap. v.

tions, they were the most unsettled and warlike of the ancient Aryans, and would desert their homes on the slightest provocation to wander about in search of new ones.[1]

Celtic Warriors.

As we propose in this chapter to learn all we can about the primitive Aryans, it will be well to understand that historians are wont to imagine a time when the ancestors of these varied and widely separated peoples all dwelt together in some peculiarly favored land. Pictures of this primeval Aryan home have been painted in the

[1] Caesar: "Gallic War," Book viii. chapter 26.

most glowing colors that language can furnish, and one needs wonder why some of the ruder tribes of antiquity should have so fallen from the state of culture that the primitive Aryans are represented as attaining. Let us remember, therefore, that, when we study of the primitive Aryans, we are but passing through the shadowy lands of legend and myth, and that many of the pen pictures that we find are almost purely imaginary. Linguistic history tells us all that we know of the primitive Aryans in their primeval home. We can rely upon it, and upon it only. It tells us that all these nations had a common origin and, therefore, a common ancestry. This would necessitate their coming from a common country; but, as to where that country was, language tells us nothing.[1]

Now, in a word or two, we can explain how we gain our information of the life, habits, and degree of culture that the primitive Aryans had attained before any of their descendants had left their home-land. By comparing the Aryan dialects, we find that they have identical words (observing the vowel and consonant changes according to Grimm's law) for father, mother, brother, and sister; and, in fact, they had the same endearing terms to express almost all of our family relations. So we are sure that the Aryan home in all its purity existed in those prehistoric times. So, likewise, we learn that they had their household gods, the spirits of departed ancestors. They must have had all the beliefs accompanying such a worship. They had advanced to the stage of worshiping the great nature fetiches. The clouds, the lightning, the sun, moon and stars, in fact, anything in nature phenomenal, startling, or inexplainable, may have been personified and worshiped.

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[1] Whitney: Am. Cyclopedia.

A similar system of tribal government was common to all of them. They had their herds of domestic animals, and understood the cultivation of some of the cereals. They dwelt in villages and in thatched huts. These villages are said to have been joined by roads, probably similar to the Indian trails so common among the aboriginal Americans. Over these paths, the primitive peddler may have borne his pack of foreign wares to exchange for native produce. The common word for sea would tend to locate the primitive home near some large body of water on which they rowed their skiffs. Words for the oyster and pearl were common to them all. So, likewise, we know that they dwelt in a land where snow and ice were common, and where the birch and fir trees grew; but we find no indications of Oriental luxury and enervating climate. As the primitive Aryans were but slightly acquainted with metals, they could have possessed only the rude weapons common to the closing stages of the Neolithic Age.

Thus much does language teach us of a primitive Aryan people, before they commenced their migrations. If we try to penetrate further into the past, language refuses to be our guide. It will tell us nothing by which we can locate their primeval home on the map. When we try to follow the route of any Aryan people back to the land from which they came, language is silent and will not cast a ray of light upon these long forgotten paths. If we attempt to approximate a date at which the dispersion took place, we find that language furnishes us no reliable data to build upon, after we ascend into the realms of prehistoric times. We can only conclude, then, that all the highly colored pictures of primitive Aryan life owe more to the imagination of the artist than to the information drawn from language.

Some of these pictures are falsely drawn by allowing some of the historical Aryan people to sit as models, though they must be clothed in their most primitive historical garments. One will describe the primitive Greek, another the Latin, and a third the Hindoo, as a typical primitive Aryan. This is wrong and gives us erroneous ideas of that primeval land and people. We shall, therefore, not follow this method. We shall take each of the more primitive of the Aryan families and try to form an idea of their mode of life when they first appear in history. In doing so, we shall use only legitimate sources of information such as language, ethnology, archaeology, and, perhaps here and there, draw some imformation from legends wherever there appears to be a thread of historical light to guide us.

But, first of all, let us institute a search for the primitive home land of the Aryans of which so much has been written. None of the Aryan traditions afford us any light. Our scholars are not agreed on this point, and, as a consequence, we have several hypotheses to choose from. As an aid in this matter, let us study the historical migrations of the various branches. The general directions, in which the movements have taken place, may give us some useful hints; if we can trace two or more lines back to an intersection, we may come upon this much sought for country. We will, therefore, begin with the purely historical movements of these people, and journey backward into the labyrinth of their past wanderings as far as we can find a thread of light to guide us.

For our purpose, it is not necessary to notice all the modern or historical movements of the Aryans. There are two kinds of migrating movements. Ordinarily the migration of races is a very slow process. It may be

likened to a gradual spread of species from some center of dispersion. It results in a mixture of races. The stronger race will predominate and, almost always, give its language and culture to the weaker people, who become, in fact, serfs or slaves. This will account for the mixed ethnical character of all the people of Europe. In fact, there are no pure races anywhere. Another form of migration was, however, quite common among people in tribal life. When a territory became so densely populated that the land was unable to support its population, it was not uncommon for a vast horde, perhaps several tribes, to start on a long journey in search of new homes. In this case, they took with them their wives and children, their flocks and herds, and all their movables. It took the form of a great military expedition, and sometimes they journeyed a long distance before they reached a land enticing enough to hold them. If they found a desirable locality, before effecting a permanent settlement, they had to conquer the tribes already in possession of the country. Such a result was as sure to lead to a mixture of people as the first one.

Shortly after the Christian Era we find the legions of Rome strongly guarding that portion of their empire bordering on Germania. For some centuries, they thus held back the ever swelling flood of Germanic people. But the time at length came when Imperial Rome could no longer protect her frontiers, and the great streams of Gothic people forded the rivers and poured over the mountains upon the lands of the Roman, Greek, and Celt.[1] This great migration of Teutonic people occurred during the fourth and fifth centuries, and resulted, as we shall see later, in the destruction of the Western Empire of Rome.

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[1] Freeman, Op. cit. p. 87 *et seq.*

It was also the first step toward the origin of modern nations. At present, however, we are concerned only with the general direction of this great movement of Aryan people. The Germans crossed the Danube, the Alps, and the Rhine, and, journeying to the south and west, secured there new homes. It required less than two centuries for them to establish their power over all of Western Europe and even to conquer the opposite coast of Africa.

Passing rapidly along toward ancient times, we find the Celts at the height of their power during the third and fourth centuries B. C. During those two centuries, we find that they are continually pouring through the passes of the Alps, down into the valley of the Po, and threatening to deluge Rome herself. Near the beginning of the third century,[1] we detect a great movement of Celts to the south and east. Stopping on their journey for a season or two, they gathered the wealth and plundered the inhabitants of Thrace and Macedonia. Then they moved onward, crossed the Hellespont, and, finally, were induced to settle in Asia Minor. There they have dwelt ever since, having founded the province of Galatia. They were preceded by another army of Celts who burned Rome in 390 B. C., and thence turned toward the east, settling in Thrace.

This is about as far as we have historic light for the movements of Aryan people in Western Europe. But, as we shall see in a following chapter, the probabilities are, that the ancestors of the Aryan population of Central Italy were Celts. Let us notice that all the movements of the ancient population of Italy were toward the south.

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[1] Some identify these Gauls with the army that burned Rome in 390 B. C. Others claim that it was a later movement, 280 B. C.

As if yielding to an irresistable pressure of Celtic tribes from the north, the Sicles entered Sicily; the Iapygians passed down the Adriatic coast, and the Latins also came from the north. Let us now consider Aryan movements in South-eastern Europe and Asia Minor. It is distinctly stated by Herodotus[1] that Darius, the great Persian king, planned his expedition into Europe to avenge the Medes and Persians for the wrongs that they had suffered from the invasion of certain Cimmerians during the seventh or eighth century B. C. Some historians claim that these Cimmerians were Celts, and some think that they were Teutons. The latter are, no doubt, right.[2] These Teutonic tribes are said to have crossed into Asia through the passes of the Caucasian mountains,[3] and, in fact, Cimmerian invasions from Europe into Asia, by way of both the Bosporus and the Caucasus, were not uncommon occurrences. Many of the Scythic tribes of Herodotus are now known to have been Aryans,[4] though the particular group to which they belong has long since become extinct.[5] Sometimes the Cimmerians alone poured over the mountains; sometimes they allied themselves with their near kinsmen, the Thracians, and invaded Asia, both by land and by water, all along the line between the Aegæan and Caspian Seas.[6] We have all evidence that these Germanic tribes, the Cimmerians and the Thracians, but especially the former, formed a numerous and warlike

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[1] Book iv. chap. 1.

[2] Am Cyclopædia articles "Cimbri," and "Cimmerians."

[3] See Rawlinson: "Herodotus," Vol. III. p. 11, note 4, also p. 291. Sayce: "Herodotus," Book i chap. 14, note 1, and chap. 15, note 6 (London, 1883) thinks that Herodotus is wrong in assigning the invasion of the Cimmerians to the reign of the Lydian chief, Ardis, for Assyrian inscriptions fix it in the reign of Gyges, 687-53 B. C.

[4] Rawlinson: "Herodotus," Vol. III. p. 203.

[5] Ibid. p. 203.

[6] Strabo, Book i. Chap. 3, section 21.

people. Strabo says that they "were once sovereigns of the Bosporus,"[1] and, again,[2] that, after Trojan times, their invasions, together with other people mentioned, "threw everything into confusion." To some of these invasions, a much higher antiquity is given. Eusebius mentions one as occurring as early as the eleventh century B. C.[3] Though Herodotus does not mention this particular incursion, he does regard the Cimmerians of sufficient importance to give their name to a portion of the Bosporus. He mentions, besides, Cimmerian castles and a Cimmerian ferry.[4]

If we can at all depend upon the accounts of these ancient historians, Cimmerian and Thracian Aryans were for several centuries a terror to the most enlightened portions of Asia Minor.[5] Right here, it may not be inappropriate to remark, that, were we to seek for the origin of those Aryan characteristics and racial qualities, peculiar to the Alarodians of Caucasia,[6] we would find that these various incursions of Thracians and Cimmerians could point to the source of this Aryan influence, and explain the origin of this branch of the White Race. Then, if the Hittites were akin to the Alarodians, as some authors believe, we at once detect a possible source of that more than Turanian energy with which they ruled Asia Minor. Here, notice in particular, that for many centuries preceding the fourth century B. C., Germanic tribes were constantly threatening Asia Minor from the north by way of Caucasia and the Hellespont. No doubt from time to time, they effected a lodgment in that country. We have had occasion to mention the fact, that, as early as the

[1] Book vii. Chap. 4, section 3.
[2] Book xiii. Chap. 8, section 7.
[3] Rawlinson: "Herodotus," Vol. I. p. 290.
[4] Book iv. Chap. 12.
[5] See This Series Vol. II. p. 798.
[6] Ibid. p. 400 *et seq.*

middle of the eighth century B. C., they had established themselves at Sinope, on the southern shore of the Black Sea.[1]

Group of Caucasians.

At an earlier date still, there was the Dorian migration into the Peloponnesus, when great tribes of Dorians, a Grecian people, came down from the north (Twelfth Century B. C.) and drove large numbers of Ionians, and Aeolians across the Aegaean into the coasts of Asia and the

[1] Ibid. p. 728.

Isles of the sea, only to follow them at a later date. As we shall see in a following chapter, this movement was caused by the pressure of tribes from the north; the Epirots encroaching upon the Thessalians, and these in turn pressing upon the Bœotians, and there is no doubt, but the Teutons were at the same time coming down the Danube and crossing the Balkan mountains to take the place of the people whom they crowded forward.

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When we come to assign a date to the migrations that

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1 Book vii. Chapter 73.
2 Karl Blind in "Troja" p. 358.
3 Ibid. p. 359.
4 Strabo, vii. chapter 3, sec. 12.
5 Blind, Op. cit. p. 354.
6 Sayce: "Ancient Empires," p. 211-12.

brought the ancestors of the Phrygians across the Hellespont, the "research of the spade" at Troy has enabled us to "penetrate into a past, of which German tradition had forgotten the very existence".[1] At the beginning of the twelfth century B. C., [2] the great city of Troy was flourishing in all the splendor of Oriental grandeur. For ages before this time, the Babylonian caravan had made its way across the country and brought wares to the Mediterranean sea-board. The Hittite merchant was, no doubt, a common sight on the streets of Ilios. In the thirteenth century, the historical inscriptions of Rameses III. tell us of Greek and Trojan allies among the foes of Egypt.[3] When the Libyans made war upon Menephthah,[4] in the fourteenth century, the Trojans united their forces with the enemy of their old Egyptian foe. When the Hittites made war upon the great Pharioh, Rameses II. in the fourteenth century, the Dardanian Trojans had already identified themselves with the enemies of Egypt and joined the Hittite expedition.[5] This foreign Greek and Trojan element among the enemies of Egypt is mentioned on the monuments even before the epoch of the eighteenth dynasty or about the close of the eighteenth century B. C.[6]

Thus in our search for the first appearance of the Phrygian Aryans in Asia Minor, we must go back of the siege of Troy. We must pass over the reigns of the nineteenth and eighteenth Egyptian dynasties. Still we find that the Aryans are sought as allies by Asiatic powers. The sun of the Neolithic Age had not set on the shores of the Mediterranean, when the Aryans first erected a citadel on His-

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1 Sayce: Preface to "Troja," p. ix.
2 Troy was destroyed about 1180 B. C.
3 Brugsch, "Ilios," Appendix ix. p. 748.
4 See our remarks on this subject "This Series" Vol. II. p. 599 *et seq.*
5 Ibid. p. 394. 6 Brugsch, Op. cit. p. 746.

sarlik, the site of Troy.[1] Do we try to go back farther, we are lost in the gloom of antiquity. Still the Phrygian, ancestors of the Trojans, must have crossed the Hellespont at a much earlier date. To what a remote age does this point, and yet, how plainly are we told, that even then the German tribes were pressing down upon the Thracians who in turn were forced to cross into Asia and there find homes. Of a truth, these Aryans must have been in Southern Europe at a very early date in the history of mankind.

It will be noticed that none of the movements we have been considering are those of the Slavonian Aryans. Where were they during this long period of time? While the Celts, the Grecians, and various Germanic people were making these great migrations, apparently radiating from Central Europe, were the Slaves living in contented quietness? Or were they also sending out great immigrating bands, and winning for themselves new homes by foreign conquests? Let us see what the probabilities are.

The first historical appearance of the Slaves was not until the sixth century of our era. They were at that time situated in Central Russia. The increasing pressure of Turanian tribes, sallying out of the wilds of Siberia, impelled the Slaves toward the west and south. They crossed the Danube river and the Balkan mountains, and settled in Thrace and Macedonia. How long a time, now, before the sixth century, had the Slaves been living in Central Russia? The probabilities are, from that same primitive long-ago, when the Phrygian Aryans crossed the Hellespont and intrenched themselves on Hissarlik, at Troy.

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1 Sayce, Op. cit. p. xii.

Scholars who have studied this question assure us that, from the very earliest times, the Slaves were confronting the Germans on the east, and, in fact, were slowly pressed east by them. Sayce calls our attention to the significant fact, that both the capitals of modern Germany, Berlin and Vienna, stand on ground that was once Slavonic.[1] Latham declares there was once a time when Slavic dialects were common everywhere between the Elbe and the Dnieper rivers.[2] Quatrefages tells us that the Germanic race clashed with the Slaves in the basin of the Oder. His conclusion is: "The Slaves settled on the Vistula at a pre-historic period and possessed its entire basin."[3] In fact, everything seems to point to the conclusion that, at the same early date at which the first great divisions of the Aryans appeared in Europe, the Slaves were located in Russia, and for unknown centuries they wandered back and forth on its grassy steppes. Unless they differed from the other Aryans, they must have also sent forth from time to time great bands of migrating people. Where could these bands go? To the west and south-west were numerous Germanic people, of all Aryans the most energetic, who as just stated, instead of yielding before the Slaves, gradually forced them east from the Elbe. To the south, were the numerous and warlike Thracians, Cimmerians, and Scythians, preventing any movements in that direction. One course only was open to them. Passing to the north of the Caspian Sea they could easily invade Asia, and possess themselves of the territory contiguous to the Caspian. Let us, then, turn to Asia and see what traces we can find of Aryan people in that

1 "Science of Language," Vol. II. p. 94.
2 "Man and his Migrations," p. 180.
3 "Prussian Race," London, 1872, p. 12.

great continent, and the directions of their movments.

Asia has always been preeminently the home of the Yellow Races, as Europe has been of the Aryans. We have seen in Western Asia, that the Semites gained possession of the country and have seen that supremacy passing into the hands of the Aryans; yet time has brought around the first conditions again, and once more a Turanian people are rulers in that section. Comparatively speaking, but a small part of Asia was ever in the hands of the Aryans. In historical times, we find them in possession of Northern India, Persia, Armenia, the Bactrian country, and the adjacent mountains. It is further true that we find traces of Aryan blood in Southeastern Asia where we had least expected to find them. Only in very recent times are conditions changing, and Aryan culture and influence are on the increase.

Let us refer first of all to traces of Aryan influence in Eastern and Southeastern Asia. In Treating of China, we made mention of the Chows, as an invading and conquering people, who appeared on the confines of China about the twelfth century B. C. It is stated, on excellent authority, that these Chows were, in part, Aryans.[1] But at a far earlier time, other invading people had passed east through the Gates of Kashgar and overrun portions of China. It is supposed that these people, the Jungs, were also, in part, of Aryan blood.[2] It is further supposed that the so-called aboriginal tribes of China are quite largely descendants of these partially Aryanized people.[3]

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1 Kingmill in J. R. A. S., 1878, p. 301. De La Couperie: "Amongst the Shans," preface, p. xxxix.

2 See De La Couperie, J. R. A. S. 1885, p. 467. Keane in Standford's "Asia," p. 713.

3 See "This Series," Vol. II. p. 439, where this subject is discussed and cuts are given.

We have also learned of the wide extension of white blood in South-eastern Asia. We can not say that the source of this element in the ethnology of this far away people was Aryan, and yet, to our mind, this presents the

The Ainos.

easiest solution. These Aryan tribes, who thus wandered far to the Orient, became, in time, so hoplessly mixed with the surrounding people that they lost their distinctive race qualities. It is, for instance, only of late years, that we

have recognized in the Ainos of Japan a white people.[1] They probably come the nearest to proving an exception to the remark, that there are no "White Savages." We are only acquainted with them in modern times, when they have long been ground under the cruel dominion of the Japanese. They are now rapidly approaching extinction. Once the sole inhabitants of the chain of islands extending south of Kamtchatka and including the Japanese islands, they have been compelled to retire before a more civilized people, coming, some from the mainland, others, perhaps, from the islands of Polynesia.

It seems, also, that the aboriginal inhabitants of Corea belonged to the white stock.[2] They were gradually outnumbered and absorbed by the yellow stock, owing to the constant migration from the Chinese province of Pechilli. The typical features of the whites—oval features, light complexion, blue eyes, etc.—are plainly discernible in some instances. It is said: "But for the speech and costume one might often fancy one self surrounded by Europeans."[3]

In regard to the further extension of this eastern branch of the White Race, it is well to bear in mind that we are speaking of a subject which is as yet far from being a settled one. However, modern research seems to establish the fact, that, within comparatively recent times, they spread themselves very extensively over the Islands of Polynesia—in fact, that the present inhabitants of Polynesia are, at the base, a White Race. Where the older writers speak of the *Malayo-Polynesian* people, we have to change

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[1] See Flowers in "Nature," Vol. 31. p. 364; Keane in "Nature," Vol. 27. p. 365, 389: Keane in Standford's "Asia," p. 712. Qualifying the above, see Recluse: "Earth and its Inhabitants," Vol. II. of "Asia," p. 389.

[2] Keane in "Nature" Vol. 26. p. 345.

[3] Recluse: "Earth and Its Inhabitants," "Asia," Vol. II. p. 345.

Isles of the sea, only to follow them at a later date. As we shall see in a following chapter, this movement was caused by the pressure of tribes from the north; the Epirots encroaching upon the Thessalians, and these in turn pressing upon the Bœotians, and there is no doubt, but the Teutons were at the same time coming down the Danube and crossing the Balkan mountains to take the place of the people whom they crowded forward.

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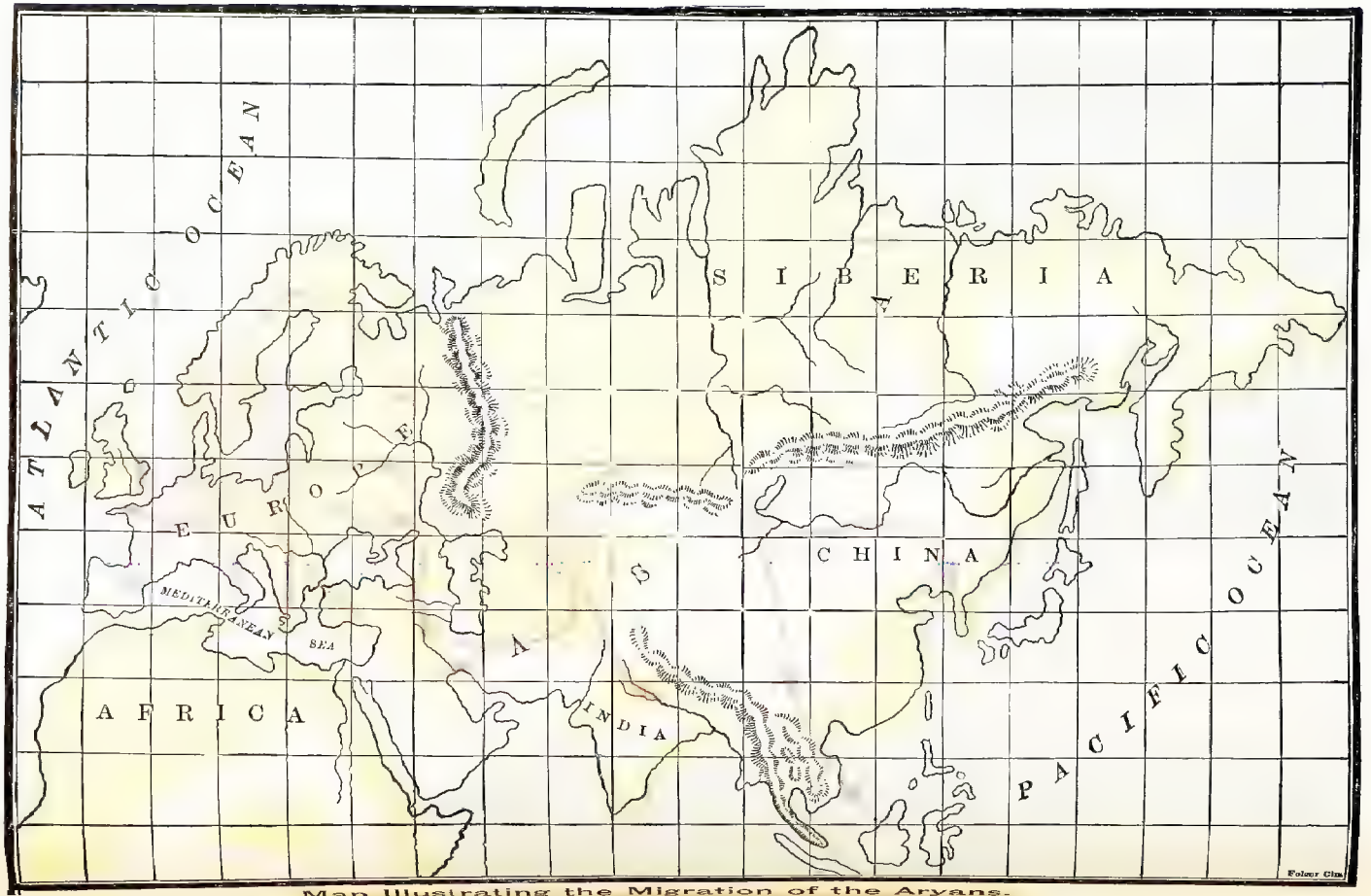
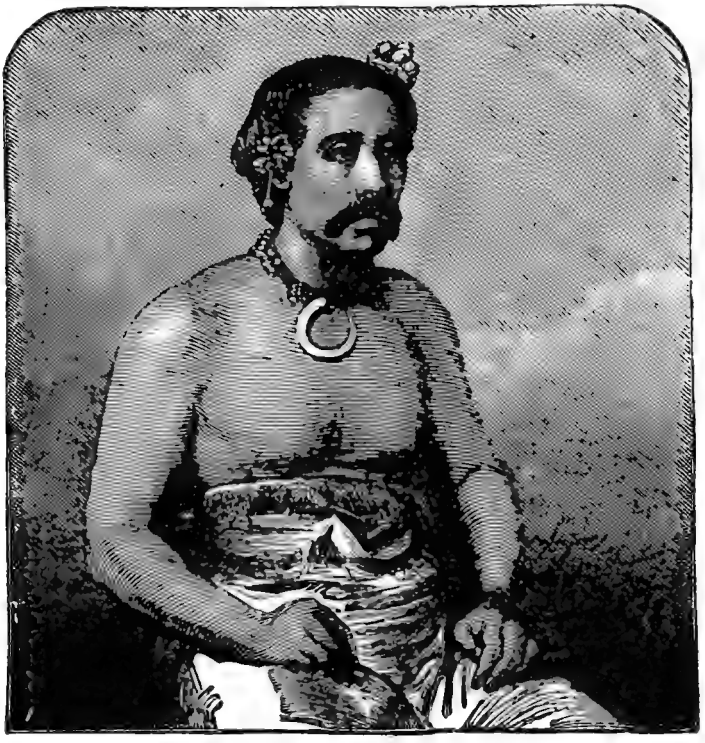



Map Illustrating the Migration of the Aryans.

languages have been compared, and all points bearing on the ethnology of the people have been examined. The Island of Boeroe, between Celebes and Ceram, is usually considered the starting point. In fact, all recent authorities are agreed on this point. It remains only to point out how all explorers have praised the fine personal appear-



Polynesian Chief.

ance of the true Polynesian Islanders. They are invariably described as being possessed of fine symmetrical proportions, tall in stature, and with handsome, regular features. Their hair is smooth but not lank, often curly and wavy, and the beard is naturally full, though often artifically removed. They are furthermore declared to be of a cheerful and joyous temperament, of a frank and truthful disposition,

and of a kindly nature. All this forms a type distinct from the typical Yellow Races of Asia.

As we have remarked, we have no assurance that the Aryans were the source of this white element. Yet we must notice that, from an extremely early time, we have evidence of Aryan tribes marching east through the Gates

Cambodian.

of Kashgar to debouch on the plains of China. We have seen these tribes steadily pressed to the south by fresh migrations of Mongolian people in China. It is almost impossible to escape the conclusion that the white element in Cambodia was derived from that source. At a later time, we see the Polynesians starting from the islands near

the coast of Farther India, setting out on their great migrations that finally peopled the Islands of the Pacific. This migration being so recent in time that we can gather the details of it from native songs and traditions.

Turning to the movements of the Aryans in Western Asia, we find that they played quite an important role in history. They fall mostly into two great divisions, the Indians and the Iranians, and of the latter the Persians from the greater part. We know that, at an early date, the Persians branched off from the Indians who were then dwelling in and about the Hindoo Koosh mountains somewhat to the north and east of historical Persia. The Aryan ancestors of the Indians first journeyed through the passes of the Hindoo Koosh mountains,[1] and took possession of the Punjab, or the north-western portion of modern India. Thence, they followed the river courses to the south and east. While Aryan blood does not form a marked characteristic of the southern Hindoo, the northern part of modern Hindoostan is decidedly Aryan; and Aryan culture, language, and influence have penetrated to the remotest shores of the peninsula. The date at which the first Indian tribes entered India will, perhaps, never be known. This much is true, however, that they were a people separated from their kindred before their literature, known as the Vedic literature, began to crystallize into its historical shape. The Persians had a literature of their own, but it was a later formation. As some of the Vedic hymns relate to about the fifteenth century B. C., we are safe in inferring that the Vedic Age extended back at least as early as that date.[2]

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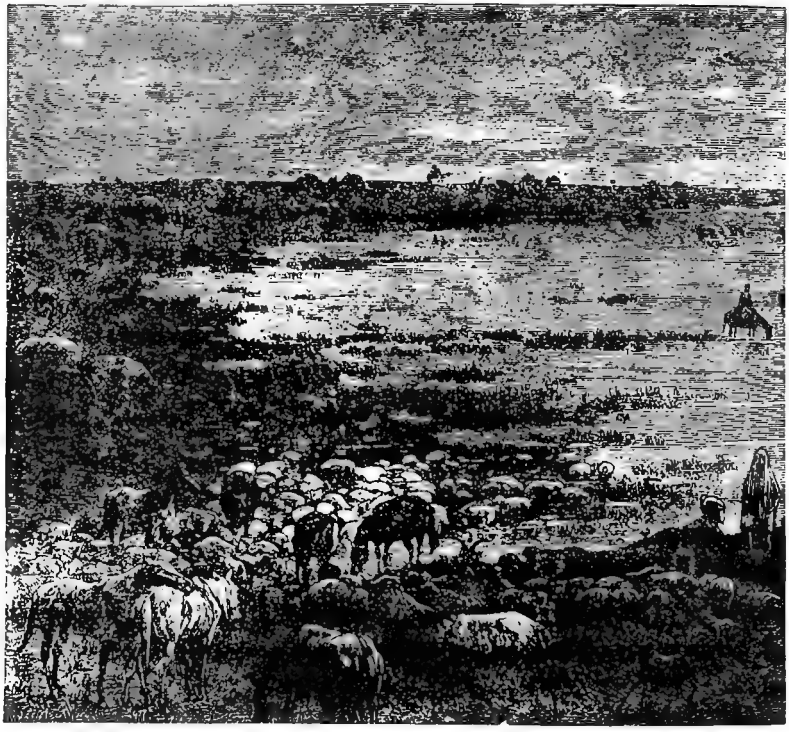
[1] Thomas in J. R. A. S., 1883, p. 378-86.

[2] Muller: "Science of Language," Vol. I. p. 210, 147, New York, 1881. There is also good authority for saying, that the Indians separated

Now the Persians or Iranians were a colony of Indians that separated from the latter, while they were encamped at the foot of the Hindoo Koosh.[1] This separation must necessarily have taken place at an earlier date. The Persians, turning toward the south and west, must have driven out and occupied the homes of a more primitive



Aryan Encampment on the Shores of the Caspian.

people. The earliest traditions of the Indians and Iranians point to a home on the source of the Oxus and Jax-

themselves from the Iranians in the Bactrian land, the former journeying toward the Punjab. The period of the separation is often placed at 2000 B. C., or some time previous to that date. See Whitney: "American Cyclopedia," Vol I. p. 800, also Duncker: "History of Antiquity," Vol. IV. p. 27, (English Edition).

[1] Muller, Op. cit. p. 248.

artes.[1] Here they dwelt before they crossed the Hindoo Koosh.[2] This takes us back to a very remote period, many centuries before our era. For Muller tells us that "along the Caspian, and in the country washed by the Oxus and Jaxartes, Aryan and non-Aryan tribes were mingled together for centuries."[3] It will thus be seen, that, as far as the movements of the Aryans in Asia can be traced back, they seem to converge toward the territory to the east of the Caspian. Can it possibly be, that there is any connection between these Aryans and the Slavonians? To-day we know it to be a fact, that Russian influence is spreading far and wide in Asia. Can it be, that such has been the course of history ever since the Slaves found themselves cramped for room in Russia? When the German tribes pressed the Slaves to the east of the Elbe, did they discharge themselves upon Asia? Can it be, that, whereas we find the Russian and the English (a Slavic and a Germanic people) confronting each other in almost hostile array in Asia, we are but witnessing the final moves in that great inter-racial game begun ages before the dawn of history, in the valley of the Elbe in Germany, from which narrow field the Germans moved to the West, the Slaves to the East, and are now met for the final test of strength in mid-Asia?

This would, indeed, be a reasonable theory if we could find any satisfactory ground for concluding that the Iranians and Indians were more closely related to the Slavonians than to the other members of the Aryan family. Language certainly seems to afford some help in this matter. We have already mentioned, that Sanskrit was the original tongue of the Indians and Iranians. Now,

1 Ibid. p. 239. 2 J. R. A. S. 1883.
3 "Science of Language," Vol. I. p. 243.

almost all scholars unite in establishing the close relationship between the Letto-Slavic dialects of the Letts, on the shores of the Baltic, and the Sanskrit. They almost universally claim for the former a nearer relationship than can be ascribed to any other of the Aryan languages.[1] It is further pointed out, that the Scyths and Sarmatians, who dwelt on the plains of Russia in ancient times, used a dialect that had many points in common with the Iranian dialect.[2] One curious bit of proof is pointed out by Mr. Morgan. It seems that the Slavonian people in Europe have certain peculiarities in their system of relationship not met with in any other of the European Aryans, but they do re-appear in the tribes of India.[3] Thus we find considerable to induce us to believe that the Iranians and Indians of Asia are more closely connected with the Slavic Aryans of Europe than with the remaining Aryans. In fact, this is admitted by all scholars of note.

Now Asia, from the earliest times, was the home of the Yellow Races. If the Slaves were confined in Russia until they gathered strength to sweep all before them, their invasion of Asia must have resulted in a great disturbance. Now we have seen, that, about the twenty third century B. C., there was a very great disturbance among the people in Western Asia, and, strange to say, the lines of these movements seem to diverge from the Caspian basin. Then it was, that Turanian tribes, marching east through the Gates of Kashgar, followed the course of the Hoangho and laid the foundation of Chinese culture.[4] It was at this time,

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[1] Sayce: "Science of Language," Vol. II. p. 94. Whitney: "Study of Language," p. 215. Latham: "Comparative Philology," p. 610. Freeman: "Historical Geography of Europe," p. 15, London, 1881.

[2] Sayce: "Comparative Philology," p. 396.

[3] "Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity," p. 43.

[4] This Series Vol. II. p. 424 *et seq.*

also, that the Elamite tribes suddenly invaded Mesopotamia and conquered Chaldea.[1] Then it was, that Asshur went out from Accad and laid the foundation of Assyria, and at that time, also, the Hebrew people took up their line of march from the head of the Persian Gulf to the West. And, as already pointed out, the waves of migration carried the Hyksos kings into Egypt.

When we reflect, that the date of these movements corresponds remarkably well with the presumed first appearance of the Aryans in Asia, and when we observe further, that these movements are just such as we would expect to follow from the sudden appearance of a great host of Aryans forcing their way among thickly settled Turanian tribes: it seems difficult to avoid the conclusion, that it was at this time (2300 B. C.) that the Slavonian Aryans bore all before them, and marched, a resistless host, from Russia, by way of the northern shore of the Caspian, into Asia.

As a result of our examination into the movements of Aryan people, as far as known in history, we conclude that the lines of these movements converge in the territory around the Baltic in Europe. Here seems to have been the point from which they marched, some to the west, others to the south, still others to the east; and, as we have seen, Europe was not the only field of their activity. Indeed this seems to have always been their center of dispersion, not only of prehistoric times, but of historic times, and is true of today. We are therefore prepared to believe that the original home of the Aryan Race was that portion of Europe immediately adjacent to the Baltic sea.

Yet, when we turn to examine the writings of our

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[1] Ibid.

scholars on this point, we are surprised to find that this is not the generally accepted view. They speak and write of the Aryans as originating in Asia. They picture forth a series of migrations by which they came into the possession of Europe. Our surprise is somewhat abated when we discover that it is only the older writers who are nearly unanimous in favor of the Asiatic Origin. Of late years, the tide seems to be setting just as strongly the other way. As this question is, for our purpose, a very important one, let us see what our scholars have to say on this point. Many suppose that Philology has fully settled this question. Let us first examine this point. The classical or literary language of the Indians is called Sanskrit. This, together with Latin, Greek, Teutonic, Celtic, and Letto-Slavic, forms a great sisterhood of languages that was, at some time in the past, derived from a single more primitive form of speech, that was probably used by our primitive forefathers in their primeval home. This lost and forgotten tongue is spoken of as the primitive Aryan language, and many attempts have been made to reconstruct it.

Scholars are divided as to which known dialect comes nearest to this primitive tongue. Some regard the Letto-Slavic dialects as the nearest co-geners of the typical language, while others claim that place of honor for the Sanskritic. On this claim alone, some philologists wish to locate the home of the primeval Aryan tribe as near as they can to the region where the Sanskrit was first found to be in use. But as further study proves that all the people who use Sanskrit dialects have moved from some unknown place to their present abodes, they have further to decide on some suitable place for the common starting point. They have, therefore, settled upon an indefinite point in Central Asia, somewhere near the the shores of

the Caspian Sea. The only ground for this choice being, that such a location is near the Sanskrit speaking people. The claims of the Letto-Slavic dialects to a closer relationship to the primitive tongue than any other[1] being utterly ignored.

In regard to physical surroundings, the choice is not a very happy one. This region has been, from the very dawn of history, totally unsuitable for the production and support of such a hardy, energetic, and vigorous race as the Aryans. If the Trans-Caspian territory and the lands along the Oxus and Jaxartes were the primitive home of the Aryans, we must needs transform it from a barren table land and sandy desert waste to fertile fields, and cover it with cereals and meadows, suitable for the maintenance of men and animals indigenous to temperate lands.[2]

But let us inquire more particularly into this argument of language. All must admit that the results of comparative philology, if rightly understood and applied, are a great help in tracing the early history and culture of a people. Yet it is not an infallible guide, and we must take into consideration other sciences, such as Anthropology and Ethnology. Of late years, there is a tendency to question some of the conclusions so confidently urged by philologists.[3] But those who appeal to Caesar must stand by Caesar's judgment. We have seen that good grounds exist for claiming that the Letto-Slaves are nearer the original Aryans in speech than any other, why not, then, seek

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[1] On this point consult Latham: "Comparative Philology," p. 610. Whitney: "Study of Language," p. 215. Freeman: "Historical Geography," p. 15. Sayce: "Science of Language," Vol. II. p. 94.

[2] Vambery: "Travels in Central Asia."

[3] See the whole subject discussed in "Anthropological Review," 1868, p. 169.

for the home in their neighborhood? But this is not all. Such an eminent philologist as Professor Whitney shows that "language does not at all prove that the Indo-Persian common abode is nearest to the original abode of the family."[1]

Closely examined, the Asiatic theory comes to some startling conclusions. It is universally admitted that the Asiatic Aryans (we include under this term all the Aryans in Asia east of the Halys river) are only immigrants in the regions which they have occupied since historical times began. It is supposed that the primeval tribe of Aryans, from whose loins the entire race has sprung, dwelt close by the side of the modern homes of these Asiatic Aryans. From this small band, we are told that all the various European families hived off, swarm after swarm, and, as by a bee-line, journeyed toward their European homes. Should we sound the roll-call, and pass in review the innumerable tribes of Aryans who have been known to history—the hosts of Celts that covered the mountains and plains of the Southwest; the armies of the Teutons of the central lands; the hordes of untrained Scythians and Thracians; the more cultivated Greeks and Romans; and the Slaves of later times—the whole of Europe would not be a field of sufficient size for us to muster this enormous army upon.

When, therefore, we are asked to believe, that all of these people are the descendants of a small primitive band that resided near the southern shores of the Caspian Sea, and that one great army after another of emigrants left this primitive home and journeyed toward the shores of the Atlantic; when we consider, besides, that each and

[1] Am Cyclopedia.

every one of the various and several branches of this great family must have journeyed at least two thousand miles before coming to a halt; when we further consider, that not one of these many armies along this whole distance dropped one single memento by which modern researchers have been able to point out the way by which they reached the continent of Europe: when we consider these and many other obstacles that oppose themselves to the Asiatic theory, we can readily believe that it is not even probable, that such great armies of people could have left Central Asia since the close of the Neolithic Age, and penetrated to the heart of Europe without causing such a commotion in the affairs of ancient people that some slight murmur of their distant tread would be wafted from the wings of time to the listening ears of modern historians.

If we consider the relative importance of the Aryans in the two countries, equally striking results are before us. The Asiatic Aryans play no part in the affairs of that continent until centuries after the European Aryans had begun to make their power felt in the Mediterranean district. In fact, it is doubtful whether they were ever known among Oriental people until the appearance of Zoroaster. This means, then, that the primitive band of Asiatic Aryans that settled at the foot of the Hindoo Koosh mountains, dwelt there in peace and comparative isolation for a long time before they could muster warriors enough to spread out and command the notice of the neighboring people.[1] It was not until the times of Cyrus and Darius,[2] that the Asiatic Aryans gain a place in history. Now, if these were the primitive Aryans, the Aryans *per excellence*, from whose loins had sprung even

1 Madam Clemence Royer in "Anthropologia," 1873-5, p. 593.
2 Sixth Century B. C.

in that age, the bone and sinew and muscle of Europe–it is not probable that they would have so soon sunken to a position of such utter insignificance unknown and unheard of. In numbers, the Asiatic Aryans have ever been but as a handful compared with the Europeans. And further, in regard to the former having come from Europe, we can but see the logic of Dr. Latham, who says: "A mile is a mile, and a league is a league, from whichever end it is measured, and it is no farther from the Danube to the Indus than it is from the Indus to the Danube. In Zoology and Botany, the species is always deduced from the area of the genus, rather than the genus from the area of the species."[1] It is much more probable, that the handful

Slavonian Man.

[1] "Comparative Philology," p. 612.

of Asiatic Aryans should have migrated from Europe, than that almost the entire population of Europe should have come from this one small and historically unknown portion of Asia.

It is a fact worth pondering over, that those who accept the Asiatic theory are by no means agreed as to the routes by which the Europeans entered their present homes. Some would have them journey by the way of the Caucasus and the Hellespont.[1] There are those who select two routes of migration; one by the way of Asia Minor, and the other around the northern shore of the Caspian.[2] There are still others, who, recognizing the fact, that there are absolutely no indications to prove that any of them came by the way of Asia Minor, and being unable to find a convenient time since history began to rush these great migrating bands across the Hellespont, make them all travel around the Caspian, and enter Europe through the plains of Russia.[3] Keane meets this point with the statement, that the journey through Asia Minor occurred in the Neolithic Age, prior to the rise of the Babylonian and Assyrian Empires.[4] Schliemann[5] has shown that the first Aryan dwellers at Hissarlik were still in the Neolithic stage of culture, and, as they were members of an Eastern wave of Aryan migrations from Europe into Asia, we consider the point strained more than it will bear.

Those who support the Asiatic theory are forced to manufacture explanations for certain migrations of Aryan

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1 Winchell: "Preadamites," also Rawlinson: "Herodotus," Vol. IV. p. 70.

2 Keane in Ramsey's "Europe," p. 558. Müller: "Science of Language," Vol. I. p. 244.

3 Sayce: "Comparative Philology," p. 389.

4 Op. cit. and "Anthropological review," 1863, p. 159. 5 "Illios."

tribes, that their theory forces them to admit. In their attempts to set forth the motives for the stupendous migrations that must have occurred, they mention almost every phenomenon of nature, from earthquakes to the sinking of the level of the Caspian Sea.[1] They have given to Bactriana a climate, temperature, and fertility of soil that it does not possess. They have made it the great "center of communications between internal Asia and western countries,"[2] and such it has never been. They have transformed the Trans-Caspian region into another garden spot like the flowery vale of Cashmere. Neither has the snow line of the Hindoo Koosh been a barrier to these primitive people, nor has the sandy desert in which the Oxus loses itself failed to furnish abundant pasturage for their flocks during these peculiar journeys.

The Asiatic theory fails to account for many of the circumstances connected with the primitive Aryan home, and the migrations that we know that the Aryans made. There is not a tribe of Aryans in Asia of whom we can not say, that they, or their ancestors, were immigrants in the region which they now inhabit. No scholar or historian has yet been able to point to a place on the map of Asia and say, that there the Aryans were dwelling when their history, real or legendary, began. All are but pilgrims or usurpers in the land that they call their own. This cannot be asserted of the German and Lettish tribes of the Baltic region. This has always been their home, so far as legend, language, or history tell us.[3] Now the astronomer proves, from lingering superstitions, common to

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1 Thomas in J. R. A. S. 1883, p. 369. Keary: "Dawn of History," p. 61.

2 "Anthropological Review," 1868, p. 160.

3 "American Antiquarian," July, 1887, p. 283

the Aryans, relating to the movements of the heavenly bodies, that this race of people must have dwelt at one time no further south than 49° 20′ north latitude.[1] As this is a considerable distance north of the Caspian Sea, and has always been the home of the Yellow Races, it seems difficult to believe that there could also have been the home of the Aryans.

Slavonian Woman.

Prof. Sayce, who holds to the Asiatic origin of the Aryans, thinks the European Aryans were all living together in a common home in Europe.[2] He goes even further than that, and restricts the center of their final dispersion to some point "westward of a line drawn from Konigsburg to Crimea." If this be the case, some strange conclusions

[1] "Vendidad," i. 4-27; "Bundahish," xxv. 4; also consult Conder: "Heth and Moab," London, 1885, p. 223.

[2] "Comparative Philology," p. 369.

follow. We would have an example of an enormous host of emigrants, issuing in a body from the heart of Asia, journeying in a body for nearly three thousand miles, showing no cause for their departure from their primeval homes, and leaving no mementoes to mark the routes that they took; or, here would be the solitary and phenominal example among rude tribes, of a long series of migrations, all starting from about the same point, covering centuries of time, and all converging toward the same region, the last ones destroying all vestiges of their movements. If such proves to be the correct theory, it stands as a solitary example among the movements of mankind, while in a tribal state of society, and will need strong evidence to establish its truth and make it acceptible to the historian.

At the risk of wearying our readers, let us push the investigation a little further. As we have already stated, migrations generally are of two kinds. It may occasionally happen, that a restless band of warriors will take their wives, flocks, and possessions, and make quite a long military expedition, and, finally conquering some people, take possession of their homes. Ordinarily, however, the migrations of a people take the form of a gradual spread outward from some center of dispersion, lasting through centuries of time. Caesar, for example, found German tribes crossing the Rhine and occupying lands in the Gallic territory; but we must observe, that only a tribe or two crossed each season. So Grecian and Thracian tribes took gradual possession of the coast of Asia Minor. It was many generations before they had Aryanized the country. The Indians have not yet Aryanized the peninsula of Hindoostan, although they must have entered the Punjab many centuries ago.

Let us go backward in time many ages, to the time

when the Turanian tribes called the European continent their own, and wandered at will from the steppes of Russia to the shores of the Atlantic. Of course, as the continent of Europe filled up, there was intermingling and confusion of these tribes; there was, in short, in process of formation, a distinct people; just as there is being evolved in America to-day the American type. Finally there arose near the Baltic the first Aryan tribes, flaxen-haired and blue eyed.

Nourished by the products of a fruitful soil and hardened by the winter of a cold temperate climate, they began to increase and multiply. As they grew in numbers, the weaker tribes were forced outward from the old home to the borders of the Aryan world. In all their migrations, they met only Turanian people. Intermixture everywhere occurred. Usually the Aryan influence was strong enough to change or Aryanize the people with whom they mingled. Occasionally, however, the Aryans must have been swallowed up by the Turanians whom they went out to conquer. All history indicates that this spread was gradual in all southerly directions and toward the east. If our supposition, here stated, be correct, we ought to find the purest Aryan types near the old homeland, and as we journey away from this center it should grow weaker. This conclusion is supported by the best ethnologists of to-day. In a table we give the ethnical description of various European people. An examination of the same shows us how true it is, that, as we journey away from the shores of the Baltic Sea, Aryan blood becomes weaker. Thus Ethnology will support us in the belief that the Baltic region is the primeval home of the Aryans.

Now, as the first tribes spread out and, at last, covered

# TABLE.

| PEOPLE. | ETHNIC DESCRIPTION. | RACE FACTORS. | | REMARKS. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | ARYAN | TURANIAN | |
| East Germans | Slavo-Teutonic | Slaves Teutons | | These are the Germanic people, and form the purest Aryans in Europe. No appreciable Turanian element. |
| South Germans | Celto-Teutonic | Celts Teutons | | |
| East Russians | Letto-Teuto-Slavic | Letts Teutons Slaves | | |
| English | Celto-Teutonic | Celts Teutons | | |
| South Scandinavians | Teuto-Nord | Teutons Norse | | |
| Great Russians | Finno-Slavic | Slaves | Finns | Observe as we pass out from the Baltic region we at once come on people who are more or less mixed with Turanians. |
| Bulgarians | Ugro-Slavic | Slaves | Uigers. | |
| Hungarians | Ugro-Teuto-Slavic | Slaves Teutons | Uigers | |
| North Italians | Liguro-Celtic-Italic | Celts Italics | Ligures | |
| Spanish | Celt-Iberian | Celts | Iberians | |
| South French | Ibero-Celtic | Celts | Iberians | |
| North Scandinavians | Norse-Finno-Lapp | Norse | Finns Lapps | |

the central part of Europe, they met nothing but Turanians. These Turanians were of various types. Those of the South were small, dark, and round-headed; while those of the North seem to have been long-headed, and slightly inclined toward the blonde type.[1] The point that we wish particularly to notice is, that the farther the vanguard of Aryan migration spread from the home land, the more

Celtiberian.

marked becomes the Turanian influence, for intermixture occurred all along the line. We would look, then, on the borders of the Aryan world for a people whose blood was very weakly tinged with the Aryan. Such do we find to have been the case when history dawns upon Europe. We

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1 Elton: "Origins of English History," London, 1882, p. 151 *et seq.* Sir. G. Campbell, B. A. A. S. for 1886, p. 842. Flowers in "Nature," Feb. 5, 1885, p. 330.

observe that many of the far-away tribes of Celts are strongly Turanian; as, for example, the Celtiberians of Spain, the Welsh, and the Irish; in fact, the unsettled character of the whole people shows a marked Turanian element. In the South, were the mysterious Pelasgians, who were a peculiar people, that have left many indications of their Aryan descent, though strongly Turanized. When we enter the Slavic territory, we find there, at the dawn of history, Scythians and Sarmatians, who were so strongly Turanian that they are almost always regarded as such, but their language has been found to have been of the Aryan type.[1]

We have here probably an explanation of the origin of the various Aryan families. A certain degree of mixture with certain Turanian tribes would change the primitive Aryans into Celts. So a mixture with other Turanian tribes gave rise to the Pelasgians and Sarmatians. But as the purer Aryan tribes continued to advance in all directions, they continually recruited those that had preceded them. So we find that there were all shades of Aryans, from Celt to Teuton, from Pelasgian to Teuton, from Sarmatian to Teuton. But as the first baptism of Teuto-Aryan tribes over the Turanians was succeeded by another and another —we know not how many—the Celt became Aryanized to the Latin, the Pelasgian to Greek and Thracian, the Sarmatian to Salvonian. It is now known[2] that the Scythians and Sarmatians of Herodotus' time used a language closely allied to that of the Asiatic Aryans, thus pointing directly to the route that the latter took to reach the sources of the Oxus and Jaxartes, the Gates of Kashgar, and

[1] Sayce: "Comparative Philology," 395-6. Keane in Standford's "Europe," p. 572.

[2] Ibid.

the Punjab. The Indians, Iranians, and Chinese Aryans are not as pure in blood even as the Galchan tribes of the Hindoo Koosh; but, as their ancestors were all cut off from the fatherland by the same inroad of Turanians from the Siberian plains, they show many marks of likeness.

The change in language to form the various dialects is, of course, easily explained. Any tribe that becomes somewhat separated from its parent tribe will soon develop a dialect of its own. The Celts had more than one dialect, so did the Latins, the Greeks, the Teutons, and, in fact, almost every one of the great divisions of the Aryan race. None of them at present speak or use the primitive tongue. It has died out, just as has the Old Prussian, and just as Lettish is now doing. Still we can trace the origin of the various members of the race by a similarity of dialects; and, as we would expect, they all rise from a Teutonic base: thus, the Latin is said to be closely related to the Celtic,[1] the Celtic to German;[2] the Phrygian to Thracian, the Thracian to German;[3] the Pelasgian to Geek, the Greek to German;[4] the Indian and Iranian (or Sanskritic) to the Slavic, the Slavic to German and Lettish.[5] The Lettish, Slavic, and Sanskritic dialects rank nearest of all to the typical Aryan. This is just as we would suppose, as their ancestors took less part in the racial warfare of early times, and roamed freely across the plains of Russia for many centuries before they became separated, and the Sanskritic family became isolated from its kindred.

We are now better able to understand a number of scientific and linguistic points that have puzzled the an-

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1 Rhys: "Celtic Britain." 2 Whitney in Am. Cyclopedia.
3 Keane in Standford's "Europe," p. 565. Blind in "Troja," p. 350 *et seq.*
4 Whitney in Am. Cyclopedia. Keane, Op cit.
5 Whitney, Op. cit. Sayce: "Comparative Philology," p. 95-6.

thropologist and the ethnologist. We can see why "the primitive Slaves differ from the Germans and Celts, their brethren by origin, only by very slight shades,"[1] for all were so slightly separated from the fatherland. We can understand why it is that the gulf is widest between the Celtic and Sanskritic dialects,[2] for they represent the breadth of Aryan migration in either direction. We can see why it was so easy for the Celts to almost universally adopt the language of their children, the Romans, and why the Romance languages, are almost universally built upon an ethnically Celtic foundation.[3] We can see how such a mixture of Aryans and Turanians could arise as to produce the Celto-Slavonic-Lithunians.[4]

If this theory of the rise and spread of the Aryan tribes be correct, we can easily solve one of the ethnological problems. We are told that the Galchans of the Hindoo Koosh have typical Aryan skulls, and from this it is argued, that all the Aryans must have come from thence.[5] Such a result does not follow. Quatrefages tells us that the ancient Slaves had also a typical Aryan skull.[6] Wherever their descendants have led an isolated life, we would expect to find this type of skull. The Galchans have lived just such a life in the passes of the Hindoo Koosh. Turning to Europe, we learn that the great passes of the Alps in Savoy have been in the possession of a people probably descended from the Slaves,[7] and here, again, we meet with this typical skull.

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[1] Quatrefages: "The Prussian Race," p. 14.
[2] Rhys: "Celtic Britain," p. 1.
[3] Keane in Stanford's "Europe," p. 554.
[4] Keane, Op. cit. Petermann's "Mittheilungen," Band 23, 1887, p. 7.
[5] Keane in Stanford's "Asia," p. 158.
[6] "Prussian Race," p. 14
[7] Latham; "Comparative Philology," p. 695.

After having thus minutely reviewed all the facts and evidence that we can find, that relate to the primitive home or the early wanderings of the Aryans, we are forced to the conclusion, that it all testifies against the Asiatic theory. While eminent philologists still hold to that theory, we have the authority of others just as eminent for claiming, that philology does not even require the home of the Aryans to be located in Asia, much less does it prove that it was there. We find, that, as early as the Neolithic Age, the Celts were wandering over the plains

Germans crossing the Rhine.

of Southern and Northern Europe, and Aryans of Teutonic origin had even reached the plains of Troy by the close of that Age. All the evidence that we have been able to gather in regard to the migrations of Aryan people, does not go back of a time when they were not moving in southerly and easterly directions from Central Europe. We can find no westerly movements until we pass the imaginary line drawn from Konigsburg to Crimea, for the movements of the Celts have, as a general thing, been

from northeast to southwest over the plains of Europe. The earliest Aryan migrations that were recorded relate to European Aryans who, appearing along the shores of Asia Minor, had begun to interfere with Egyptian affairs. Next, we catch a glimpse of Aryans passing through Kashgar into China; and soon the Persians and Indians appear upon the scene, spreading their authority, influence, and peculiar characteristics southward from the base of the Hindoo Koosh. We find in all this not one single iota of evidence in favor of the Asiatic theory.

Looking at it, then, from every direction and going back beyond the earliest pre-historic times, the picture is the same—great bands of Teutonic people are crowding outward from the German and Lettish fatherland.[1] When we consider that the Teutonic nations are to-day the Aryans *par excellence* the world over; when we consider that they furnish not only the bone and sinew and muscle of the civilized world, but the men of thought and learning as well; then, when we are forced to admit that they are the known ancestors of the great mass of modern Aryan nations, we ought no longer to hesitate to give the Teuton his place in history. The Lettish and Old Prussian dialects are pointed out to us as more closely related to the typical primitive Aryan than any others that exist. Keane[2] says of it, that, "although betraying more numerous points of contact with Slavonic than with any other Aryan language, it also exhibits some marked affinities with the Hellenic, Teutonic, Iranic, and Indic bran-

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[1] Quatrefages claims that the Letts are Aryans in language only, but have become so intermixed with Turanian people that they are physically Turanized. ["The Prussian Race," London, 1872, p. 20.] Prof. Keane, speaking of them ethnically, calls them Celto-Slavonic, and we judge that he is nearer right. (Ramsay's "Europe," p. 556).

[2] Ramsay's "Europe," p. 575-6.

ches." We must, then, be drawing pretty close to the primeval homeland. If the Lithuanians be Aryans in language only, they must live close to the border line of the fatherland of the race.

Max Muller says, that, before their separation, the Aryans led "a life such as Tacitus describes that of the ancient Germans;"[1] and Tacitus' description of the German people will correspond almost exactly with a great proportion of the philologists' imaginary descriptions of the primitive Aryans. Their land was the land of the birch, the fir, and the beech.[2] The climate, the soil, and the productions of the land are just what were necessary for the production and maintenance of such a hardy race as the Aryans. Then why should we look to Asia for the primeval home of the Aryans, when all evidence points toward the German fatherland and the shores of the Baltic Sea?

In fact, look at the matter as we will, we can come to no other conclusion than, that the Aryans commenced their migrations from the vicinity of the Baltic Sea in Europe. The Asiatic theory seems to us to be largely a "taken-for-granted" theory. It was *assumed* that Western Asia was the home of the human family, and especially of the White Races. It was *assumed* that from that point the Hamites and Semites went west, and the Aryans moved into Europe. At present, we ought to have no hesitation in demanding proof instead of assumptions. When we reflect that the science of language is utterly silent on this point; when we reflect, further, that

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1 "Science of Language," Vol. I. p. 234.

2 Sayce: "Comparative Philology," p. 395-6. As we shall see later the Asiatic Aryans, being descendants of the Slaves, probably never heard of the Beech.

the probabilities are, that the Semites and Aryans were never co-dwellers in some common home, and that the Semites probably took their rise in Abyssinia;[1] when we read, that the traditions of the Aryans point back to a time when they were living to the north of 49° 20′ N. L., which in Asia would carry them into the Altai Mountain region, and that this has always been the home of the Yellow Races; when we perceive that not one argument can be given for the Asiatic orgin, which can not be at once applied just as strongly in favor of Europe; when an examination discloses that our later writers, with the results of modern research before them, are rapidly coming in favor of the European origin; when we recall that all the movements of Aryan people as far as known, appear to diverge from the Baltic section of Europe—when we take all the forgoing into consideration, we need have no hesitancy in deciding, for the present at least, and until better informed, that Europe not only is, but always has been, the home of the Aryan people.

In coming to this conclusion, it is satisfactory to learn that this has all evidence of being the "coming theory." The belief of the European origin of the Aryans is fast gaining favor. Among the first who dared to champion this theory was Dr. Latham, to whose works we shall make occasional reference. He has never been without followers, and of late years there has arisen a strong belief in the truth of his theory. Professor Hommel declares, that this theory is fast becoming a dogma,[2] although he does not yet feel inclined to support it. Other eminent scholars[3] recognize the fact that this European theory is

[1] This Series, Vol. II. p. 644.
[2] "Archiv für Anthropologie," Band xv. supplement, 1885, p. 167-8.
[3] "American Antiquarian," July, 1887.

fast gaining popularity, and in regard to it say that "the claims of Europe are becoming as great and appear to be as well defended as Asia."[1]

Now that we have chosen, at least for the present, the European theory, we are at liberty to turn our attention to the civilization of these primitive Aryans. We are told that philology gives us much information about the degree of culture that they had attained; but writers have indulged in such fanciful sketches of the life of these early people, that we can accept none of them as based upon a sufficiently sure foundation. The most that we can say is, that they were a hardy race, inured to rigorous winters. They were already far past Savagery, having all the principal domestic animals that we have, practicing the arts of weaving and agriculture, being acquainted with one or two metals (whether iron is not certain), and possessing some of the cereals; "it was rather pastoral-agricultural than nomadic in its way of life."[2] Accepting these statements, then, as proved by linguistic history, our most satisfactory way of further studying the life of the primitive Aryans is to pass each great group in review and learn what we can of their civilization when history dawns upon them. Even here, we will often find ourselves in the shadowy lands of tradition and myth, but we will try to glean all the knowledge that we can about these early people.

As the Latins and Greeks, with their descendants,

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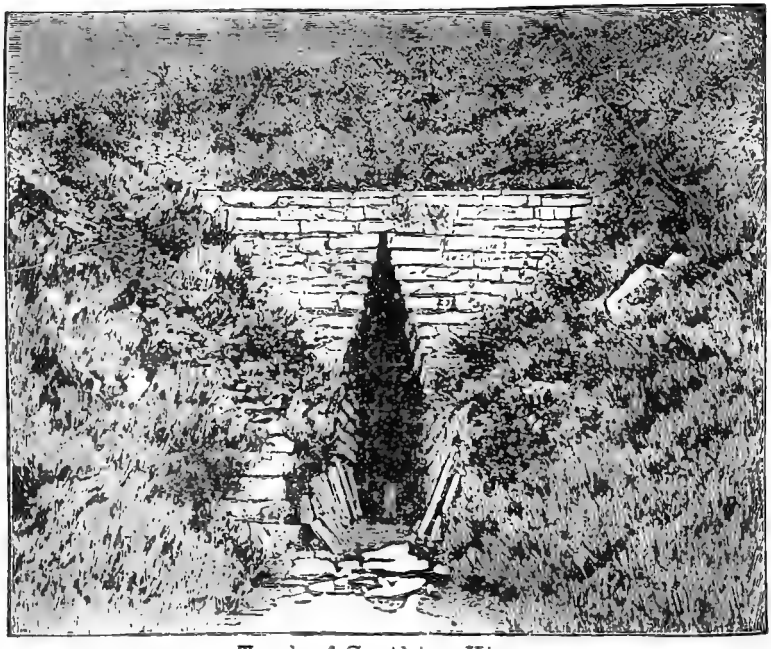
1 See an article by E. P. Evans, in "Atlantic Monthly" for 1886, p. 632, who adopts the European origin. We might remark that, when we commenced to prepare "This Series," we supposed it was settled that the Aryans came from Asia. The first two volumes were written with that in view. Yet when we sit down to investigate this theory, we find ourselves obliged to abandon it, and accept the more recent theory.

2 Whitney, Op. cit.

are later and historical members of the great Aryan race, they will be treated in separate chapters. There remains, then, three great primitive members of this group, the Celts, the Slaves, and the Teutons. To them we must look for our information of the character and culture of the primitive Aryan people. The Slaves, the youngest member of the Aryan race, according to the Asiatic theory, becomes a very important family when studied from the



Tomb of Scythian Kings.

standpoint of the European theory. They then become the ancestors instead of the children of the Asiatic Aryans. They belong to the blonde division of the race, are tall, lithe, and well proportioned. The Western Slavic tribes were undoubtedly among the purest of Aryans, because of a continuous baptism of Teutonic people to which they were subjected. This is proved by the shape of their skulls,[1]

[1] Quatrefages, "Prussian Race," p. 14.

as well as by the almost typical character of their language.

Among the earliest historical Slaves, were some of the tribes whom Herodotus describes as Scythians. This, however, must have been many centuries after the Asiatic Aryans had become cut off by the hordes of Turanians that came into the Caspian basin from the North and East, between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries B. C., and whose movements probably forced the Jung tribes eastward to the confines of China.[1] We find that those tribes of Scythians furthest removed from the fatherland, by constant intermixture with Turanians, became very much corrupted. Not so with a few tribes who had been forced to seek protection in the mountain fastnesses of the Hindoo Koosh. There they remain to the present day. These were the Galchan tribes, who, by living in isolation, have retained the blonde features, blue eyes, fair complexion, and light hair,[2] which they inherited from their Slavic ancestors. They, too, have preserved some of the purest ethnical features peculiar to the Aryan race, as they have an almost typical Aryan skull.[3] Their language shows a similarity to the Iranian dialect, and is thus proved to be closely allied to that used by Scyths and Sarmatians.

The Indians and Iranians were crowded down among the darker Turanian people of the South, and show marked indications of intermixture with them. They belong, therefore, to the southern, or dark-featured group of Aryans;[4] ethnologically they can not be very purely

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1 See Vol. II. p. 434.

2 Keane, in Stanford's "Asia," p. 706.

3 Keane, in Stanford's "Europe," p. 558.

4 Campbell, B. A. A. S., 1886, p. 842.

Aryan, for the Turanian people with whom they have mingled, have always been in great preponderance over the Aryan. Caste in India may have, however, preserved the Aryan features in the higher grades, but even this argument is open to serious objections, as we shall see in another chapter. The modern dialects of India and Persia are by no means typical Aryan dialects; but each people have developed a distinct religious system, the sacred teachings of which have been faithfully treasured up in the language which their ancestors used, when they dwelt together at the southern base of the Hindoo Koosh. This is the Sanskrit, and it alone tells us of the Aryan origin of the Indians and Iranians. It is understood by only a few of the more highly educated priests, who, previous to the entrance of the English into India, jealously guarded this knowledge.

The Sanskrit has, thus, been preserved as one of the purest Aryan dialects, but we can not claim so much for the racial peculiarities of the people. We have no historical records of the Iranians before the time of Darius I. of Persia, although Zoroaster must have preached his great religious reform many centuries before that time. Of the Indians, we know only that Darius and afterward Alexander the Great made military expeditions into the Punjab and along the Indus. Their own political history, however, begins with the reign of Asoca about 250 B. C. In the religious world, they were widely known through the spread of Buddhism, the first missionary religion. Previous to the time of Buddha (about 500 B. C.), they lived in seclusion; the Brahmins conversing about "life and death,"[1] Kshatriyas fighting their tribal battles, the

[1] Müller: "Early Sanskrit Literature," p. 25.

Vaisyas attending to their commercial and other pursuits, and the Sudras servants to all the others. The Slaves, known as such, did not come into historical prominence until the seventh century A. D.; and, from that time, we must look to history for a record of their growth into the modern Russian nation.

The Celts and Teutons play quite an important part in the affairs of early Europe. Rome had not yet become mistress of the Latin colonies when she was burned by invading Celts. It was the pressure of the Thracian and German tribes from the north that started the Dorian migration into the Peloponnesus, and entirely changed the nature of the population of Hellas. The Celts, as we have seen, spread away to the west and south, and had so filled up this territory as to make it appear crowded to their restless natures. They had already begun to push toward the east, and one large band had cut its way into Asia Minor, before Rome became a power in the world. At the beginning of the fourth century B. C., the Celts were in the height of their power as history knows them. They were spread over England, Wales, and Ireland when these lands became first known to the eastern world.

When we undertake to describe the Celts and the Teutons separately, as they appeared at the dawn of their history, many difficulties arise. Those Celts that were farthest separated from the German lands were, of course, strongly tainted with Turanian blood. As we approach the border line of the purer Teutonic tribes, ancient authorities either failed to distinguish as to which were Teuton and which were Celt, or else they did not know. It is also a fact, that some of the Celtic tribes were so nearly like the Germans in physical appearance as to

compel even those who believe in the Asiatic origin of the Aryans to admit, that they were "descended from the German stock."[1] This all shows how firmly the primitive Aryan features, passing through the Teutonic people, shaded into the Celt and thence into the Turanian.

On the whole, however, the Celts were physically less powerful than the Teutons, and were strongly mixed with the dark races of the south. But wherever they had reached the north far enough to mingle with the fair Turanians, the resulting people were fair with flaxen hair.[2] This happened both in Europe and in the British Isles.[3] Then, too, we are apt to gain from ancient authorities many erroneous ideas in regard to both Celts and Teutons. We are told that, in Britain, naked, painted savages came out to battle in scythed chariots drawn by four horses. We are also expected to believe that naked savages came out of the forests to successfully contend with the powerful Roman legions. This is far from the truth, and is no more worthy of belief than the statement of Tacitus in regard to a battle between the Romans and Britons: "About ten thousand of the enemy were slain; on our side there fell three hundred and sixty men."[4] If we will bear in mind that our first knowledge of these people comes through their sworn enemies, the Romans, we can account for many statements that bear upon their faces the marks of falsehood.

The Celts, though less powerful, were more restless than the Teutons. They have been called the nervous race. They were ready to move at all times, though they

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1 Quatrefages: "Prussian Race," p. 13.
2 Ibid.
3 Elton: "Origins," p. 152 *et seq.*
4 "Agricola," chapter 37. Church's translation.

preferred to dwell in towns. They seemed to delight in war and fought mounted on horses. In all this, we see the Turanian influence. The Teuton, on the other hand, often migrated, but nearly always in search of new homes. The Celts were by no means savages, however. They

Steppes of Russia.

"were tall, pale, and light-haired." "The women were singularly tall and handsome." They wore the same dress as the men, which consisted of "a blouse with sleeves, confined in some cases by a belt, of trousers fitting close at the ankle, and a tartan plaid fastened up at the shoulder with a brooch. The Gauls were experts at

making cloth and linen. They wove their stuffs for summer, and rough felts or druggets for winter wear."[1] They had also learned to weave in diverse colors and make the cloth appear "as if it had been sprinkled with flowers." "The favorite color was red or a pretty crimson." They were fond of every kind of ornament and wore necklaces, collars, bracelets, and beads. "The chieftain's clothes were a flaming and fantastic hue; his hair hung down like a horse's mane .... and both hair and moustaches were dyed red."[2] They had almost all of our domestic animals. They were very hospitable, entertaining their guests with feasts, at which the bard was always present. Though they sometimes dwelt in rudely thatched houses, they had learned to build cities with walls and streets and market-places." They even fought with iron broad-swords at the battle of Amo, in the fourth century B. C.[3] Surely these were not rude and uncultivated savages.

The Teutons have always dwelt in the land between the Rhine and the Elbe. But, in ancient times, when we crossed the Rhine, we passed through a region whose population was of a Teuto-Celtic nature, and finally came among a people that might be called pure Celts. When we crossed the Elbe, we found a similar mixture of Teuto-Slavonic people before we come upon the purer Slaves.[4] But as the Celtic population on the southwest, the Slavic on the east, and the Pelasgic on the south, became baptized again and again with a population direct from the German fatherland, we are told that the ancient Germans spread so as to cover the whole of Central Europe with Teutonic people. This plainly indicates that the people who dwelt on the borders of ancient Germania became

[1] Elton: "Origins," p. 113 *et seq.*
[2] Ibid. [3] Ibid. [4] Latham: "Comparative Philology," p. 663.

more Aryanized as they became more Teutonized. Toward the west, however, there seems to have been an earlier and a stronger stream of Teutonic migration, which crowded the Finns toward the north into Scandinavia, and, pressing onward even into Scotland, may have Teutonized the Picts to some extent.[1]

The ancient Teutons were distinguished by their "lofty stature, their robust limbs, their fair complexion, and their flaxen, flowing hair."[2] They have never yet received their place in history. Their civilization has been under-estimated. We have contemplated them too much through Roman and monkish spectacles. "We have talked of his (the Teuton's) forests, till we have forgotten his cornfields; and spoken of his feats as a hunter, till we have overlooked his labors as a herdsman. We have believed that all well equipped and disciplined armies, with all their weapons, clothing, and commissariat, could come out of the wilderness, or what is yet more incredible, that naked barbarism could defeat the legions and storm the cities of a well organized civilization..... He (the Teuton) is the muscular and material man of Europe.... He is pre-eminently the strong man of the world.... He is nature's resource, when her nervous races, Celtic and Classic, have become effete, that is wire drawn and overbred, used up. Then she resorts to him for a fresh supply of strength and stature, bone and muscle... But the Teuton is not all bone and muscle. He has also a goodly brain, well arched, and of the largest volume. He far transcends the classic man, both in elevation of principles and warmth of affection. He regenerated the South morally as well as physically.[3]"

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1 Keith: "History of Scotland," Edinburg, 1886, Vol. I. p. 34 *et seq.*
2 Quatrefages, Op. cit. 3 "Anthropological Review," 1868, p. 26-7.

Although the writer, from whom we have just quoted, has done partial justice to the Teuton, he has failed to understand the real origin of this Teutonic pre-eminence. He has failed to perceive in the Teuton the Aryan *par excellence*, by whom the whole civilized world has been regenerated. It is very strange that, in the light of all this evidence, so many of our scholars are even yet trying to make for the Aryans a home land in the scorched and effeminating regions of Central Asia. While in the heart of Europe, in a region almost surrounded by the Rhine, the Maine, and the Elbe, have dwelt, since European history began, this hardy German people, whose warriors taught the Roman legions lessons in the arts of war, whose women taught the Roman matrons lessons in virtue and industry. They were not an ignorant and uncultivated people, for they had their Runic form of writing for six centuries before our era.[1] Thus they were keeping pace with the civilizations of the South and East. Let us then forget the pictures that the prejudiced and misinformed classic writers have left us of the ancient Teutons, and gain, if we can, truer impressions of these strong and worthy people—the ancestor of our own English speaking race.

In treating of these primitive Aryan people and their primeval home, we have, perhaps, wandered somewhat from the old, beaten track, which the historian is wont to follow; and we only hope that we have escaped some of the ruts into which he has invariably fallen. We have studied faithfully the two theories of the origin of the Aryans, and have found all evidence pointing to the European theory. Seeing no other way open to us, we

1 Keane in Stanford's "Europe," p. 572. Taylor: "Greek and Goth," p. 41 *et seq.*

have adopted that theory; and we have found it sufficient to explain every question that puzzles the writer from the Asiatic standpoint. We must now hasten on to consider some of the more prominent members of the race separately. It is, indeed, a satisfaction to believe that the portion of the world, that to-day sees the Aryan race at the very summit of modern Civilization, watched over the cradle of the Aryan people in their infancy, and gave them nourishment as they grew into perfect manhood. We will turn first to follow the footsteps of those that wandered farthest from this primeval home into the mountains, deserts, and jungles of the Orient, and then will return to consider those people who have always dwelt nearest their fatherland.[1]

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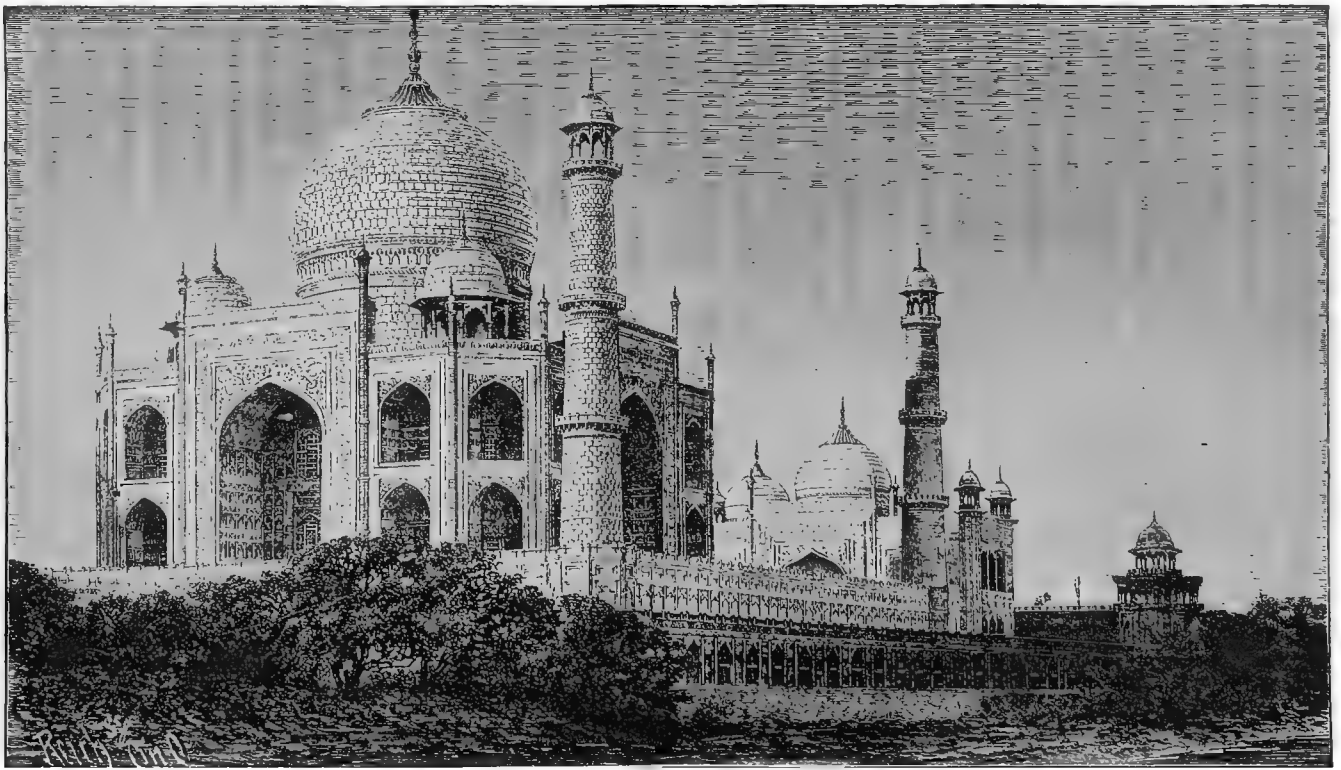
1 As these pages are passing through the press, our attention has been called to Biddulph's "Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh," Calcutta, 1880, and we are interested in noticing that Russian officers boldly claim a Slavic origin for the Aryan tribes in that section; thus confirming the conclusions set forth in this chapter.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE ASIATIC ARYANS

INTRODUCTION — Oriental Peculiarities — Geographical Distribution — The Afghans—The Galchas—The Iranians—Zoroaster—Mazdeism—The Rise of the Persians—Cyrus—Cambyses—Darius—Re-organization of the Empire—Mt. Behistun—Xerxes—Traits of the Persians—Disposal of the Dead—Art among the Persians—Description of Ruins—Conquest of Alexander—The Parthian Empire—The Neo-Persian Empire—Religious Reform—The Indians—Description of the Country—Early History of the Country—Asoca—The Vedic Literature—The Caste System in India—Science in Ancient India—Philosophy in Ancient India—Buddhism—Ruins in India—Conclusion.

TRAVELER in Central Asia is struck by the Oriental peculiarity of his surroundings. The people are mostly dark in hue, and treacherous in character, dressing in a manner peculiar to the Orient. The beast of burden is the camel, and the caravan takes the place of our railroad train. The desert is as familiar to the Asiatic as the prairie is to the American, while bitter, brackish pools take the place of the refreshing lakes. The rivers start from the mountains on a joyous, rapid course, but are soon choked and strangled by the burning, drifting sands of the constantly changing deserts. Only now and then, is the current strong enough to plow its way in an ever shifting channel to some lake or sea; the most of them losing themselves in the sands of the desert. The great Oxus river is one of the few



THE TADJ MAHAL, INDIA.

that is able to keep an outlet clear, but even it is constantly changing its channel; and the pittiless desert approaches to within two miles of its banks, as if by stealth to snatch the vital spark from every living thing.

But among the mountains, within sight of the snow line, are some happy valleys, that, drinking the waters from the mountain streams, blossom forth with a luxurious herbage during the few months of summer that these regions enjoy. Such is the rose covered "Vale of Casmere," the haven for the tourist during the hot and blasting months of the Indian summer. And, as we follow the Oxus down toward its mouth, we find that many districts have been reclaimed from the desert by a system of artificial irrigation by means of canals. Such regions are remarkable for the fertility of soil, and stand out in the surrounding deserts as veritable garden spots where "the white houses are like bowers buried in foliage and flowers; the nightingale warbles in every rose-bush."[1] Such regions are, however, but few miles in extent, and are liable at any time to be restored to the desert should the fickle river change its channel.

But such oases in the desert continent of Asia are only rare exceptions to the great barren regions of the central table lands. When the rivers loose their courses in the sands of the deserts, they often give rise to brackish malaria breeding marshes. So well known are these characteristics that many proverbs are current descriptive of these features. "If you want to die go to Kunduz;"[2] "Salt water, burning sands, venomous flies, and scorpions, such is Andkhoi, and such is hell," are common expres-

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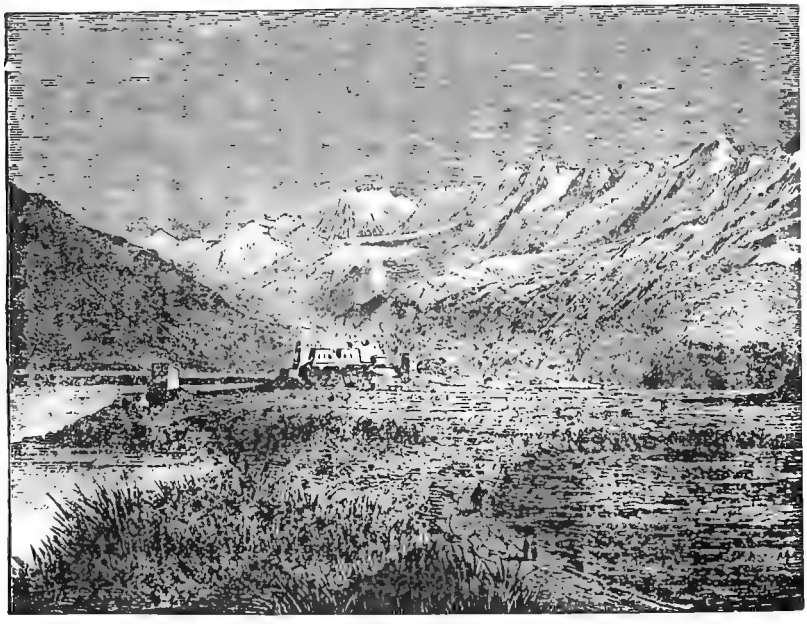
1 Recluse: "The Earth and its Inhabitants," New York, 1884, Vol. I. p. 265.

2 A river in Northern Afghanistan.

sions in that country. Nor are the mountain valleys always pleasant. On the contrary, we often come to great stretches of country that are cold and bleak, and can hardly be said to possess even a temperate climate. So marked is this feature that the Afghan language is said to be "hard and gutteral, as if the cold winds blowing from the Hindoo Koosh compelled the people to speak with half-closed lips."[1] Still, this is the very region that some think was the cradle of the Aryan race, from whence issued the great migrating bands that finally filled all Europe.



Scene on the Upper Oxus.

However that may be, there is no doubt that in this territory, for some centuries, tribes of Aryans and Turanians wandered to and fro contending for supremacy, gradually mingling their blood to form one united people. We have suggested that the first appearance of the Aryans

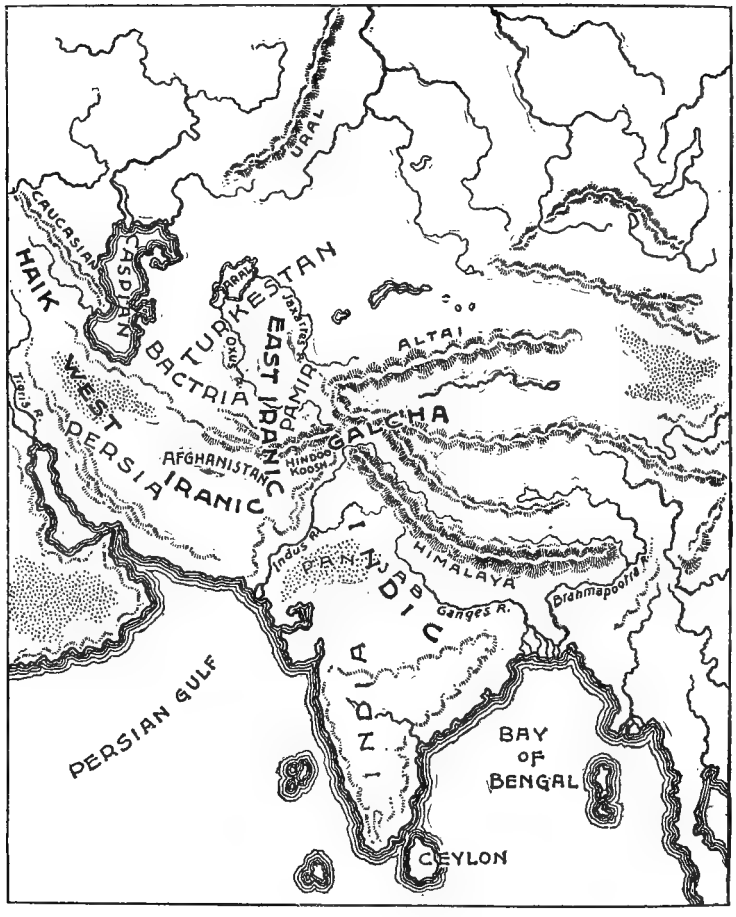
1 Recluse, Op. cit. Vol. IV p. 84.

in that vicinity was the inciting cause of that sudden outpouring of Turanian tribes, the troubled movements of which we catch sight of in the uncertain light of the twenty-third century B. C. Probably some centuries elapsed during which the Aryans were largely the masters. All history, however, teaches that, from time to time, great swarms of Mongolic people issued from the inhospitable regions of Northern Asia, driving all before them. And so the time finally came when the Aryan and Semi-Aryan tribes of the Oxus and Jaxartes basins were forced in turn to give way before advancing hordes of Turanian people, who, pressing westward toward the northern shores of the Caspian, cut the Slavic people into two parts; forcing one back toward the Aryan homeland, and driving the other upon the table land of Pamir, and into the mountain fastnesses of the Hindoo Koosh region, where they have since dwelt in security and independence.

As we shall devote this chapter exclusively to the Asiatic Aryans, it may be of advantage to us to first understand just what people may be included under that head and indicate the lands which they inhabit. There appear to be five independent branches of the Aryan family in the Asiatic division of the race. These, taken in the order of their importance, are the West Iranic, Indic, East Iranic, Galcha, and Haik branches.[1] The Indic comprises the many tribes of Aryans who dwell in the peninsula of Hindoostan and who speak dialects of the ancient Sanskrit language. The West Iranic branch, also called Achæmenian, includes the Parsi and Neo-Persian, Baluch, Kurdish and Ossetian. To the East Iranic branch, belong the Bactrians and Afghans, or Pushtu, people. Among the

[1] Keane in Stanford's "Asia," p. 706.

Galchas, may be mentioned the Karateghin, Darwazi, Wakhi, Siah-Posh, Kafir, and Chignangi. The ancient and modern Armenian are called Haik,[1] and will need but occasional mention in this work.




Ethnic Map of Asia.

The Afghans are an extremely interesting people and have become of great political importance of late on account of the region that they occupy. In their midst, lies the

[1] Ibid.

disputed border line between Russian and English dominion in Central Asia; and thus, these poor people are placed between two great fires, that, in meeting, may finally sweep them, as a separate people, out of existence. In ancient times, the Afghans occupied only the Kabul valley,[1] through which the Indic tribes may have passed on their way to the Punjab.[2] They have been indentified with the Paktyes whom Herodotus[3] mentions as dwelling here in 509 B. C.[4] Their language is of the Iranic type. Thus, it connects them with the ancient Slaves, and fully identifies them with the Aryan race, though in physical appearance they show many Turanian characteristics. They belong to the dark type, and thus again indicate their mixture with the Turanians.

In many ways, however, the Afghans show their Aryan descent. They have "robust frames and muscular energy." They are as bold as they are strong, and have ever gloried in their independence. "Let our blood flow, if needs be, but we will have no master," is their motto. "They are skillful artisans, hospitable, generous, and even truthful. ..... The man who shuts his door to the stranger is no Afghan," says the national proverb.[5] They still retain the tribal form of government, and all the usual tribal divisions exist in full vigor. The joint-family is a still existing institution, and the house-father is a much respected person of considerable power.[6] "Their women are much respected, and manage the household with in-

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1 Keane in "Nature," Jan. 22, 1880, p. 278.

2 Thomas in J. R. A. S. 1883, p. 378 *et seq.*

3 Book iii. Chapter 102.

4 Keane, Op. cit. Recluse: "Asia," Vol. IV. p. 84.

5 Recluse, Op. cit. p. 85.

6 This Series, Vol. II. p. 166.

telligence and firmness." "Go to India for wealth, to Kashmir for pleasure, but to the Afghans for a wife," is an Oriental proverb that illustrates this point. But there is another side to their character. They regard "everything as fair in war," and so show no mercy to their enemies. "God shield you from the vengeance of the elephant, cobra, and Afghan," is a prayer that the Mussleman has long since learned to repeat.

There is another type of people in Afghanistan perhaps more interesting to us, in an ethnic sense, than the dark Aryans of the Southwest. These are known as Galchas, and dwell in the immediate Hindoo Koosh region and to the northward. They may have dwelt in these wild and mountainous regions since the Turanians first cut them off from their Slavic fatherland. They are the purest physical type of Aryans to be found in Asia. Their skulls are identical with those of the Savoyards.[1] As to their language equally significant remarks are made. Professor Keane[2] tells us that the language of the Galchas "may possibly prove to be *pre*, rather than *Neo*-Sanskritic." In which case we have here an Aryan people who are ethnically connected with the Slaves, and who use an Aryan language of a more ancient type than the Sanskritic, though inclined toward the Iranic.[3] They, too, dwell in the very region toward which all the Vedic and Avestic traditions point, as the land through which the ancestors of the Indians and Iranians journeyed before they reached their present homes. When we further remember that

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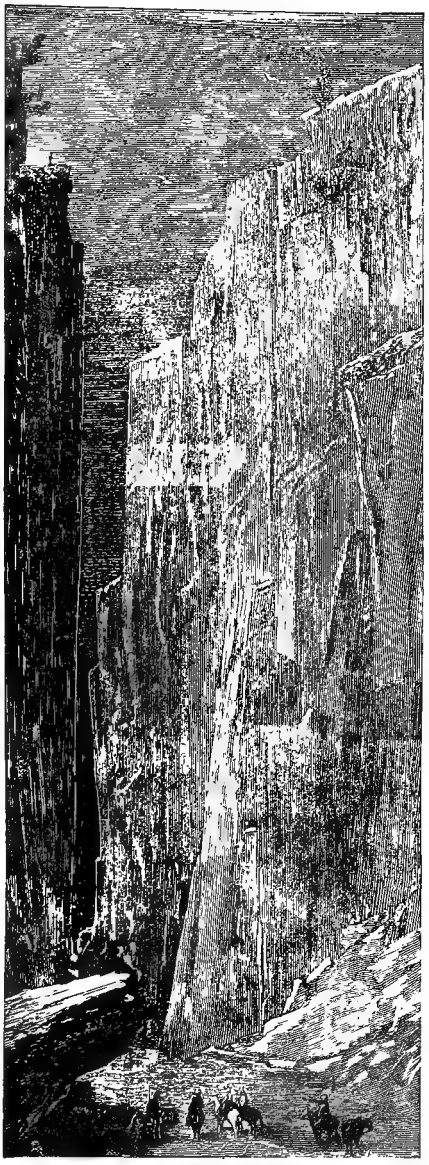
[1] Keane in "Nature," Jan. 22, 1880, p. 277. Also same author in Stanford's "Europe," p. 558. We have already referred to this ethnic problem on page 72.

[2] "Nature," l. c. p. 278.

[3] Keane, in Stanford's "Asia," p. 706, note 1.

the ancient Slaves, or Sarmatians, used an Iranian dialect connected with that of the Persians and Afghans,[1] it seems evident that in the remote past, the territory of the Slavic tribes reached from the Vistula to the Kindoo Koosh. In the Galchas, then, we have the ancestors, and not the children, of the Indians and Iranians. We are here building, not upon theory, but the proof lies before us like the pages of an open book.

These Galchas are typical Slavic Aryans in many other respects than language and shape of the skull. Here we find also the blonde type so peculiar to the ancient Slaves.[2] "The fair or chestnut type is found almost exclusively amid the Kafiristan highlanders."[3] Professor Keane[4] says of the same people that they have "reg-



A Mountain Pass in Afghanistan.

1 Sayce: "Comparative Philology," p. 396.
2 Quatrefages: "Prussian Race," p. 14-15.
3 Recluse: "Asia," Vol. IV. p. 34.
4 "Nature," Jan. 22, 1880.

ular features, blue and black eyes, hair varying from brown to black, broad, open forehead, tall and well made." The Kafir women are beautiful and the men handsome; and the English report that the Kafirs look like kinsmen and allies.[1]

In the Hindoo Koosh region itself, we meet with Galchan tribes whose complexion is still lighter and fairer. They have blue eyes and light hair. They are considered superior to all the people about them and "have preserved their old customs, recalling those of Zoroastrian times."[2] They are by no means ignorant, for many of the schoolmasters of Turkestan are from Karateghin. Naturally industrious, they are engaged in salt mining, weaving, metal-working, and gold-washing. They trade with many of the cities in this region, principally Kokan, Bokhara, and Kashgaria. They have always retained their independence, preferring, like the race in general, to live in their cold mountain homes rather than submit to the commands of any master. Between the English and the Russians, however, it is impossible to say how long they will retain their independence, or even their purity of race and language.

The Indians and Western Iranians are usually supposed to have wandered away together from the slopes of the Hindoo Koosh. Then a separation took place, some of the tribes journeying to the Southeast into Hindostan, and some to the Southwest into Persia. Max Muller believes that it was the reform of Zoroaster that caused the separation of these people into two branches.[3] But, so long as the Kabul valley lay open to them, as soon as the

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[1] Fisher: "Afghanistan," London, 1878, p. 77-8.
[2] Recluse: "Asia," Vol. I. p. 254-5.
[3] "Science of Language, Vol. I. p. 212.

Aryans took possession of the Hindoo Koosh, there is no reason why some tribes should not have early wandered into the Punjab, and why the migrations of the Indic tribes should not have been slow and continued through

Armenian Women—Haik Aryans.

many generations. At the same time, some of the primitive tribes may have pushed off toward the west and south across Afghanistan and, finally, into Persia and Media. Such movements would be in accordance with what we know of the migration of primitive people. The

language of the Afghans is also classed as intermediate between the Indic and Iranic dialects,[1] while the Iranic are more closely allied to the Galchan dialects than are the Indic.[2] Thus is revealed the fact, that the general direction of the tribes of Aryans that reached Irania was down through Afghanistan, and that they separated from the Galchas at a later date than did the Indians.

The Iranians and Indians have each an ancient literature, in which have been preserved their legends and religious myths since they left the slopes of the Hindoo Koosh. They are recorded in ancient dialects that are of great importance in the study of philology, though they are now classed with the dead languages. From the East Iranic branch, the Bactrians furnish us with the Zend dialect; from the West Iranic branch, the Persians furnish us with the Parsi and Pehlevi dialects; while the Sanskrit is the ancient dialect of the Indic branch. The Vedic, or classical literature of the Indic branch, is written in Sanskrit; while, of the Avestic or Iranian classic literature, the oldest parts are written in Zend, the more recent additions or explanations in Pehlevi, and the latest additions or explanations in Parsi;[3] but all of these dialects have long since become antiquated. We must, from the start, understand that the Vedas form the Bible of the Indians, and the Avesta, that of the ancient Iranians.

In tracing the history of the Iranians, it is necessary to speak to some extent of their religion, since their first history is gathered from their religious books. Only an outline of this religion is required at this point, we will analyze and compare it later. In the dim light of a

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[1] Keane in Stanford's "Asia," p. 706. [2] Ibid. note.

[3] Whitney: "Oriental and and Linguistic Studies," New York, 1883, p. 171.

distant past, a personage by the name of Zarathushtra, commonly known as Zoroaster, appears as a great religious reformer. We will, for the present, not question whether he be an historical personage or not, though his origin and life are veiled in mystery, and no historian can fix the date of his birth, or that of his death. In fact, ancient historians mention as many as six philosophers, by the name of Zoroaster, assigning to each a separate nationality.[1] The particular Zoroaster, to whom reference is probably made, was designated by the family name of Spitama, and the land of Bactria was the probable scene of his life and teachings. The age in which he flourished is also a mooted point and ranges all the way between 2400 and 600 B. C. While a number of our best linguistic scholars assert that he could not have lived at a later date than 1200 or 1000 B. C.;[2] other authorities claim to be very liberal in admitting the composition of the Avesta to have been as early as 700 B. C. Passing by all these questions for the present, we must be content to ascertain, as best we can, the effect of the teachings going by his name upon the later civilization of the Iranians.

It must have taken a long period of time for the tribes of Aryans to grow and spread themselves over the ancient countries of Bactria, Parthia, Media, and Persia, until they had completely Aryanized the Turanian population of those regions. But such seems to have been accomplished by the time of Zoroaster. Probably the ideas which Zoroaster formulated and preached had been

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1 "History of the Parsis," Vol. II. p. 167.

2 Rawlinson: "Religions of the Ancient World," p. 78. "History of the Parsis," Vol. II. p. 148. Whitney: "Oriental and Linguistic Studies," p. 165. J. R. A. S. for 1885, p. 349. Introduction to "Sacred Books in the East," Vols IV. and XXXI. King, in the latest edition of "Gnostics and their Remains," places him at 1200 B. C.

slowly developing for ages, and had even entered into the lives and practices of the priestly class. Then, even as now, the principles of a reform seem to have grown until the minds of the people were ready for it. At an opportune date, Zoroaster is supposed to have appeared; and, as the result of his labors, the religion that he preached became the principal religion of the Iranians. It is now known as Mazdeism. As was but natural, it became much changed and corrupted before it assumed the form of the religion of the present Parsi community of Bombay. As it spread westward from tribe to tribe, it seems to have absorbed many foreign elements from the native religions which it supplanted. And so it grew until, in a later day, it became the ruling religion of one of the greatest nations of ancient times.

Kurdish Hunter--West Iranic Aryan.

The religion of Zoroaster has been preserved to us in the sacred writings of the Parsis under the title of

the Zend-Avesta. Sanskrit scholars recognize in it, as in all cases of ancient sacred literature, a growth of literature extending over many generations. The first part only, known as the Gathas, is attributed to Zoroaster; and the language in which it is written appears to be two or three centuries older than the ordinary Avesta language.[1] It claims to be a record of the revelations made to that prophet, and the doctrines which he taught.[2] The other parts of the Avesta were added, from time to time, by priests and by teachers, claiming to be aided by inspiration. When the disciples of Zoroaster arrived in Media, they were confronted by the Magi, the priestly body, formed by the coalescing of the numerous Shamans of an earlier age. The result was a union of these two religions. When the Sassanian dynasty arose in Persia,[3] the Zoroastrian religion, after having been neglected for ages, was for the last time made the state religion, and, under the careful protection of the Persian rulers, continued to flourish until the Mahommedan conquerers forced it from its native soil at the point of the sword. The most earnest and loyal Mazdean worshipers either died for freedom of conscience, or fled to the mountains, or to foreign lands, where they could worship their own gods in peace. And in our own day, respected by all nations for their habits of industry and honesty, they constitute one of the most flourishing commercial communities on the coast of India.

Very briefly expressed, we may say that, in theology, Mazdeism taught that there was only one god, and that his name was Ahura Mazda. He was the creator, ruler, and preserver of the universe. Thus at its foundation the

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1 "History of the Parsis," Vol. II. p. 155.
2 Whitney, Op. cit. p. 167.
3 A. D. 226.

religion was monotheistic. But it recognized two all-powerful controlling spirits, one good and one bad, that were forever warring with each other for supremacy. This gave rise to a dualistic form of worship.[1] In practical ethics, Mazdeism taught that truthfulness, honesty, and virtue were commendable. It condemned idolatry. It recommended a settled mode of life and the cultivation of the land. It taught immortality, and that the future life of the virtuous was to be much more happy and desirable than that of the vicious. No doubt, this religion was in advance of the time, and the standard of right and wrong was but seldom attained by its followers; but we find in these writings the words of those inspired with a desire to advance and better the condition of mankind.

With such a system of belief, the tribes of Iranians encroached upon the territory of the Turanians. Their most earnest prayers were for the help of their god against the Turanians. It was a continued struggle between Iran and Turan. There were many tribes of each roaming at will over a vast stretch of country. Whenever a tribe of Aryans became powerful through the conquest of its Turanian neighbors, its chieftain did not hesitate to extend his authority over his weaker Aryan brothers also. Thus in early times, in Western Asia, was waged a continued tribal warfare, in which the Aryans, as a whole, seemed to finally gain the ascendency.

In another place,[1] we have shown that the great Semitic power of Assyria had become aware of the growing power of the Aryans to the north and east of it. We have now reached the same period from the Aryan side. The Median empire of Cyaxares, that divided with Nabo-

[1] "History of the Parsis," Vol. II. p. 184-5. Darmestet: "Sacred Books of the East," Vol. IV. p. lvii.

polassar the Assyrian power, was, in name, Aryan, though the people were probably not very pure in blood. But the pure Persians were pressing on from the rear. We must not forget that Assurbanipal had conquered and ravaged the old kingdom of Elam, or Anzan.[1] When Assyria disappeared as a political power, a tribe of Aryan Persians, under the lead of Achemenian chiefs, entered Anzan and speedily became the ruling power in that section. During the entire period of the second Babylonian empire, we know but little of Aryan movements; but they seem to have been gradually extending their power and influence over all that section.

During all this period of migration and conquest, these Aryan tribes seem to have continued their simple, pastoral lives. It was only the overflowing of the parent hive, that led to these migrations at first, and each migrating tribe often stopped on their way to refresh their flocks on some good pasture land or, in its season, to raise a crop of grain before proceeding upon their journey. Thus was passed time enough to conquer and Aryanize all the tribes of people with whom they came in contact. But it must not be forgotten that, wherever the Aryan tribes were weaker than the Turanians, the former were the ones that became absorbed. Thus mixture and intermixture continued until the historian finds himself in doubt as to who were Iranians and who Turanians. But wherever the Aryans prevailed they introduced the principles of Mazdeism; and, wherever they went, they instituted a more settled mode of life than was common among the Turanians. This, in itself, tended to a more stable growth in social condition and strength; and, at a time

[1] Vol. II. p. 795 *et seq.*

when the various empires of Western Asia were decaying, we find in Persia the germ of new empires destined to rule the world.

Cyrus the Great.

We have now, in this hurried review, arrived at the formation of the Persian Empire. "The Persians" is a general name given to a union of ten Aryan tribes, of which the Parsagadae tribe was the ruling one.[1] In this tribe

[1] This Series, Vol. II. p. 165.

the Achemenian gens was the principal one. There seems to be historical evidence for the statement, that Teispes was the first ruling chief, who extended Aryan influence westward to the Persian Gulf. Later kings proudly claim the honor of descent from him. But Cyrus appears as the real founder of Persia. It is claimed for him that he was a grandson of Teispes. There was probably considerable Turanian blood , not only in the veins of Cyrus, but in those of his people as well. But he was now at the head of the old kingdom of Elam, one that vied in antiquity with that of Babylon itself, and one of the last to succumb to the power of Assyria. It is not strange, then, that Cyrus should indulge in pleasing thoughts of conquest and glory, of once more raising Anzan to the height of power. But around the first years of Cyrus, myths have so clustered that it is difficult to decide what is history and what is myth.[1]

It seems to have been his first aim to extend his rule over all the various Aryan people in Western Asia. This involved the overthrow of the Median kingdom founded by Cyaxares, at that time ruled by Astyages. Here again myth has been busy. But it seems that about 549 B. C. Cyrus overthrew this Median power.[2] Some years were spent in consolidating his conquests in this section of Asia. But as a final result, we know that not only the Median kingdom of Cyaxares, but the Aryan states in Asia Minor were all brought under tribute to this new Persian power.

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[1] See Sayce: "Ancient Empires." New material for the history of this formative time is so recent that Justi: "Geschichte des Alten Persiens"in Onken's " Algemeine Geschichte," still gives credence to the old stories, p. 16 *et seq.*

[2] The defeat of the Medes is referred to in a Babylonian inscription, see "Ancient Empires."

Of course, any power, that aspired to a very extended sway, must sooner or later, come in contact with Babylon. The glorious reign of Nebuchadnezzar had passed into history before Cyrus had commenced to extend the boundaries of his empire. The successors of Nebuchadnezzar were not by any means his equal; and it was probably apparent that the star of Babylonia was as rapidly sinking to final extinction, as it had risen to its meridian height. When such a state of affairs exists, there is always a discontented party; and when Cyrus was planning the downfall of Babylonian power, he seems to have intrigued with the discontented party in Babylon. His intrigues were successful; and when, after his conquests over the various Aryan powers in Asia Minor, his forces appeared before Babylon, the city gates were open to him, and, almost without opposition, his soldiers entered the city. And thus Persian supremacy supervened in Western Asia. They now wielded the power once held by Assyria. The whole history of the conquest of Babylon is recorded on a terra cotta cylinder only recently discovered, so that we have historical evidence of this period in Persian history.[1]

From this, we learn that there was no long siege of Babylon. Cyrus appears as the ally of a disaffected element. His success is claimed as an evidence of favor from the gods of Babylon. Cyrus acknowledges himself, as the servant of Bel and Merodach. He showed a great deal of tact in not antagonizing the religious culture in Babylon. This kindness was even extended to the Jewish captives. With his consent, a portion of them, as an organized church, went back to their ruined city, Jerusalem, and there established Judaism.[2] Cyrus ruled until

[1] Budge: "Babylonian Life and History," p. 78.
[2] Vol. II. p. 761.

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The result was, that they determined to rid themselves of the usurper, and to exercise the right of electing one of their number to the office of king.[1] Their choice fell upon Darius, son of Hystaspes, who was young and energetic and, above all, a member of the Achemenian gens, in which the office of ruling chieftain seems to have been hereditary. Darius proudly publishes in one of his inscriptions: "There are eight of my race who have been kings before me. I am the ninth; for a very long time we have been kings."[2] This right of the council, to unseat a ruler and select a chief to his place, is a relic of a purely tribal state of society, and seems to have been recognized and exercised even down to the last days of the Neo-Persian empire.

Darius Hystaspes.

The oldest son generally succeeded the father as chief; but, in case of doubt or dispute, and sometimes of the unpopularity of the heir, this council of chiefs of the various gentes of a tribe would come forward and assert this ancient right. Sapor II. was thus elected chieftain, even before his birth, to the exclusion of an older brother. Kobad was deposed by this council and Zamasp was given the crown.[3] Chosroes I. assumed the office of emperor, when this council claimed that it was a "constitutional axiom that no one had the right of taking the Persian crown until it was assigned to him by the assembled

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1 This Series, Vol. II. p. 165. See also Rawlinson: "Herodotus," Vol. II. p. 477, and note.

2 Rawlinson's Translation of the Behistun Inscription in "Records of the Past," Vol. I. p. 111.

3 Rawlinson: "Seven Great Monarchies," Vol. II. p. 430.

nobles."[1] Even the last ruler of the Neo-Persian empire received his crown by right of election after a period of internal disaffection.[2] In many other ways, do we find the customs of tribal life clinging to the government of early nations, proving that it was rarely possible for them to establish a purely artificial form of government, without retaining or introducing many of their earlier customs.

The Persian Empire, as founded by Cyrus and extended by Cambyses, was simply one of those huge conglomerations of tribes and people built up on the shaky foundation of tribal society. We have pointed out what plain traces all Aryan people still possess of a former tribal state.[3] It has been impossible for any government to entirely break up the system of tribal life among the Asiatic Aryans. The occupation of many tribes as herdsmen is entirely opposed to any other system of living, and the mountainous nature of their country has always tended to the same result. At the first appearance of an invading army, the weaker tribes could flee to mountain fastnesses, where they could defend themselves against enormous odds of invaders and could find abundant pasturage for their flocks. So in both Persia and India to-day, we find these still uncultivated tribes of Aryans leading a wandering and adventurous life within a few miles of populous and thrifty cities and villages, neither accepting the adopted religion of their brethren nor submitting to be ruled by them. They still worship the old nature gods or fetiches of their forefathers and live in freedom and independence.[4]

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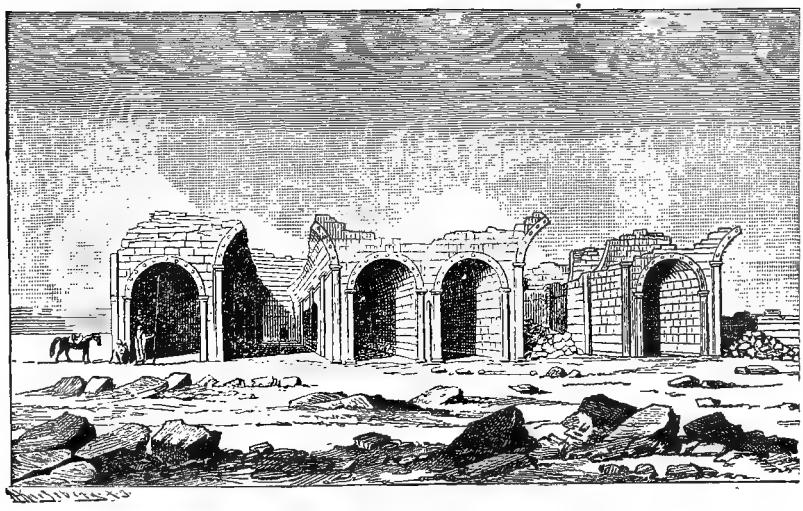
[1] Ibid. 448. [2] Ibid. p. 541.

[3] Vol. II. p. 165 *et seq.*

[4] To illustrate this point, we quote from Recluse, who describes the wild Afghan tribes as follows: "Whether swayed by Ameer, Khan, or Jirga, the Afghan still fancies himself free. 'We are all equal,' they are constantly assuring the English traveler, and on his boasting his mon-

Darius effected a complete reorganization of the Persian Empire. He made Susa the capital city, and divided the empire into about twenty satrapies each ruled by a satrap appointed by the emperor. Sometimes this satrap was a native prince, but, more often, he was sent out by the emperor to rule the province. Communication between these provinces was maintained by means of roads that all met at Susa. A royal scribe was stationed with



Ruins of Palace of Darius at Susa.

every satrap whose duty it was to occasionally report the condition of affairs to the emperor, and, to render his authority more secure, the emperor, from time to time, sent an inspector with an armed force to visit each satrapy. Thus, was his authority maintained throughout the empire

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archial institutions, 'we prefer our dissensions' they reply. 'Let our blood flow, if need be, but we will have no master.' And if local feuds are frequent, the tribes at a distance from the large cities escape, on the one hand, not only from a system of unlimited oppression, but also from the general revolutions which decimate the inhabitants of some other Asiatic lands subject to capricious autocrats." "Earth and its Inhabitants," Vol. IV. p. 35.

and a heavy tribute exacted from every satrapy. The government thus became "a highly centralized bureaucracy, the members of which owed their offices to an irresponsible despot." The emperor was this despot and the fountain of all law.[1] Even that constant element of tribal society, the council—consisting, in the case of the Persians, of the seven chiefs of the seven gentes of the Parsagadaę tribe—for the time being, largely disappeared, seemingly tolerated only out of respect for ancient customs.[2]

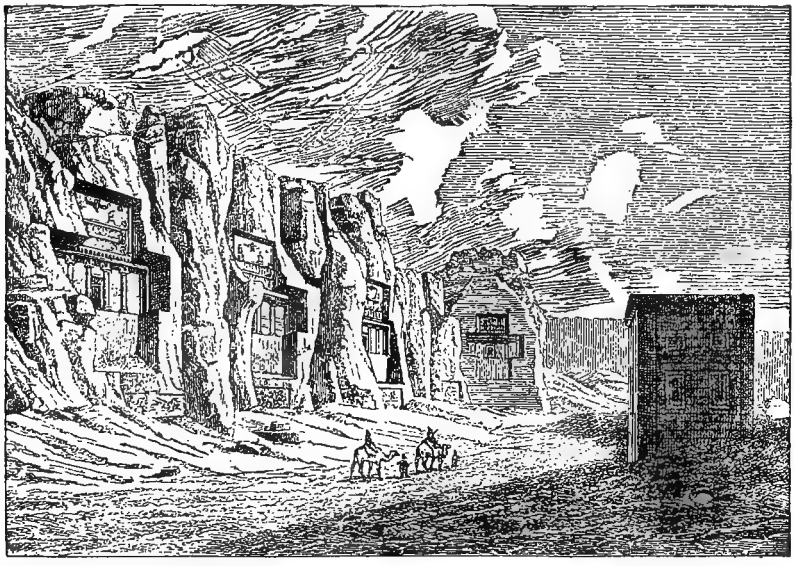
With such a government, and a revenue amounting to at least twenty-one millions of dollars in silver and gold, Darius was able to organize and maintain enormous armies, so it is not strange that his reign was one of great military success. It lasted from 521 B. C. to 486 B. C., a period of thirty-five years. During that time, he conquered nearly every tribe of people west of the Indus river, and south of the Hindoo Koosh mountains. He did not stop with the conquest of Asia Minor and Egypt merely, but crossed over into Europe, and added Thrace to the Persian Empire. Though twice defeated in his attempt to conquer Greece, he was in the midst of much vaster preparations for a new invasion of that country, when the vital force gave out and he was buried in a magnificent tomb at Naksh-i-Rustam.

The Magian revolt being suppressed by Darius, as we would expect, Mazdeism was made the religion of the empire. Darius is said to have ordered a collection of the writings of Zoroaster to be made. But the relig-

1 "Ancient Empires," p. 247-50.

2 Sayce says: "A council consisting of the seven leading families and a hereditary sub-nobility sat without the will of the king, but this relic of a period when Persia had not yet become an empire had neither power nor influence against the bureaucracy that managed the government." "Ancient Empires," p. 248.

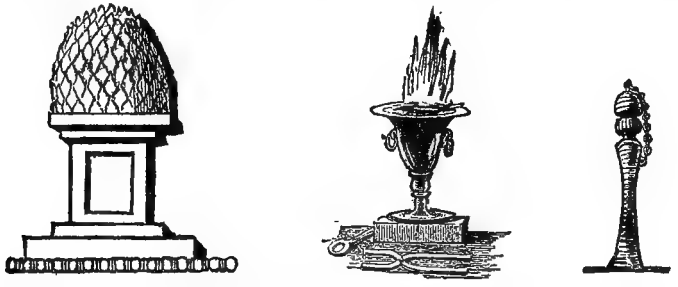
ion that was instituted as the state religion was not the pure Mazdeism as taught by the great Iranian prophet. It was a corrupt religion formed by the amalgamation of Magism (the worship of the elements, such as fire, earth, water, and air) with Mazdeism. Nor did the influence of the old Magian priests disappear. After their unsuccessful attempt to gain governmental authority under Gomates, they seemed to have changed their policy, and led the way



Tomb of Darius at Naksh-i-Rustam.

to a blending of the Mazdean spiritualistic and dualistic worship with their own cult. In this way they succeeded in forming a combination of the two religions under the name of Zoroastrianism. But having secured the office of priest as the peculiar right of their own particular sect, these priests of the new religion then proceeded to erect their fire altars on the tops of the highest mountains; and, calling down fire from heaven through the lightning, they kept it constantly burning and sacredly guarded, lest it be corrupted even by the human breath.

Perhaps one of the most striking natural objects to be found in the whole length and breadth of the Persian land is the imposing, precipitous face of Mount Behistun, situated in the western part of Persia twenty-seven miles east of Kirmanshah. Rising above the surrounding plain to a height of fifteen hundred feet, it presents its precipitous face to the approaching traveler, and stands out, like a great natural monument, to proclaim to passing generations the life, conquest, and the deeds of prowess accomplish by Darius the Great, by the grace of the Zoroastrian god, Ahura Mazda. The center of the face of this



Various Forms of Fire Altars.

rock, at the height of four hundred feet above its base, was polished into a smooth tablet, one hundred feet high by one hundred and fifty feet long. All cracks and crevices were filled with lead, and the whole covered with a silicious varnish. Upon the face of this rock, was sculptured in bas-relief a representaton of Darius attended by the nine conquered chieftains, upon the neck of one of whom he is resting his foot. These are mentioned in the inscription as the Asiatic rulers who revolted against Darius, and were conquered by him.[1]

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[1] There were Gomates, the Magian: Atrines, the Susian; Nebochodrossor, the Babylonian; Martes, a Persian; Phraortes, a Median; Sitratachmes, the Sagartian; Phraates, the Margian; Veisdates, the Persian; and Aracus, the Armenian. "Records of the Past," Vol. I. p. 124.

On the remainder of this tablet is recorded the history of the reign of Darius, setting forth his conquests and his power, in three languages—the Persian, Median, and Assyrian—in all of which the cuneiform alphabet was used. There are several hundred lines of these inscriptions, written under the directions of Darius himself, and calling down imprecations upon the head of him who dared to deface or to add thereto. For twenty-three centuries, has this rock stood, like an open book, inviting the inquisitive to come and read. But the historian blundered on from age to age, trying to build up a history from fragments of mythological lore, ignorant or regardless of these records. In the middle of our own century, Sir Henry Rawlinson scaled the cliff, and reclaimed to the world this valuable contemporaneous record of the history of Persia's great conqueror. From this record, Persian history has been reconstructed, and placed on a sure and safe foundation.

Xerxes, son and successor of Darius, reigned twenty-one years, and also vainly endeavor to conquer Greece. He, however, succeeded in maintaining intact the vast empire organized by his father, and he ruled with considerable energy and ability. His death occurred in 466 B. C. The seven emperors, who in succession followed Xerxes, did very little to enhance the glory, or, to increase the territory of the empire. Their combined reigns covered a period of about one hundred and thirty-five years from 466 to 321 B. C.[1]

Even in the time of Xerxes I., germs of decay began to take root and grow. The ornamentation of the palace

[1] These kings were Artaxerxes I., who reigned 41 years; Xerxes II., 45 days; Sogdianos, six months; Darius II., 19 years; Artaxerxes II., 46 years; Okhos, 21 years; Arses, 2 years; and Darius III., 5 years.

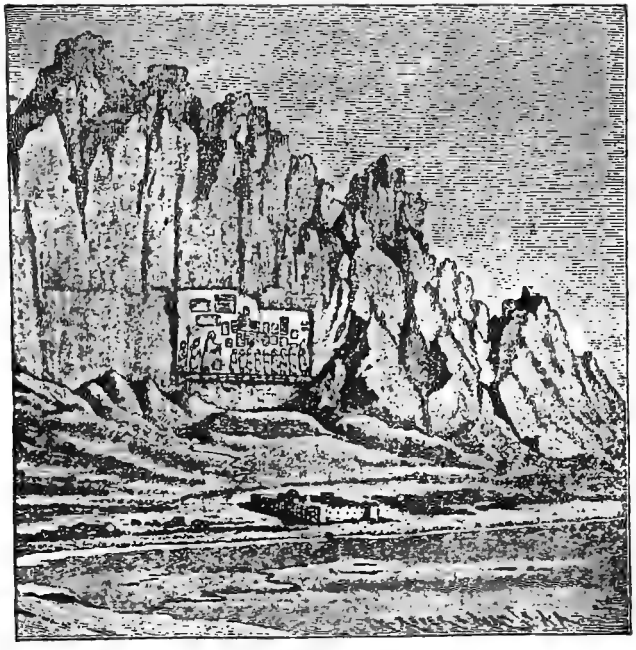
of Darius represent the king as hunting the lion, and as fighting with and killing fabulous monsters; while, in the palace of Xerxes, attendants are represented as bringing towels and delicate dishes to satisfy the whims of an effeminate prince.[1] This early sign of effeminacy increased until, when Alexander arrived with his conquering army, he met with little or no resistance. The Macedonian conqueror brought with him scarcely thirty-five thousand soldiers; yet, when he met the Persians on the battlefield of Arbela, where Darius Codomanus mustered an army claimed to number one million soldiers, he is said to have slain three hundred thousand men.[2] Although the Greek authors, who have recorded the history of Alexander's conquests, may have falsely stated the number of soldiers that opposed him in these various engagements; it is evident, that the empire had become disorganized, and that the Persians had no such leader as Darius Hystaspes, who dared to carry Persian arms into Greece itself. This conquest by Alexander put an end to what is known as the first Persian Empire, which had lasted, as we see, about two centuries.

Darius Codomanus.

As united under Darius and his immediate succes-

[1] Rawlinson, Vol. IV. p. 265.
[2] Ibid. p. 66.

sors, the Persian Empire was still a country of long distances and occupied by tribes of people, who waited only for a favorable opportunity to rise and declare their independence. This state of affairs was made manifest in a marked degree, by the successful retreat of the ten thousand Greek mercenary troops, who accompanied Cyrus the younger in his unsuccessful expedition against his

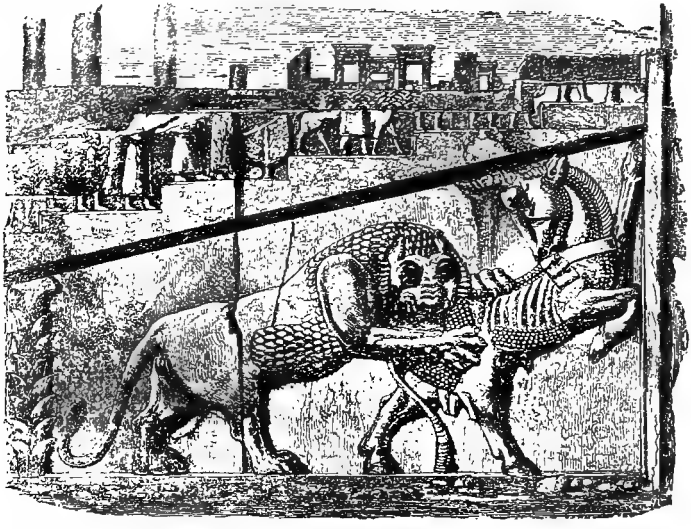


Mount Behistun.

brother, the Emperor Xerxes. On the death of Cyrus at the battle of Cunaxa, they found themselves hundreds of miles away from home, their leaders murdered, and themselves surrounded by enemies.[1] Electing Xenophon as their leader, they began their memorable retreat and succeeded in reaching their native Greece. Had the country through which they passed been inhabited by people thor-

1 Xenophon: "Anabasis."

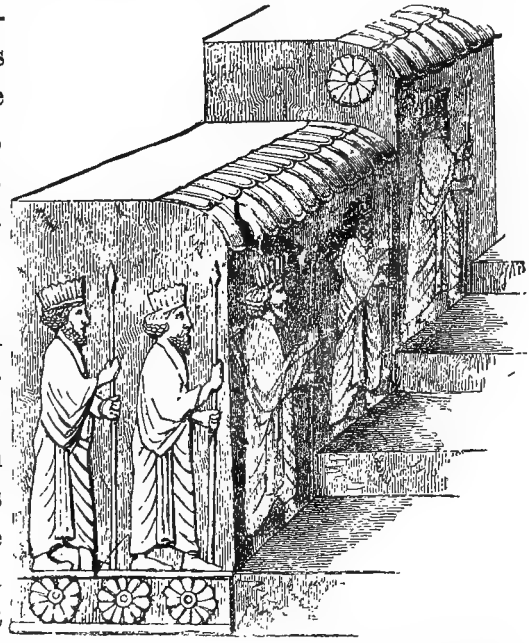
oughly in sympathy with the Persian government, a body of ten thousand hostile men could never have passed through the heart of this country, which seems to have been able to raise army after army of hundreds of thousands of men with comparative ease. While living in fear of the power of the Persian monarch, the various tribes inhabiting the empire were in a state of constant uneasiness, and the ruling monarch had to be constantly on the watch to suppress incipient revolts.



Stairway at Persepolis, Lion Devouring a Bull.

In regard to the personal traits of character of the Persians, we have to admit that they were not only cruel but apparently set very little value on human life. This is at least true of the ruling house. The majority of the emperors reached the throne and maintained the same, only by a series of bloody deeds. Darius himself gained supremacy by the murder of Gomates, and the massacre of the Magi; whenever a chieftain displayed uncommon energy in maintaining a revolt, the great "King of many

Kings" caused to be recorded that he, after mutilating the body of his prisoner, caused the miserable captive to be chained to his palace door and, finally, to be crucified.[1] Xerxes was murdered by two courtiers at the instigation of his wife. Artaxerxes, his third son and successor, secured possession of the throne by the murder of two brothers. His successor, Xerxes II., was assassinated by a half-brother, forty-five days after his accession to the throne, who, in turn, ruled six months, and was murdered by another brother. Then Cyrus the younger was killed in battle, while attempting to supplant his brother on the throne.[2] This chapter of crime could be extended indefinitely, but enough has been said to show that the state of society was certainly very crude.



Stairway at Persepolis, Persian Guardsmen.

The religion of the old empire, formed, as we have

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[1] Darius says of Phraortes: "I cut off both his nose, and ears, and his tongue and scourged him. He was held chained at my door, all the kingdom beheld him. Afterward at Ecbatana, there I crucified him; and the men who were his chief followers at Ecbatana within the citadel, I executed them." "Records of the Past," Vol. I. p. 119. The same punishment awaited another of his captives also.

[2] "Ancient Empires," p. 252-3.

seen, by the union of Magism and Mazdeism, had many ceremonies calculated to impress the masses of the people. The priestly body was very numerous and influential. Clothed in long white robes and tall felt hats, with lofty air and stately bearing, carrying their divining rods in their hands, processions of these Magi were wont to wind through the streets of the Persian capital and up the mountain sides, there to practice their weird incantations around the never dying fires on the sacred mountain altars. These altar fires also reminded the Iranian peasant of his own sacred vestal fires; and, under the influence of superstitious dread of the priestly magic, no laws strong enough to prevent the union of these two religions could be made and enforced.

Worshiping the elements, fire, earth, air, and water were regarded as sacred. It was a problem to them how to dispose of the human body after death, until they struck upon the plan of erecting lofty "towers of silence" on the mountain tops. There, between the heavens and the earth, they placed their dead that the flesh might be devoured by the vultures of the air and thus be prevented from defiling the elements. This custom of disposing of the dead, however, had not become incorporated into the Mazdean religion at the time of Darius,[1] or of his successor, Xerxes; for both of these emperors, though champions of that faith, were buried in costly and elaborate rock-tombs, ruins of which can be seen by the modern traveler in Persian lands.[2] In another place, we have shown how Fetichism gives rise to idolatry. Inasmuch as Fetichism was common to all people, it has been almost impossible

[1] See Mills: "Zend-Avesta," Part III. in "Sacred Books of the East," Vol. XXXI. p. xxxi.

[2] "Sacred Books of the East," Vol IV. p. xlv.

to supplant idolatry. This has been the experience of all systems of belief. So we are not surprised to find that, although idolatry was forbidden by Zoroaster, still at the time of Darius images had been already made to represent peculiar Mazdean divinities and angels. On the face of his tomb, Darius is represented as worshiping Ormazd, or Ahura Mazda. The only image of this god that we find is the winged circle surmounted by an incomplete human figure like the accompanying cut. This idea seems to have been adopted from Assyria.[1] There is, however, also found, on one of the square pillars erected by Cyrus at Pasargadae,

Representation of Ahura-Mazda.

the figure of a colossal man with four wings issuing from his shoulders, and is supposed to represent the angel, "Serosh," who in the Mazdean religion meets the pious soul and escorts it across the Bridge of Death to the Paradise beyond.[2] This also represents a hybrid style of art, as the figure is clothed in a purely Egyptian style.[3] Neither the Iranian nor the Magian at this time had temples for their gods, but believed rather in paying reverence to their

1 See cuts Vol. II. pp. 766, 806.
2 See Vol. II. pp. 278, 289.
3 "Five Great Monarchies," Vol. IV. Part 333-6.

deities in the pure open air, where the horizon was their temple walls, the mountains were their altar foundations, and the vault of heaven, the star-bespangled dome of Nature's beautiful and sublime cathedral.[1]

The Angel Serosh.

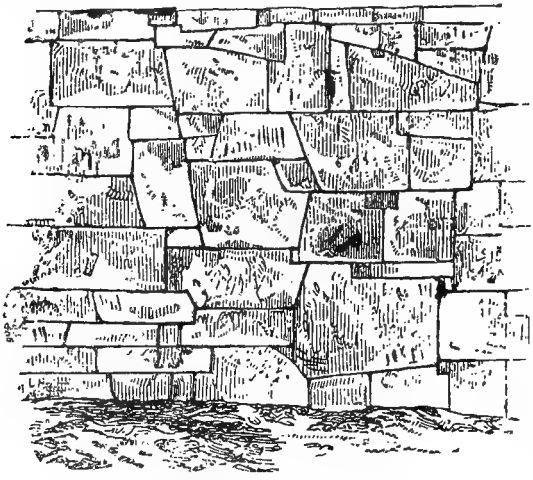
The ancient Persians never reached any great degree

[1] Sayce remarks on the winged figure as follows: "Egyptian influence may perhaps be detected in the propylae through which the royal palaces were approached, as well as in the headdress of the man who has the attributes of the winged Asiatic goddess on one of the pillars of the tomb falsely ascribed to Kyros (Cyrus) at Murghab," ("Ancient Empires," p. 272.)

of merit in art and architecture. They were, in the main, copyists and thus originated a mixed style of architecture, showing very little skill or originality. Their religion, as stated, forbade idolatry, and, in that way, was removed the greatest source of inspiration to the artist; for, under the inspired chisel of the ancient sculptor, the rough marble block gave form to the ideal conceptions of divine grace and virtue, and transformed itself into images of surpassing beauty and loveliness. The poetical muse of both the Iranians and the Indians seems to have guarded her dominion with jealous care, and, while giving them a rich and reasonably pure form of worship, in the same breath, seems to have forbidden the entrance of her sister divinities into the fields of Iranian nature worship. It is true, that the ravages of war and of the elements have left very few remains of ancient Persian architecture; but those remains prove the costliness and magnificence of Persian palaces, and, at the same time, display, to a certain degree, a coarseness and a lack of polish in their finish.

The richest field of ruins that can be found in Persia is near the site of the ancient city of Persepolis. Here were built in succession the three great palaces of three great Persian emperors, Darius I., Xerxes I., and Artaxerxes III., the Sassanian. Here also may be found the ruins of the "Hall of One Hundred Columns" and the "Great Hall of Audience," all of which buildings are said to have been destroyed by Alexander the Great, in a drunken revelry, in order to please Thais, a beautiful follower of his court. These ruins are grouped on an enormous platform, rising in terraces to a height of forty-five feet above the plain. The surface of the third terrace is seven hundred and seventy feet long, by four hundred broad, and on this were erected the three palaces and

two large halls just referred to.[1] This whole platform is built of solid masses of hewn stone, often of enormous size, though irregular in shape, these blocks were closely fitted to each other so as to present the appearance of the accompanying cut. The top of the platform on which the buildings were erected, was reached by a series of flights of broad stairs, sloping so gradually that they could be ascended and descended by a traveler on horseback. The parapet walls of the staircase were elaborately covered with ornamentation and sculptures, representing Persian guardsmen, a lion devouring a bull (see cuts pages 120-1), or some mythological event.

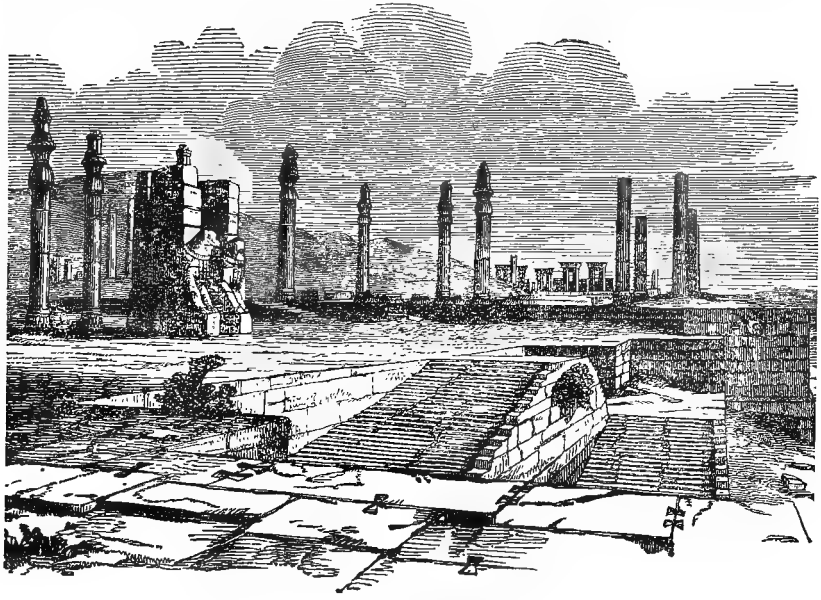


Masonry at Persepolis.

The palace of Darius seems to have occupied the most exalted position of any of the buildings on the platform. It was built on a separate terrace of its own, about fourteen feet above the general level of the third main terrace, the western edge of which it occupied, facing the south. It covered a space of one hundred and thirty-five by one hundred feet, and seems to have been a one-storied edifice about twenty-five feet high. The kingly guest, passing up a double flight of stairs, would enter the palace through a deep portico, adorned with enormous columns surmounted by "dou-

1 For further details of this field of ruins, see Rawlinson: "Five Great Monarchies," Vol. IV.

ble griffin" and "double bull" capitals of elegant design and execution. On either side, a guard-room opened into the portico, and the Persian soldiers stationed here furnished a protection against intruders. Next, he would be ushered into a square hall, the roof of which was supported by sixteen pillars arranged in four rows. On the three remaing sides of this hall, were suites of compartments, the doors of which bear the only specimens of sculptures that

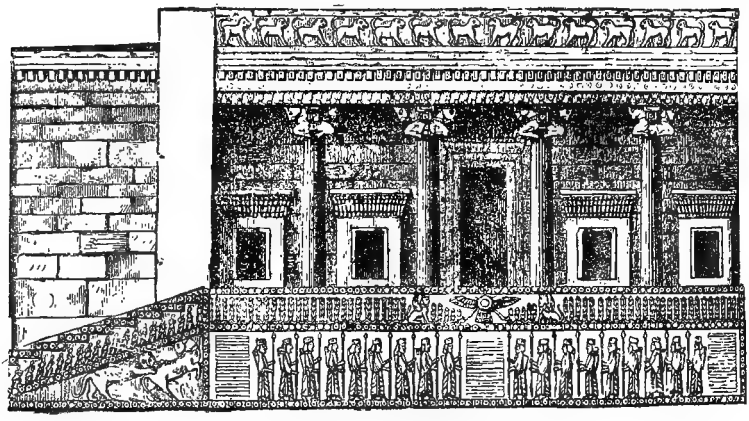


General View-Ruins of Persepolis.

adorn the room. This was the great hall of Darius, "the great king, the king of many kings, the king of the nations."[1] The ordinary Asiatic monarch was content to live in no such close quarters as these. If, however, the grand central hall, though only fifty feet square, were bedecked in true Oriental style, it would have presented no mean appearance. And it probably was so adorned.

[1] Inscription at Nakhsh-i-Rustam.

The columns were, no doubt, slender and graceful, and plated with gold and silver. The beams and rafters of the ceiling were regularly arranged at right angles, and likewise coated with precious metals. The cold stone walls, broken here or there by window or door, were similarly decked and further bespangled with jewels, curtains of brilliant hues hung across the entrances. The floors were paved with many colored stones, and in places covered with magnificent carpets. An elevated golden throne, under a canopy of purple, adorned the upper end of the

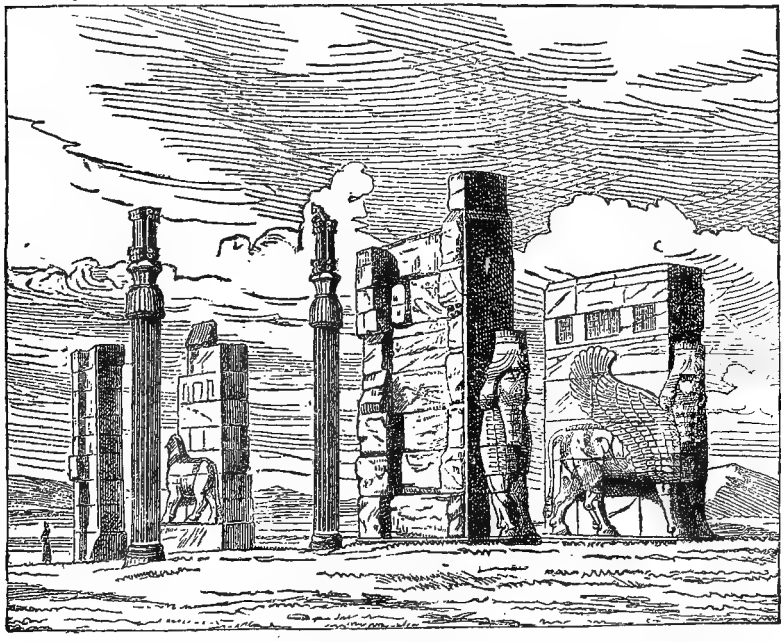


Palace of Darius—Restored.

hall. We can thus see how elegance of form and richness of adornment may have more than compensated for the want of that grandeur which results from mere size.

The palace of Xerxes stands on the same main platform, and is built after the plan of that of Darius, though double the size; but there are a number of gateways guarding the various entrances to the platform, or palace, that are remarkable for their size and ornamentation. They were halls of great size and may have been "throne rooms where the monarch held his court on grand occasions." The largest of these was eighty-two feet square, surrounded

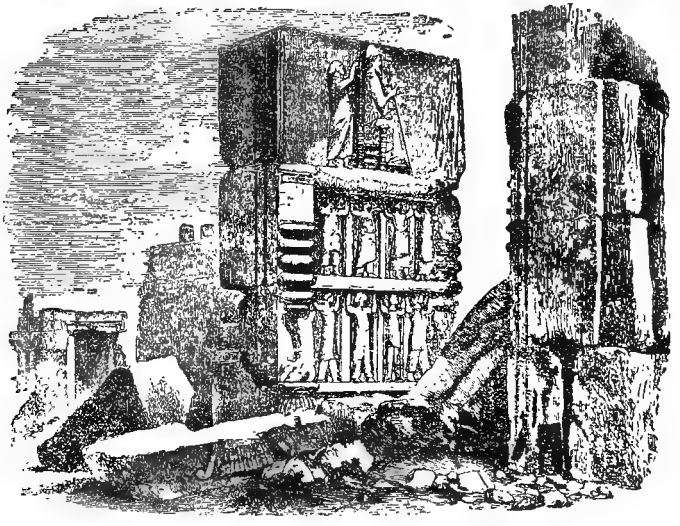
by walls sixteen feet thick, the roof being supported by four massive pillars nearly sixty feet high. The apartment was entered through two portals thirty-six feet high, and twelve feet wide, and these were flanked with figures of colossal bulls, some of which were winged and human headed, similar to those of Assyrian workmanship.



Ruins of Palace of Xerxes.

The ruins of two structures of enormous dimensions may also be found on this same platform. These were two pillared halls, probably used for public gatherings, where the emperor presided before great assemblies of people. Both were similar in shape and construction to the gateways. One is called, by the archaeologist, the "Hall of One Hundred Columns," because the roof of the main audience room was supported by that number of lofty marble pillars, arranged in ten rows in an enclosure two hundred and twenty-seven feet square. The portico was

one hundred and eighty-three feet deep, and also supported by columns. The "Great Hall of Audience," though similar in design, was even grander in proportions. The ruins of this enormous building cover an area three hundred and fifty feet long by two hundred and forty-six broad. The central square alone covered over twenty thousand square feet. The roof of this part was supported by thirty-six pillars, arranged in six rows. But the

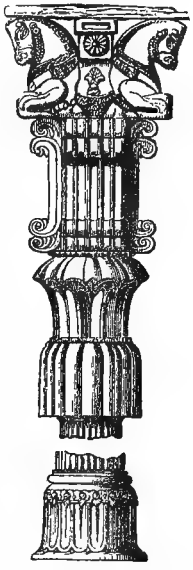


Gateway to "Hall of One Hundred Columns."

most remarkable feature of the building was the height of its columns. These all towered above the platform to the uniform altitude of sixty-four feet and were, besides, of a much more ornamental and complex style of architecture than any that we have previously examined, as will be seen from the accompanying cut.

We have taken a hasty glance at the most remarkable relics of ancient Persian grandeur. It is humiliating to record, also, that it was Aryan against Aryan that finally led to the downfall of these proud cities and lofty halls.

No amount of labor or wealth can repair the ruin of a single night of revelry on the part of the Macedonian conqueror. Much of the grandeur of these proud old emperors has disappeared, but enough remains for us to dimly realize what must have been their power and resources, to enable them to send forth their vast armies to new victories and further conquests, and, at the same time, to cultivate the arts of peace. They were able to quarry blocks of marble so massive that it would baffle our own enlightened age, with all its arts and mechanical skill, to remove them from their native beds.



Column from "Hall of One Hundred Columns."

The first Persian Empire was, as stated, brought to an end by the conquest of Alexander the Great. The career of the great Macedonian is one of the most wonderful in the annals of the world, and exerted a very great influence on the culture of Western Asia. We are here not concerned with giving even an outline of his conquests. We want only to sketch the fortunes of the Persians. It suffices to say, that more than five hundred years pass away before we come to the New Persian Empire. Alexander himself soon passed off the stage of action. The Syrian kingdom of Seleucus Nicator, which at first included the greater part of Alexander's kingdom, in fact, all of the Asiatic conquests except Lower Syria and Western Asia Minor, for the time being, ruled over most of the territory of ancient Persia.

But this kingdom lost power and territory almost from the first. As it declined, there grew up the Parthian King-

dom. Parthia was properly the country to the south-east of the Caspian Sea, and was formerly one of the satrapies of Persia. Its inhabitants were, probably, never very pure Aryans; and probably, in the course of time, new arrivals of Turanian people came from the north. At any rate, the ruling people in Parthia were Turanian as is shown by their customs, language, features, and other traits. Parthia became independent[1] about fifty years after the fall of Persia; a century later, it was at the height of its power; and for four centuries, all the territory of ancient Persia, east of the Euphrates, was a part of her territory.

We can say in a few lines all that we deem necessary of the Persians during these five centuries of vassalage. Under Greek rule, we do not find the Persians greatly oppressed. They were not forbidden to worship according to their own religion. But Mazdeism was neglected; and, had it not been for the devotion of the people, and the zeal of the Magi and priests, it must have lost much of its hold upon the nation. Neither was the Parthian yoke, seemingly, a hard one. Persia was made a satrapy and was ruled by its own prince who was possibly a descendant of the royal Achemenian line of chiefs. The Parthian emperors do not seem to have interfered with Mazdeism. In fact, Mazdeism seems to have been promoted and even to have been the favored religion of the empire, at least under several of the early Parthian rulers.[2] But during the later days of Turanian rule, Mazdeism fell into disrepute. The Magi were neglected; idolatry was introduced; the sacred fires were allowed to go out; the fire-temples themselves were destroyed; the rulers demanded to be worshiped as gods; and many other rites were instituted, that seemed extremely sacrilegious to the true fol-

1 249 B. C.

2 "Sacred Books of the East," Vol. IV. p. xxxv.

lowers of Zoroaster.[1] Such a state of affairs alone has been sufficient to cause many a great uprising and rebellion against emperors and kings, as all past history will prove. For mankind will sacrifice more for liberty of conscience than for any other right or advantage; and it was largely under the banner of a religious reformer, that the Neo-Persian empire arose upon the ruins of the great throne of Cyrus and Darius.

The individual who was destined to raise Persia from her long subject state, and to re-establish the ancient religion of the land is generally called Artaxerxes though also named Ardeshir. He was appointed satrap of Persia by the Parthian emperor, Artabanus. While claiming to be a descendant of the royal Achemenian family, the probabilities are that he was not of such descent, but the son of a Persian soldier bearing the name, Sassan. However that may be, he was certainly an able and ambitious man. Just such a person as would be apt to quietly gather the forces of Persia, and test the question of strength with the ruling power, Parthia. In this contest, he of course made use of every advantage he could; and not the least in importance would be the aid of the still numerous and influential priesthood, the Magi. In his efforts, he was successful; and, in the year 227 A. D., the Parthian power was overthrown, and the Neo-Persian empire appeared on the scene. Speaking generally, it included the territory of ancient Persia, east of the Euphrates.

Artaxerxes.

As this revolt was so largely a religious one, it is

1 Rawlinson: "Seven Great Monarchies," Vol. III. p. 223.

not strange that we hear of a reformation taking place as regards Mazdeism. At this time, "Western Asia was a seething pot, in which were mixed up a score of contradictory creeds, old and new, rational and irrational, Sabeism, Magism, Zoroastrianism, Grecian Polytheism, Teraphim-worship, Judaism, Chaldean Mysticism, Christianity."[1] Artaxerxes began at once a system of religious persecution. Temples of worship, not Mazdean, were ordered closed; idols were destroyed; and the Magi were assigned lands that placed them in positions of pecuniary independence. It was seemingly his intention to unite all these various and conflicting beliefs into one common form of worship, that of Mazdeism.

In order to best accomplish his purpose, Artaxerxes caused a council of priests to be assembled at his court for the double purpose of reviving pure Mazdeism, and collecting into one volume whatever of former writings and collections had been preserved through the vicissitudes of wars and the enmity of hostile rulers, as well as to gather and add thereto all that could be gleaned from the memories of the priesthood of the entire land. It is said, that more than forty thousand priests assembled in answer to his call.[2] This grand concourse of sacred teachers, clad in their long robes, as pure and white as the historical ermine of the judge's gown, flocking toward the Persian court, must have filled the common tribesmen with superstitious awe and reverence for their sacred teachings, and must have crowned their pious ruler with praise and almost adoration. This enormous assembly of the priesthood seems to have been governed by a like desire to formulate a pure and perfect form of religion. They proceeded to

[1] Rawlinson: "Seven Great Monarchies," Vol. III. p. 271.
[2] "History of the Parsis," Vol. II. p. 125.

select from their number first a committee of four thousand, then of four hundred, from these forty, and finally from these seven, each time striving to choose those especially distinguished for learning and piety. To these seven, was given the task of compiling a revised edition of the Zoroastrian creed, and this edition stands to-day as authority in all Parsi communities, although there seems to be springing up a more liberal school of interpreters, who are discarding many of the old superstitious practices of their forefathers.

This final committee of seven met and chose as their leader a young and pious priest named Arda Viraf, who was instructed to prepare a collection of all the teachings of the Mazdean faith, and to blot out all practices that were evil, impious, and harmful. It is claimed for him that he spent seven days in a trance, during which all these religious precepts were revealed to him. This may mean that he, with the aid of six assistants, managed to collect from the assembled thousands all the then existing writings, traditions, and scraps of wisdom that clustered around the name of Zoroaster, and these, combined with the teachings of the Magi, he condensed into a useful volume of valuable precepts. The result of this work did by no means give to the people the pure Zoroastrian doctrines, but the book of Arda Viraf seems to have furnished a good, united system of religious worship and moral precepts, which then became the religion of the empire. This, no doubt, contained all that was good in Mazdeism, Magism, and the many other beliefs that had crept into the Persian territory. The blended religions were accepted by the people in general; and, from that time until the appearance of Mohammedanism, the new faith was not only preached by the priests, but also enforced by the

government. We have given a short historical outline of the growth of Mazdeism, but a discussion of the principles of this system, and its place in the ranks of comparative religions, we will reserve for another chapter.

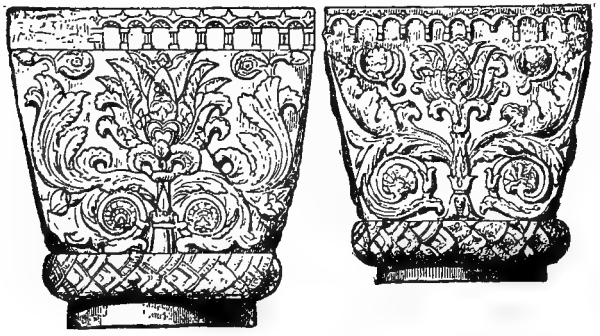
The Neo-Persian empire existed for about four hundred and twenty-five years, and during that time, twenty-eight monarchs of the Sassanian dynasty sat on the throne. But few of them, however, ruled with any great degree of energy or distinction. The first of them was Sapor I., Artaxerxes' immediate successor. He is known in history as the only Persian that succeeded in bringing a Roman emperor (Valerian) to his court as captive. He held the reins of government with a strong hand, and proved himself one of the most able of the Persian rulers. His mother is said to have been the daughter of Artabanes, the last Parthian emperor.[1] Emperor Chosroes I., however, who began his reign A. D. 521,[2] not only was able to maintain the Persian empire unbroken, but extended his conquests into neighboring provinces and caused the Roman emperors to fear him and respect his rights. Above all his predecessors, did he succeed in enshrining his memory in the hearts of the Persians by his endeavors to rule with mildness and to better the condition of his subjects. He built and populated cities; and loving traditions relate that he was followed from one end of his empire to the other by armies of architects and builders, who were instructed to repair the humble cottage of the peasant as well as the walls of stately royal halls.

Sapor I.

[1] Rawlinson, Vol. III. p. 279.

[2] "History of the Parsis," p. 8, 9, 70.

He instituted a number of reforms, that placed Persia in advance of contemporary nations. He willingly formed a treaty with Rome, that guaranteed protection to all Christians residing in Persia, allowed commercial intercourse between the two empires, and provided that all future disputes arising between the two empires were to be settled by courts of arbitration. Finding that his empire was broken up into too many satrapies, he divided it into four districts, each presided over by a viceroy, who was to receive reports from the satraps and, in his turn, report to the emperor. He regulated the land tax

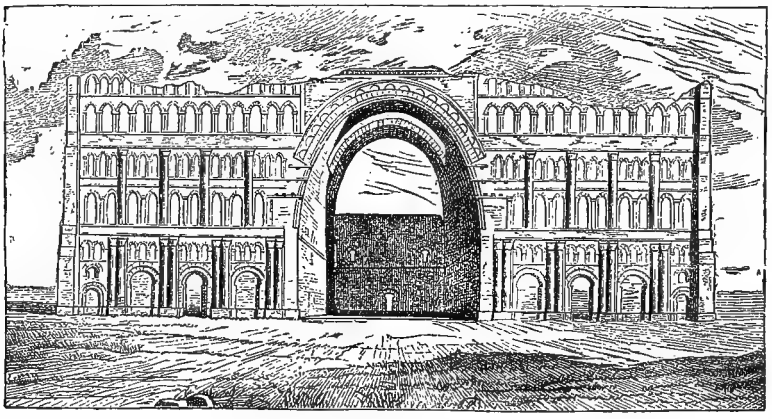


Architectural Columns, Sassanian Period.

so as to encourage agriculture. A reform in the administration of the Persian army is also ascribed to Chosroes. Every soldier and officer was encouraged by a payment according to the rank to which he belonged. The treasury could no longer be robbed, neither could any soldier, private or officer, draw more than his rightful pay by misrepresentation. There was likewise a reform made in the administration of justice, whereby the rights of every subject were considered as sacred as those of the emperor himself. Though very jealous in regard to his own rights as emperor, we find this wise monarch so careful of the

rights of his subjects as to in no way trespass against them to gratify his own desires.

During this reign, we also notice a great step in advance for Persia. Although the emperor, himself, was a believer in Zoroastrianism he was very tolerant toward believers in other religions. One restriction only seems to have been placed upon the followers of other gods and that was forbidding proselytism. He invited travelers, sages, philosophers, and the learned of all nationalities to his court, and has the credit of founding the first Persian university



Palace of Chosroes I.

at Shapoor, where medicine, philosophy, rhetoric, and poetry were studied. Thus we see the Iranians passing through their period of highest development and enlightement during the reign of one who was cruel toward his enemies, relentless in his punishment of offenders of the law, and severe in the penalties attached to the violations of his laws. On the whole, however, it was only such a strong and fearless mind combined with a firm hand, that could hope to institute and maintain such reforms at such a time in this greatest of Oriental Empires.[1]

[1] Rawlinson's Vol. III. p. 448, *et seq.* "History of the Parsis," Vol. I. p. 10.

During the latter part of the Neo-Persian period, art and architecture received a great deal of attention throughout the entire empire. A refinement and a degree of ornamentation never before known seem to have been introduced. The remains of four palaces are found. These were situated at Serbistan, Firuzabad, Ctesiphon, and Mashita, the third of which was the palace of Chosroes I. and the last that of Chosroes II. Only a small portion of the palace of the first Chosroes remains standing, but this proves it to have been a massive erection, filled with apartments arranged and furnished on the grandest scale. All that remain of the walls may be seen from the accompanying cut about one-fourth of the original enclosure. The exterior ornamentation of all the Sassanian palaces was by pilasters, arched recesses, and cornices. "The interior ornamentation was probably, in a great measure, by stucco, painting, and, perhaps, gilding. All this, however, if it existed, has disappeared."

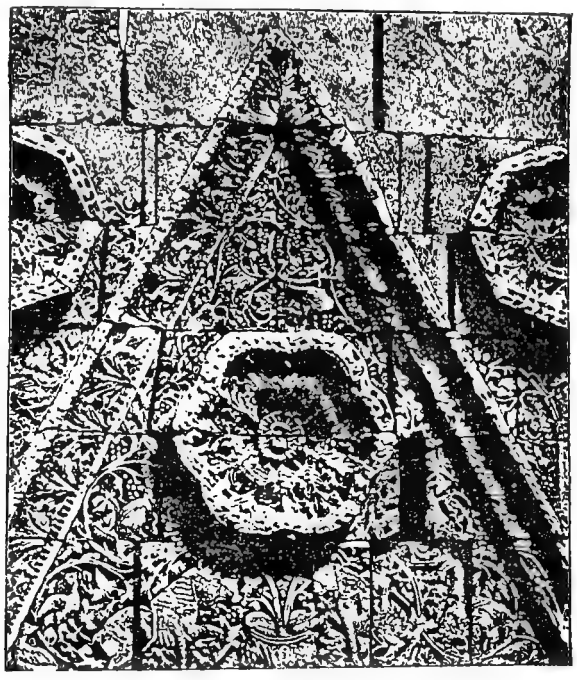
The Mashita palace, of Chosroes II., though somewhat smaller than that at Ctesiphon, is said to far exceed the others in beauty of ornamentation. The face of this building presents specimens of the most elaborate ornamentation known to the ancients. Figures of peacocks and parrots are mingled with those of the lion and the wild boar in the greatest profusion; and, midst the whole, are intertwined branches and vines bearing rich clusters of fruits and nearly concealing the groups of smaller birds and animals. It is indeed a delicate piece of workmanship, and modern times can scarcely produce anything so elaborate. North-east of Kirmanshah, there are the ruins of an arch known as Takht-i-Bostan, or "Roof of the Gardens," that need especial mention on account of its bas reliefs, said to be little inferior to the best Roman art. The court of the later Sassan-

ian emperors rivaled in grandeur and magnificence anything ever known. The robes of the emperor were "beautifully embroidered and covered with gems and pearls," which in some cases could be counted by hundreds. The royal crown, too large to be worn, said to have been ornamented by one "thousand pearls each as large as an egg," was suspended by a golden chain above a golden throne. The whole court was likewise adorned with jewels and precious metals, causing it to vie in splendor with the dazzling Taj Mahal, the jeweled pride of India.

Flowered Panel from Takht-i-Bostan.

Though the goverment of Persia under Chosroes I. had reached a stage of strength and magnificence hardly ever attained among the ancients, it required only a half a century of civil wars and misrule to completely overthrow and ruin the empire. About the middle of the seventh century of our own era, the armies of Mohammed swept across the borders of the Persian empire, and found the Iranians so divided or weakened by civil wars that they were illy fitted for checking the invading hosts. The last Persian emperor was captured in 651 A. D., and the followers of Zoroaster were given the choice of accepting the faith of their conquerors or of dying by the sword. A few succeeded in escaping to the mountains and, finally, making terms with their conquerors whereby they could occupy certain lands, and worship according to their own faith; but they were, from the first, branded as outcasts. Those of the Iranians who could reach the shores of India were

kindly received by their more fortunate brethren, and given lands on which to rear their fire altars. They now form a wealthy and respected community, in which are to be found the merchant princes of Bombay. Thus fell one of the greatest of Oriental empires; but the records of its deeds and the proud name that it will ever bear in history will endure until the mountains, that alone have witnessed



Ornamentation of Mashita Palace

the struggles that occurred in their fastnesses, shall have ceased to exist, and all history be buried in oblivion.

We have now given a very brief account of the ancient Persians. Before passing on to the Aryans of India, let us note the strongest point in the culture of the Persians. It is in the field of religion. Zoroaster, or the reform going by his name, exerted a very great influence

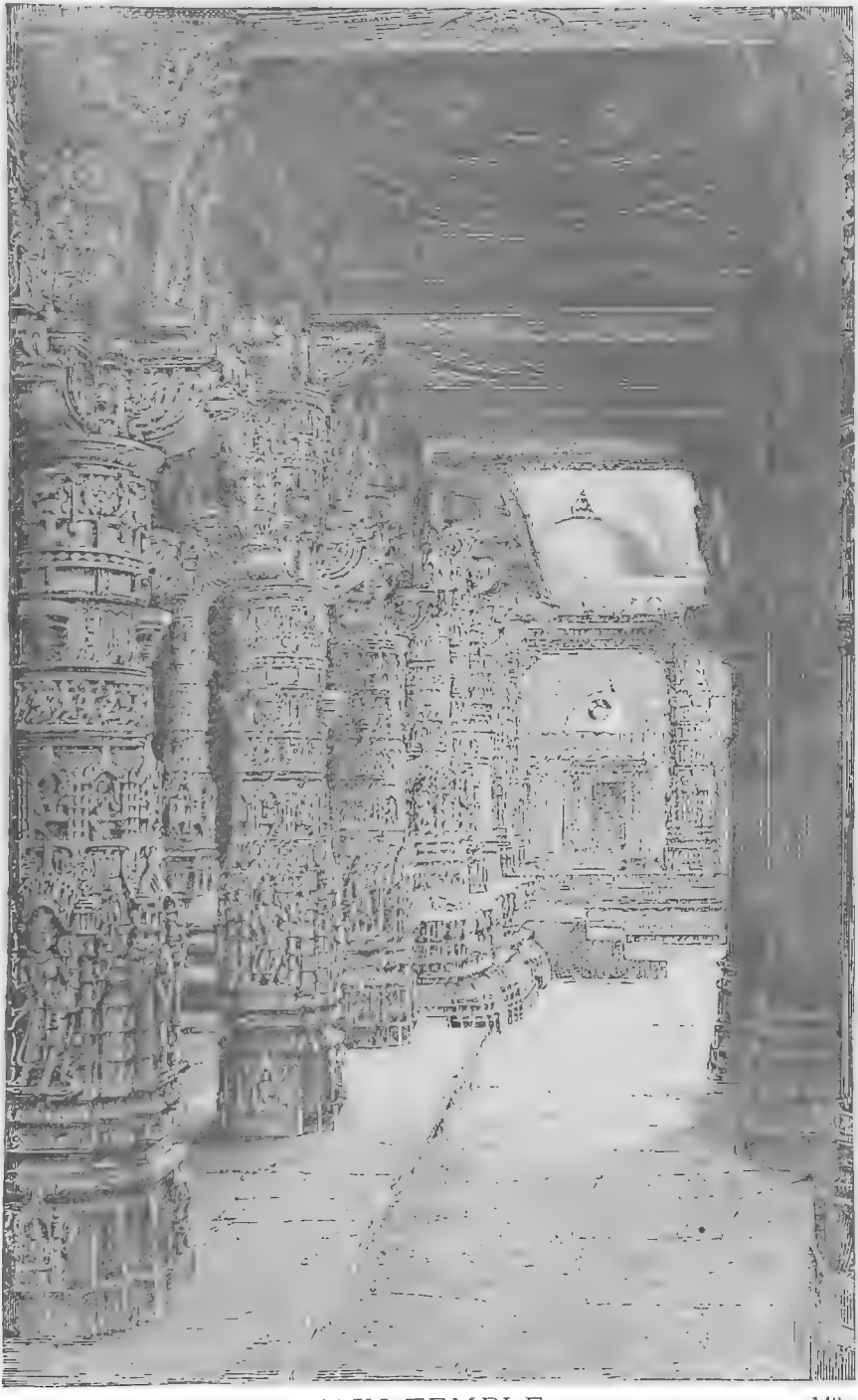
throughout Western Asia. Nor was its influence confined to Asia. Zoroaster was known among the Greeks as a great eastern sage and philosopher, and a number of Greek writers left treatises on his doctrines.[1] Indeed it is not too much to say, that even to the present day Mazdean doctrines color the prevailing religious beliefs of the world.

When we turn to consider the Aryans of India, we have before us a very interesting field, and one that is not yet fully understood. There are not wanting those who think we have in India relics of the oldest civilization in the world, that here was the real cradle of the Aryan race. And yet we fail to find any satisfactory foundation for such an hypothesis. From India as a center, very great influences have gone out in the field of religion, as will be shown. But the probabilities are that the Aryans are comparatively late arrivals in India, and it seems unsafe to assign any very high value to the Dravidian civilization which they superceded.[2]

We have seen that the pressure of Turanian tribes, advancing from the north, probably forced the Slavic Aryan tribes, that had wandered into the regions east of the Caspian Sea, over the table lands of Pamir into the Hindoo Koosh region. But sooner or later, the ancestors of the Indo-Aryans discovered the head-waters of the great rivers of India and followed them down into fertile plains, spending no doubt many seasons on their journey, during which they grew their crops of grain and

[1] "Sacred Books of the East," Vol. IV. p. xlvii.

[2] In apparent contradiction to the above, we must state that there are not wanting many evidences of a very ancient civilization in India. We recall that it is only within the last few years that we have learned of a period of Turanian culture in Mesopotamia. It may sometime be shown, that the Dravidian culture in India was considerably advanced,



JAIN TEMPLE.

refreshed themselves with long seasons of rest. Winding through the Kurman and Gomal passes,[1] or exploring for the first time, the great thoroughfare of the Kabul river valley, through which the great armies of Oriental conquerors have from time immemorial entered the plains of India, we find the forefathers of the Indo-Aryans at last encamped on the banks of the great river, Indus, and singing their songs of praise and thanksgiving to its waters.

"Flashing, sparkling, gleaming, in her majesty, the inconquerable, the most abundant of streams, beautiful as a handsome, spotted mare, the Sindhu (Indus) rolls her waters over the levels. Mistress of a chariot, with noble horses, she traverses a land yielding sweetness."[2] Thus they sang of this noble stream, as they took possession of the land which it drains, and made war upon the people who had previously, in their turn, entered and taken possession of these rich and coveted plains.

The tribes of Aryans who first entered India were an energetic and hardy race of people, in this respect, superior to the older inhabitants, whom they either supplanted or swallowed up. Still, we are not to picture them as very much in advance of the primitive Aryans.

The area of India is about one million five hundred thousand square miles. It is divided by Dr. Hunter into three sections. There is first the northern or Himalaya section, an elevated mountainous tract whence rise the great rivers of India. This is followed by the "river

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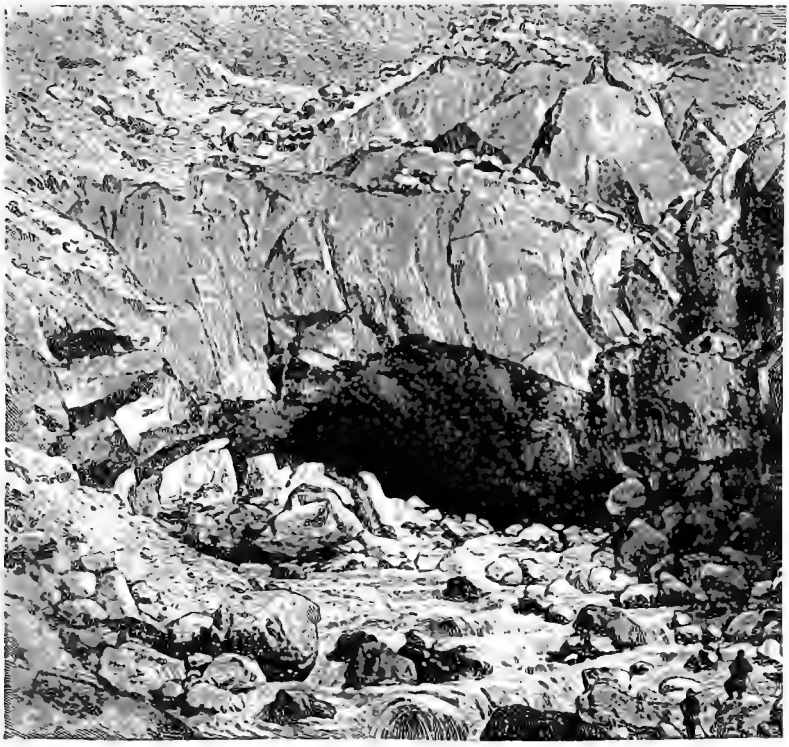
and undoubtedly very ancient, that the Aryans played the same part in India that the Semites did in Mesopotamia and absorbed the culture of the Dravidians. This would explain many otherwise dark points. We look for the Turanians in India to exert their greatest influence in the field of religious culture.

[1] Journal R. A. S. 1883, p. 359. [2] Ibid. p. 61.

plain," the section watered by the Himalaya rivers. Extending from the Indian ocean on the west, to the Bay of Bengal on the east, it comprises one of the most densely populated regions in the world. Every square mile has to feed about two hundred and fifty people, or one-fifth more than England with all her manufactories.[1] The great rivers of India (the Indus, the Brahmapootra, and



Source of the Ganges.

the sacred Ganges, whose source is in the southern slope of the Himalayas) with their tributaries, cover the whole country with a veritable network of streams with fickle changing channels. This great Bengal region, though

1 Hunter, p. 3.

densely populated, is very fertile and capable of producing two and even three crops a year.[1]

Sloping upward from these river plains, the third region of India succeeds the second, forming an extensive triangular table land populated with non-Aryan races of men. It is a land of mountain peaks and dense forests; its black soil is very fertile. The inhabitants have reclaimed some portions of it from the forests; and so we find occasional villages and cultivated fields interspersed between forest tracts, so dense that Sanskrit poets were wont to speak of this table land "as buried under forests."[2]

India has been called "a great museum of races, in which we can study man from his lowest to his highest stages of culture."[3] We have briefly referred to the most important of these races, and have spoken of their arrival in India and their gradual extension over the country, absorbing, or driving, still farther south those still lower tribes who preceded them.[4] Following in the wake of these Dravidians, the Aryans finally appeared at the headwaters of the great Indian rivers and conquering, absorbing, or dispossessing in their turn, gradually spread toward the south. When the English conquerors entered India, they occupied the northern part of Hindoostan and were gradually spreading toward Farther India. We find also that the southern half of Ceylon was inhabited by Aryans.

We have almost no date from which to reckon the the antiquity of the Aryans in India. Back of the first historical date (connected with the religious reform of Buddha in the fifth century B. C.), is a period of unknown duration. We must calculate how long it would require

[1] Ibid. p. 22. [2] Ibid. p. 25. [3] Ibid. p. 35.
[4] This Series Vol. II. p. 364.

for them to develop a system of religion into such a degree of perfection as Brahmanism had attained. We must allow time for the composition of the Vedic and contemporary literature. All this must have been accomplished in that period of Indo-Aryan history that elapsed between the time of their separation from their Iranian brethren and the first date that appears in their history. Professor Muller[1] allows eight centuries of time for this period of growth; and we believe, with many others, that if he has erred at all in his figures, it has been in allowing too short, rather than too long, a time for this period of growth.[2]

The whole era is devoid of historical records. There are, however, two great epic poems that apply to these times; but they are about as valuable as historical evidence, as the poems of Homer are in the history of Greece. They are the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, and only preserve the legends of two great Aryan tribes,[3] that had settled in the northern part of India at an early day. But these show traces of having been collected, arranged, and even remodeled at a comparatively recent date[4] by Brahman priests. Consequently we have no history of the Indo-Aryans before the fifth century B. C., when the effects of the teachings of Buddha began to manifest themselves. There are very few remaining dates in their history for the following ten centuries, except those immediately dependent upon the date of Buddha's death.[5]

The reform of Buddha was a religious reform and went on quietly, exerting no political influence until the

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[1] "Sanskrit Literature," p. 572.

[2] Williams: "Hinduism," p. 3, 19.

[3] Hunter, p. 57-63.

[4] "Ancient Sanskrit Literature," p. 41-9.

[5] Barth, p. 107.

time of Asoca, about the middle of the third century B. C. We know, however, that Darius Hystaspes, in the meantime, pushed his conquests into India,[1] but can not tell how far he advanced, nor the effect of his conquest. Alexander the Great also invaded India. He found, as we would suppose, the whole country occupied by a host of independent tribes, each governed by a Raja, or chief, of its own. But in the Punjab, the most of these tribes had become united into three powerful confederacies,[2] under three chieftains named Taxiles, Porus the elder, and Porus the younger. Taxiles immediately went over to Alexander, the forces of the other two were defeated, and the Macedonian remained ruler of the whole of northern India. This was about 327 B. C. Passing down the Indus to the sea, the Greeks turned backward toward Asia Minor, leaving India under the government of one of Alexander's tools. He was soon murdered, and his successor was driven out of the country as soon as the news of Alexander's death reached the banks of the Indus.[3]

About this time, we hear of Chandra Gupta, who succeeded in forming a confederacy of such power that he was acknowledged ruler of the whole Punjab. He established himself so strongly that Seleucus, Alexander's successor in Eastern Central Asia, thought best to leave him undisturbed, and even to make a treaty with him.[4] This

[1] Williams: "Hinduism," p. 4.

[2] "Rajendralala Mitra," Vol. II. p. 3.

[3] Wheeler: "A Short History of India," London, 1883. p. 47-9 In regard to the conquest of India by Alexander, consider the following: "The story of the conquering army of Alexander penetrating into Northern India, itself becomes more and more doubtful every day. No Hindoo national record, not the slightest historical memento throughout the length and breadth of India offers the slightest trace of such an invasion." Madame Blavatsky: "Isis Unveiled," Vol. II. p. 429. [4] Wheeler, Op cit.

Chandra Gupta was known to the Greeks as Sandrocottus and was the grandfather of Asoca,[1] the champion of Buddhism. Asoca leaves the first inscriptions that are known to Indian antiquarians. He extended his conquests even across the Indus into what is now Afghanistan. He did

Scene at Benares.

more for religion, art, and culture than any of his predecessors. He called the third council for the purpose of systematising the Buddhistic beliefs, and appears to have been an earnest follower of that faith.

In the latter part of the second century B. C., Tu-

[1] "Ancient Sanskrit Literature," p. 262.

ranian tribes began to work down from the northern countries through the mountain passes into the Punjab, and just before the commencement of the Christian era, they succeeded in subjecting all northern India. They adopted the Buddhistic religion, and their most famous chieftain summoned the fourth Buddhist council. His capital was in Cashmere, and the form of Buddhism that his council adopted had mixed with it many features of the old Turanian beliefs, so that there arose two forms of Buddhism, one practiced in the north of India and one further south.[1]

There seems to have been continual warfare for supremacy between the Aryan and Turanian races for the next five hundred years. There was no Aryan chieftain able to form a confederacy of tribes powerful enough to drive out the Turanian, though a number made strong attempts to do so. Among the most prominent of these, were the Vikramaditya and Salavahana, the former of whom was a great patron of literature and the arts. In Bombay, the Sak dynasty of chieftains ruled from 60 to 235 A. D. In Oude and Northern India, the Gupta dynasty ruled from 319 to 470 A. D. The Valabhi dynasty is mentioned as ruling in Cutch, Malwa, and the northwestern districts of Bombay from 480 to 722 A. D. The Huns are known to have been in Northern India about 500 A. D. And so we have about all that is known of Indian history down to the time when the Iranians were conquered by the Islamites. As we glance over these few records of the past, how plainly it appears that "India has no place in the political history of the world."[2]

We are not for a moment to suppose, however, that the Indo-Aryans mildly submitted to every foreign yoke that was placed upon them. No matter who the inva-

[1] Hunter, p. 82.

[2] "Early Sanskrit Literature," p. 51.

ders were, we find that the Brahmans still remained the priests of the land, the Rajas were still rulers over their own tribes, and the Vaisyas still cultivated their fields, usually unmolested even in times of war. When at last the Mohammedan ruler appeared with his armies, he

Raja and his Court.

found it no easy task to gain a lasting foothold in India; and, at no time, did he succeed in forcing his religion upon these people. Mohammedan expeditions against India began A. D. 636, and the "Hindoo power in Southern India

was not completely broken till the battle of Talikot in 1565."[1] Akbar the Great succeeded in organizing and maintaining a strong government only by incorporating some of the Hindoo chieftains into it. The Hindoo spirit of revolt, manifested in what is called the Marhatta confederacy, began at once to undermine the government; and, "in less than two centuries, the successor of Akbar was a puppet and a prisoner in the hands of the Hindoo Marhattas of Delhi."[2]

In the time of Alexander the Great, we notice that the government of India was divided between a number of tribal chieftains who, in the Punjab, had united into three great confederacies. When the Turanians descended the mountains on their marches of pillage and conquest, they were met by no organized resistance, but were forced to conquer one tribe after another, until they had literally engulfed a portion of the country. When the Mohammedans attempted to supplant the religion of the Vedas by Islamism, they found themselves opposed by a host of independent tribal chieftains; and, no sooner was one conquered, than another was formed and appeared in a state of open rebellion. Thus was the government of the Mohammedans undermined and weakened. Though a large number of religious converts were made, the government was never able to boast supremacy over the whole of Aryan India, except it be in the time of Akbar the Great. When, in the latter part of the last century, the English army appeared on the scene, the people of India were found still organized in tribes, and governed by tribal chieftains. The English have pursued a wise policy. They have allowed such chieftains as were able and willing to govern wisely to still remain independent, and have given the

1 Hunter, p. 100. 2 Ibid.

conquered a chance to assist in the government of the British provinces. But from the earliest times to the present day, the government of the Indo-Aryans has never arisen beyond the typical tribal form of government.

In a country that has been peopled from time immemorial by so many independent tribes as we have found in India, it is almost impossible to trace the lineage of the various tribes back to any distinct line of ancestors. We find that the Aryans who forced their way into India first became thoroughly mixed with the aborigines, probably Dravidians. Then came in their Aryan brethren from Greece and Iran and an intermixture of eastern and western Aryan blood occurred. Later the Turanians came in from the north and there was a third amalgation formed. But over the whole of these barbaric traits of character, customs, and race conditions, Aryan energy, culture, and superior intelligence have predominated. Thus was produced the Aryan Hindoo. The early Aryan stock had such vitality and superior force of character and mind that the whole of Central and Northern Hindoostan became so completely Aryanized that the invading Turanians were swallowed up and lost in this Aryan population.

The ancient Indians developed a vast body of literature, of which we must now attempt to gain an understanding. We have seen how India has always been peopled by a large number of independent tribes, and that these tribes spoke a large number of languages and dialects, so we need not be surprised to learn that, when writing came into vogue, a large number of alphabets were adopted by these various tribes, in fact outnumbering "all the other alphabets used in the remainder of the world."[1] These al-

[1] Taylor: "The Alphabet," Vol. II. p. 285, London, 1883.

phabets are said to "furnish a sort of epitome of Indian history, their development being intimately connected with the religious and political fortunes of the country during the last two thousand years."[1] All of these scripts, however, may be traced back to a single source, and this source may be found in the inscriptions of the Buddhist

An Indian Princess.

king, Asoca.[2] One learned Hindoo writer, Dr. Rajendralala, maintains that the Indo-Aryans originated their own alphabet; but there are a host of others, who assert that it was introduced from Semitic sources and adapted to the various Aryan dialects spoken in India.[3]

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1 Ibid. p. 287.

2 Ibid. p. 288.

3 "Indo-Aryans," Vol. II.; Taylor: "The Alphabet," p. 256; "Ancient Sanskrit Literature," p. 427-524. Keane claims that it is "the

The dates of the inscriptions of Asoca have been fixed with accuracy; but how long previous to his time the Indians had a system of writing, we can not tell. These inscriptions of which we speak, were transcribed into two different primitive alphabets. The inscription, known as the "Kapur-di-gire" inscription, is made with an Indo-Bactrian character, reading from right to left, while the remaining inscriptions employ an entirely different character. These two, as we have said, are at present the acknowledged source of the alphabets of India. Both are of Semitic origin, and "underwent a gradual evolution. Finally a systematic redaction and arrangement was affected by scientific grammarians, who were acquainted with both alphabets."[1]

The composition of a portion of the literature of the Indo-Aryans dates away back into prehistoric times, long before the invention of an alphabet, when the hymns of the Rig-veda were chanted by the Rishis (bards), and when the prayers of the suppliant housefather were as effectual with the gods as those of the priest. This was before the Brahman priesthood had appeared, and before the blasting system of caste had become fully developed. In their belief, great importance was attached to the idea of sacrifice and the greatest care was given to all its details, which required the services of those especially educated in this matter. It is plainly evident that, at a very early date, the religious ceremonies for each tribe had to be conducted by some rishi or priest. Then it became customary for each tribal chieftain to support a priest.[2] A

most perfect system of alphabetical notation in existence," and believes that further inquiry will show that the Indian alphabet is a local invention. Stanford's "Asia," p. 707.

[1] Taylor, p. 304-5.

[2] Each modern Hindoo family, not Brahman, has its priest, who

time finally came when this priesthood became powerful enough to demand as theirs the sole right to conduct religious services.

When the rishis had thus gained this right, they seemed to have waived the right of political rule in favor of the tribal chiefs. They made themselves, however, necessary to every head of a family as well as every tribal chieftain by taking absolute control of the religion. They collected all of the hymns then in use by the prominent tribes and families, and arranged them into four classes; thus were formed the Vedas, "the oldest literary work of the Aryan race."[1] Now right here we must understand that all scholars admit that the body of literature known as the Vedas was transmitted orally from one generation to another for several centuries before the priesthood would allow it to be placed in a written form. So that when we speak of this literature as having been composed we do not wish to intimate that it was also at the same time placed in the form of manuscript.[2]

These early hymns were called Mantras and the four collections above referred to are known as the Rig-veda, Yajur-veda, Sama-veda, and Atharva-veda. The Rig-veda is the oldest Sanhita, or collection of Aryan literature, and contains songs of praise, many of which were sung by the primitive tribes before entering India. The Yajur-veda was a collection of such hymns as were especially adapted to ordinary sacrificial ceremonies. The Sama-veda was an arrangement of hymns that were chanted at

comes every day and bathes the household idol, and offers it the sacrifices furnished by the members of the family, who may or may not be present at the worship as they choose. Wilkins: "Modern Hinduism," p. 27

[1] Ibid. p. 65.

[2] Ibid. 497-524; Wilkins: "Hinduism," p. 3, 17; also Arrowsmith's Translation of Kaegi "Rig-Veda," p. 22. Boston, 1886.

the special Soma sacrifices. Both the Yajur and Sama-vedas contained hymns also found in the Rig-veda, and manifested the handiwork of an organized priesthood in their arrangement for special religious ceremonies. The Atharva-veda is a later production, and has been called the spell, or charm veda, because many texts of it were used as spells or charms. It is hard for us to conceive how this great mass of literature, consisting of several thousand verses of poetry, could have been composed, collected, and arranged in so exact and definite a shape. Such nevertheless was the fact.

It was a self imposed duty for every rishi to commit all this to memory before his education was completed, and every such priest was, as Muller says, an individual copy of the great unwritten Veda book,[1] and could be read only by repeating what he had learned to another.[2] The Vedas were composed in the ancient Sanskrit language, which at that time had reached a stage of perfection that has never since been attained by an inflected language. In time, this form of speech became virtually a dead language, and the Vedas were understood only by the priests whose business it was to learn them. Later there arose schools of priests, who devoted themselves to a life long study of this literature, and who had nothing to do but to think and meditate upon its teachings.[3]

[1] "Ancient Sanskrit Literature," p. 377.

[2] Monier Williams: "Religious Thought and Life in India," London, 1883, p. 8; Barth: "Religion of India," p. 2. The above gives us the probable *relative* order in which the various *Sanhitas* or collections were made. We want to caution the reader on two points, 1. We must not suppose that the oldest *Sanhita* contains the primitive stage of Aryan religious thought. The ideas it contains are the results of many centuries of growth. 2. Some of the later collections may embody much nearer the popular ideas of the Aryan people. See this subject discussed in Lang: "Myth, Ritual, and Religion," London, 1887, Chapter vii.

[3] Müller, Op. cit.

The Hindoo is characteristically the meditative Aryan.[1]

The descendants of these old rishis became very numerous. They had established their power. They had nothing to do but to study and meditate. Their studies were the religion of their fathers, and their meditations were confined to the natural yearnings of the soul after the divine, or else to the superstitious dread of the mind for the unknown. Their simple nature gods were not sufficient. There was "a perpetual feeling after one Supreme Being, if haply he might be found in sky or air."[2] This subject, no doubt, was frequently discussed in their schools, and the rishis philosophized upon it when they were instructing their pupils. At last it became a settled opinion among them that a spirit breathed through all material things. This spirit "vivifying their own bodies" was antecedent to all the gods and supreme above all. They called this spirit Brahman, which comes from a root meaning to expand, and this new religion was called Brahmanism.[3] Traces of this philosophical conception and the use of the word Brahma are observed even in the Rig-Veda.[4]

In order to adapt it to this new order of things, we find a second stage in the growth of this Vedic literature. We have seen how the language had changed so that it was not understood by the ordinary tribesmen; and, with the rise and growth of Brahmanism, we find that additions, explanatory of the old Vedic hymns, were made from time to time, but were composed in prose. These were called Brahmanas. Then there came a time when it was found necessary to make a collection of these Brahmanas and arrange them with reference to the different Vedas, for it

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1 Ibid. p, 18. 2 "Religious Thought," p. 20.

3 A comparative study of Brahmanism will be made later.

4 Lang, Op. cit. p. 224.

was found that the now numerous tribes of priests had almost as many rituals of worship as there were tribes.[1]

This collection when completed and arranged showed a growth of at least two centuries in the history of the Indian people.[2] Nor did this growth stop here, but, after another period of about the same length of time, the results of later meditations of these Brahman priests were collected and arranged with reference to the four Vedas. This collection forms what is known as the Upanishad.[3] The Brahmanas seem to contain the ritualism, and the Upanishads, the philosophy of Brahmanism. The whole forms a vast collection of very ancient literature, that even modern Hindoos believe to be inspired or revealed.

Right here, it is well for us to understand that the literature of the Indo-Aryans is divided into two great classes. The first comprises such compositions as were directly revealed by Brahman himself to the old and sacred rishis—that is what they heard—and by them transmitted orally, word for word, down through a line of priests until finally it was allowed to be placed in writing. The second class consists of various and extensive works composed at a later date by Brahmans, but claiming mere tradition for their only authority. They had, however, to be based on revealed truth, with which they must harmonize. The first class comprised the Mantras, Brahmanas, and Upanishads of Vedic literature already described. They are called Sruta or "that which is directly heard or revealed." The other authorized writings are termed Smriti or "recollection."[4] The most important work in the last class is

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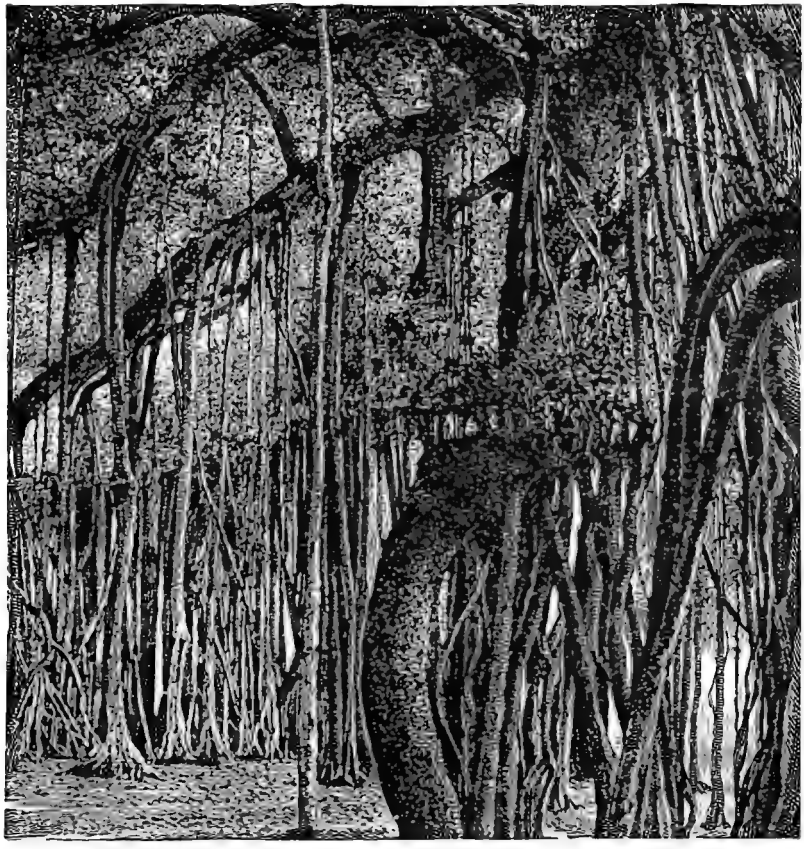
[1] "Ancient Sanskrit Literature," p. 437.

[2] Ibid. 435. [3] "Religious Thought," p. 26.

[4] Williams: "Indian Wisdom," p. 154. Also "Ancient Sanskrit Literature," p. 86.

entitled the "Laws of Manu." We can point to no one person as the compiler of these laws, nor can we fix any definite period when they were completed. Parts of the collection may have been composed as early as the fifth century B. C. This code of laws, belonged to a certain school



Banyan or Sacred Fig-tree.

or family of Brahmans, called Manavas, and tradition ascribed its authorship to one Manu, who is mentioned in the Vedas as the first man. It is regarded as one of the most remarkable literary productions of all ages. Though originally a local code, it finally became the law of all

Brahmans. There were two other authorized codes of law, but they never reached the celebrity of the code of Manu, which regulated the domestic life of the Indo-Aryans and made it comform to their religion. "The root of all law," says Manu, "is the Veda and the traditions of those who know the Veda." Thus can we see how intimately the religious and the social life of the Indo-Aryans were connected.[1]

When we come to the study of the religions of India, we shall see how Buddhism sprang rapidly into popularity and drew thousands away from the schools of the Brahmans. Like true philosophers, the Brahmans sought out the peculiar principles of Buddhism that made it a religion of the people, and then endeavored to supplant it with their own belief adapted to the popular mind. The minds of the people who had not the time to commit the Vedas could not comprehend the abstract and the ideal god, Brahman, and so they continually reverted to their earlier conceptions.

In order to satisfy this longing after a more simple constellation of gods, the Brahmans caused all the old poems of the heroic age, when the Aryans were fighting their way into the Punjab, to be collected, adapted to Brahmanism, and arranged in two grand heroic poems called the Mahabharata and the Ramayana. The heroes, of whom the ancient bards sang, were deified and made the descendants of the god, Brahman, himself. The people were thus given many gods, and gods that they could come

[1] "Religious Thought," p. 52. If we recall that among many people the name of the first law-giver bears a close resemblance to this name—*e. g.* Menes, among the Egyptians; Men, in India; Minos, in Crete; and that from it are derived many words meaning Wisdom; *e. g.* Minerva, goddess of wisdom, Mens in Latin; Mind in English—we will probably agree with Higgins that Menu meant simply Divine Wisdom. "Anacalypsis." p. 319,

near unto and worship, while the thoughtful and learned Brahman continued to meditate upon, and strive to lose himself in that essence of being, the Divine Self or Spirit.[1]

One of the most singular features in the civilization of the Indian Aryans is the system of caste. Nothing quite like this has ever been found elsewhere. The origin of caste probably goes back to the very beginning of Vedic times, though we do not find it developed into a rigid system before the close of the Vedic Age. The word which the Indo-Aryans used to denote caste meant color, and gives us the probable key to the system. The Aryans did not exterminate the tribes of aborigines, whom they found in possession of the Punjab when they came down from the mountains of Central Asia. They conquered these swarthy Turanian tribes and made them slaves. But they no more thought of mingling socially with these slaves than did the old southern planters with their black servants in the days of American slavery. In fact, they despised them and hated them, called them Dasyus, "the black skins," "the raw eaters," and all the vilest epithets that their language could frame and their tongues utter.[2]

This was the first indication of caste; and, at that time, the people were divided into two casts only, the Aryans and non-Aryans. We have now to consider the formation of caste within the Aryan tribes themselves. Let us begin with the priestly class the Brahmans. We have dwelt with sufficient fullness on the savage priesthood. We have seen that such priests are found among all people. As civilization advances, these Shamans of rude tribes tend always to form a closely connected body.

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1 Ibid. 41-5.

2 Hunter: "Annals of Rural Bengal," p. 112-13.

Among all people, they are a much respected and generally feared body. They are respected because they are always a learned body, and, as a general rule, use their power to advance the interests of their tribe. They are feared because they are generally supposed to possess magical powers, and able to bless or curse. Such a body of priests always tends to usurp, more and more, the rights of the various orders of chiefs to conduct worship. Generally speaking, we have seen that any one holding a position of authority within the tribe was, ex-officio, a priest. The housefather offered sacrifices for his household, the gens-chief for the gens and so on.

In the course of development, then, there was sure to come a time when the priestly body, of whom we have just spoken, would try to usurp this authority. In almost all cases they succeeded. Almost all the European Aryans were ruled in religious matters by Druids or similar bodies. The Magi among the Medes was an equally strong body. The priesthood among all Semitic people has possessed great power and influence. The Israelites formed no exception to this rule. It is not singular, then, that the Aryans who entered India should come under the workings of this same law. The more so when we reflect that the tribes they subjugated undoubtedly had numerous influential Shamans.

The Vedas show the presence and guiding hand of such a priesthood. The very collection of hymns, betraying a spirit no doubt far above that of the mass of the people, could only have been made by such a learned body. To get the full benefit of the sacrifices, they must be performed by an adept.[1] We find, even in the Vedas,

[1] "The Vedic sacrifices are but ceremonial magic," Blavatsky: "Isis Unveiled," Vol. I. xxxii.

that principal families were expected to support a family priest. It is not singular, then, that, in process of time, we find this priestly class drawing to themselves all religious functions; they called themselves *Brahmans*, from *Brahma*, he who pronounced *Brahm*, or prayers. We may admit that there was opposition on the part of some officials to this course, still the change was doubtless of very slow growth extending over many generations.

But, as stated some pages back, these Brahmans contented themselves with the field of religion. They did not care to interfere in the political field. But another principle was at work, which was to evolve the warrior class, and the laboring class. It was the same cause that gave rise, in early Roman history, to the Patricians and Plebeians, and to the two classes in early Greece, that was conquest, conquest of one Aryan tribe by another. Such must have occurred, and, among the invading Aryans, there must have been some more or less dependent and inferior tribes. Still further, it is self evident, that the conquest of the Punjab was not achieved at once, probably successive waves of invading tribes arrived on the scene who would gain supremacy over their predecessors. It is further evident, that these conquered tribes would not be allowed the full measure of rights and privileges assumed by the conquerors. And, just as in the case of the Patricians at Rome and the Eupatrides in Greece, the master tribes of the Aryans would claim and exercise the rights of government and of warfare, while the conquered tribes would become the laborers. This would give us two more castes, the Kshatriyas, or warriors, and the Vaisyas, or laborers.

But in order to give to these various divisions the peculiarities of caste as known in India, it was necessary

to forbid marriages between the classes, and to give the whole system the sanction of religion. All this took, of course, many years to accomplish. Minute rules were adopted, the violation of which involved the loss of caste. The priesthood were active in this matter, and though arrogating to themselves the most favored position, arranged the various divisions in an unyielding system, forbid as far as possible intercourse between them, and assigned to each division a peculiar religious standing. We only need to add that the final result was due to causes at work long before and during the entire Vedic period.

If the Aryans of India have not been able to exercise any very great influence in the political history of the world, they have certainly exercised a most tremendous influence in the culture history. Only in modern times are we beginning to understand this, and to give these "Meditative Aryans" their share of honor. The modern Aryan world is separated from this ancient world by such a prolonged interval of time; and the clamors of wars and conquests, and the rise and fall of nations have so blinded those historians who record only passing political events, that we have almost forgotten where to look for the origin of various systems of philosophical thought, both religious and scientific. We are of the opinion, that future discoveries will tend to show more and more that to the Aryans of India belongs this honor. The time has not yet come for a full demonstration of this, yet enough is known to render it probable.

In the field of science, for instance, it is now known that they invented the decimal system of notation[1] and Algebra.[2] The Arabic writer on Algebra, who has been

[1] Draper: "Religion and Science," p. 115.
[2] "Encyclopedia Britannica," art. "Algebra."

given the credit of originating it, is known to have traveled in India to gain his knowledge.[1] In addition to the foregoing, they are known to have made considerable progress in Geometry. The famous theorem of the square of the hypothenuse etc. is found engraved on the *Goparama* of the majority of the great pagodas.[2] Euclid, the great geometer, arranged in his work many theorems first worked out by the Brahmans of India. In Astronomy, although many people professed to have had very good ideas of Astronomy in early times, yet the claims of the Hindoos apparently rest on a solid foundation.[3]

It is claimed for them that they fixed the Calendar, invented the Zodiac, calculated the equinoxes, and predicted the eclipes.[4] The French astronomer, Legentil, who visited India in 1767, was given a set of tables going back to 3100 B. C.[5] Let it not be forgotten that the theory of the revolution of the earth around the sun, as taught by Pythagoras, was an Indian theory.[6] Even some of the theories of modern science seem to have been first enunciated in India. The modern doctrine of evolution is clearly stated in the following from the "Bhagavata:" "When this world had issued out of darkness, the subtle elementary principles produced the vegetal seed which animated first the plants; from the plants, life passed into fantastical bodies, which were born in the *illus* of the

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1 Ibid. "Preliminary Dissertations."

2 "Isis Unveiled," Vol. I. p. 618.

3 "Encyclopedia Britannica," art. "Astronomy."

4 "Isis Unveiled," Vol. I. p. 618.

5 Yet in Chaldea, Astronomy had made considerable advance, probably before the Aryans had arrived in India. Nothing is to prevent the supposition, that the Indians greatly advanced the theoretical parts of this science.

6 Draper: "Religion and Science," p. 156.

waters, then through a series of forms and various animals, it reached man.[1]

When we enter the field of Philosophy, it is certainly true that all forms of philosophical creeds converge to India. This is such a broad field, that to give it anywhere near justice, we must reserve it for a separate chapter. We will here simply give an historical outline of the development of religious thought in India. We must take into account the probable culture of the Dravidian tribes of India. There is probably danger of giving the Aryan invaders of India too high a standing as regards religious culture. But it is undoubtedly true, that they would be influenced by the religious culture of the Dravidians. At the present day, these aborigines in India furnish a good illustration of savage philosophy. They believe in spirits swarming everywhere about them, and the usual accompaniments of such beliefs, that is a belief in magic and sorcery.[2]

The Aryans, themselves, must once have been on this same level of thought. Indeed the Vedas show the plainest traces of it all the way through.[3] It is evident that, as they spread over the Punjab, this stage of feeling will tend to revive. When the priestly caste was once fairly formed, there would likely grow up a system of forms and ceremonies suitable for the mass of the people, abounding in magic rites, symbols, and many gods. But this religion we must understand, had an exoteric and an esoteric side, according as we look at the public belief, or the secret doctrines

[1] "Isis Unveiled," Vol. II. p. 260. It is scarcely necessary to caution the reader that some mythological conceptions may in form come near modern theories with a scientific basis. It is well to receive with caution such statements as the foregoing.

[2] This Series, Vol. II. p. 307. See Hunter: "Annals of Rural Bengal." He calls this system of philosophy "Demon worship." It is the same philosophy that we have already discussed.

[3] Lang: "Myth, Ritual, and Religion."

taught by the priests. This system is known as Brahmanism, and will be fully studied in its proper place. Briefly expressed, we may say, that Brahmanism professes to have for its foundation the religion of the Vedas. But the Vedas, at the time when Manu's code of laws was compiled and adopted, consisted of a growth of literature through at least eight centuries.[1]

We must distinguish between ancient Brahmanism and the Hindoo religion after the Brahmanical revival of the eighth century A. D. The one is pure Brahmanism and the other modern Hindooism. They are very different. We are considering the former only at present. Ancient Brahmanism, then, as set forth in the laws of Manu, established the existence of a divine, supreme spirit god, called Brahman. The four-fold system of caste was the basis of all social and religious organization. The Brahman, as priest, was infinitely superior to all other beings, and alone could perform sacrifices or teach the Vedas. The Kshatriyas ranked next, and the Vaisyas were still lower. Members of these three castes were called the twice-born, and they alone could share the benefits of religion.

The only duty of the Sudra, or fourth caste, was to "serve meekly these other three castes."[2] "The very birth of a Brahman is an eternal incarnation of the sacred law, for he is born to fulfill the sacred law, and becomes one with Brahman," the god.[3] "The whole Veda is the first source of the sacred law, next the traditions and the virtuous conduct of those who know the Veda further, also the customs of holy men, and, finally, self-satisfaction. For that man who obeys the law prescribed in the revealed

[1] "Ancient Sanskrit Literature," p. 572.
[2] *Vide* "Bhagavad Gita," ;. 261. [3] "Laws of Manu," p. 250.

texts, and in the sacred tradition, gains fame in this world and after death unsurpassable bliss."[1] The bliss of the departed referred to in the text was attained through transmigration of the soul. The good Brahman priest would thus attain union with his god Brahman, while every good man of the twice born race would, according to the acts of this life, attain birth in a better or worse state of life, thus could he finally attain a blissful state.[2]

Such a cold, rigid form of religion was not suited to the wants of an uncultured people; and its spirituality was beyond the conceptions of any save the Brahman, who could spend a lifetime in meditation in order to attain the desired union with the divine "Self." The priests alone were the mild-eyed philosophers whom Megasthenes[3] found conversing upon life and death under the beautiful groves of the Punjab, while the mass of the people were suffering under a grinding yoke of religious oppression. During all these centuries of ancient history of the Indo-Aryans, not only did occasional tribes rebel, and prefer freedom of conscience at the price of ostracism from society rather than Brahmanical oppression and a surety of future bliss; but numerous reformers arose at various times, flourished, and died, the most of them leaving scarcely more than their names to mark the period of their lives. Traditional history mentions six such re-

1 "Laws of Manu," Vol. ii. p. 6 and 9.

2 Manu, xii. 39, 85. No system of philosophy has been able to entirely clear away the animistic ideas of an earlier state of society. The complicated polytheism of Greece cut very little figure in the popular religion of the people. The same remarks doubtless apply to Brahmanism in India. The priestly system cut very little figure in the worship of the common people.

3 "History of Indian People," p. 77. It is probable that the "Brahmans" of Megasthenes, were a Buddhist sect; King: "Gnostics and their Remains," p. 54, London, 1887.

formers, and most of them were of the Kshatriya caste.[1] But of these six, there was one who has left a name prominent above all Indo-Aryan names; and who founded a religion, that has more followers to-day than any other system of belief.[2] We refer to Gautama, who afterward received the name of Buddha or "the Enlightened."[3]

Buddha flourished during the fifth century B. C. He was the son of a ruling chief, and would have been next in line of succession. At the age of twenty-nine, he chose rather to sever himself from home and kindred, and to assume the robe of an ascetic than to himself submit to Brahmanical oppression, and see the great mass of people burdened by oppressive, tyrannical laws. The great mission of Buddha seems to have been to try to elevate the condition of all mankind, and to preach the doctrine of free salvation, (peace of soul) to all, no matter what their social condition; no matter whether male or female. He was born in the very heart of Brahmanism, but there seems to have been a rising sentiment of free thought throughout the Brahman territory, and Buddha seems to have been the prophet arising at the right time to champion this sentiment. Gautama first spent six years of austerities and penance wandering in the forests and jungles. Then, after passing through a season of temptation, sitting serene under the sheltering branches of the sacred fig-tree, while according to tradition, demons beset him with all manner of temptations, a sweet and peaceful calm came over his mind. He felt himself no longer subject to temptation. He was thereafter Buddha, the "enlightened," and saw clearly that henceforth he was to leave the jungle and the hermit's

[1] "Indian Wisdom," p. 50.

[2] "Brief History of India," p. 64.

[3] A full discussion of Buddhism will follow in its proper place.

cell, and go forth to preach reform. The remaining years of his long life were spent in wandering up and down the banks of the Ganges, preaching his good tidings, occasionally spending a few months in some bamboo grove, where he taught the multitudes who thronged to hear his words.

The Brahmans declared that it was sacrilegious for any except a member of his own caste to teach, and that all knowledge must be based on the Vedas. Buddha belonged to the Kshatriya caste, and utterly ignored the the Vedas,[1] so he was ostracised from the start by the ruling caste. First of all, he did away with all manner of sacrifices, and set aside the claims of the Brahman priesthood. He taught that happiness hereafter depended upon the good acts of our own lives, so that virtue, morality, kindness, charity, patience, fortitude, meditation, and knowledge, all bore their fruits, and tended toward the perfection of the soul. The three great duties of Buddhism were, "control over self, kindness to other men, and reverence for the lives of all sentient creatures."[2]

The reward of a good life was alike open to all mankind, no matter what the caste or what the race. This reward was the attainment of "Nirvana" which has been translated as "eternal rest," "cessation," union with the the universal "Spirit" of Brahman. We see that this opened a great fountain of hope for all people, and all manner of men, from the Brahman to the slave, flocked around the great teacher to hear his wonderful words. The anathemas of the Brahmans could not affect the teachings of the Buddha. He seemed to be inspired with a

[1] This statement is rather strong, as will be shown in its proper place. Buddhism was a reform on Brahmanism, and Buddha simply rejected this binding authority and the conclusions of the Vedas.

[2] Hunter: "History of Indian People," p. 67.

sort of magnetism that drew all men to him, and his life was so consistent that none could fail to be impressed with the doctrines he taught. At the age of four score years, he died, and passed into peaceful possession of the Nirvana that he had so patiently longed for.

Buddhism was free to all castes, and to all nations. Early in his life as preacher, Buddha sent forth chosen disciples to preach his religion. About two centuries after his death, we find that Buddhism had spread to such a degree, that it was championed by some of the most powerful chieftains, and among others Asoca. He extended his authority over the best portion of Hindoostan, and caused edicts, proclaiming Buddhism as the national religion and setting forth its peculiar tenets, to be inscribed on rocks and pillars all over India. He called a council to draft a settled faith. He founded monasteries and supported thousands of Buddhist priests. He has been called the "Constantine" of Buddhism. This religion itself was the first missionary religion. As early as the year of Buddha's death, it is claimed that missionaries planted his religion upon the island of Ceylon.[1]

Many parts of India that knew nothing of the Brahmans were penetrated by Buddhist priests and this religion was proclaimed. In Orissa, there are remains of several monk caverns that must have been occupied by Buddhist priests at an early date. This new religion spread to the south and carried a great Aryan influence among the Dravidians of the lower table land region. Missionaries went into Thibet and China, and wherever they went, they were received gladly by all people who, in all cases, readily accepted their teachings.[2]

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[1] "Ancient Sanskrit Literature," p. 269.

[2] It is now satisfactorily proved that by the time of Asoca, Buddhist

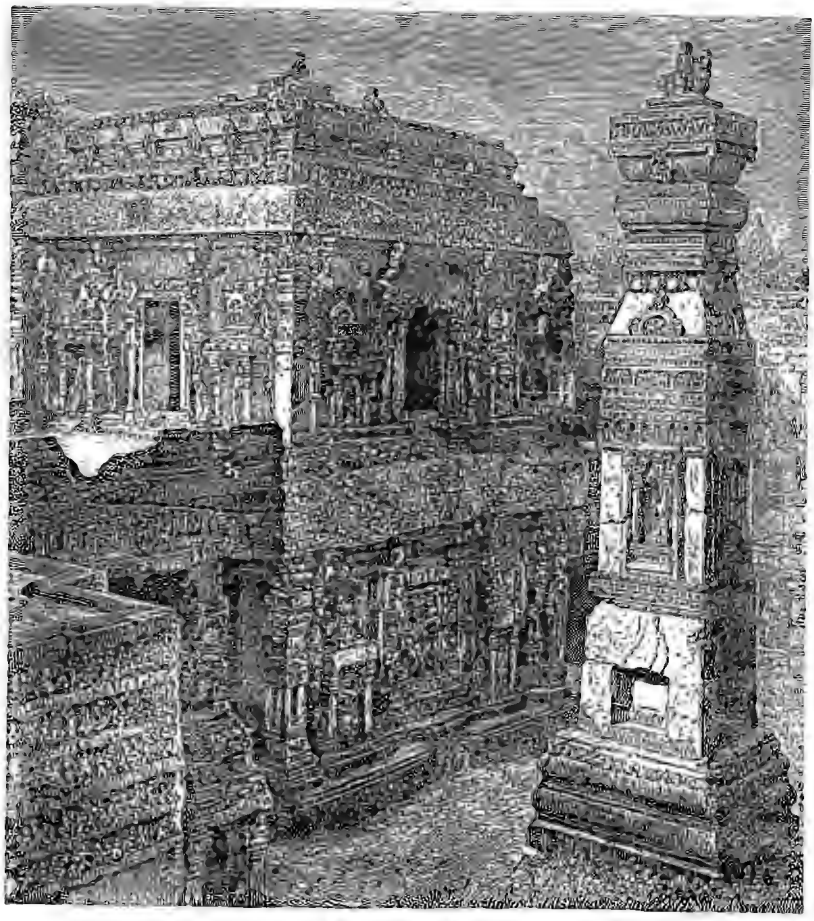
The Turananian ruler, Kanish, also did much to spread the doctrines of Buddhism far and wide, so that we find remains of Buddhist temples scattered all over India; but many of these were erected at a later date when Buddhism had become corrupted by outside influence. At Katmandu in Nepal, we find temples as represented by an accompanying illustration. The most ancient relics of Buddhism however are to be found in the cave temples in the vicinity of Ellora. "They are excavated on the west face of a plateau of tufa formation, terminating in a steep cliff, here and there furrowed by ravines and flanked by isolated mounds. To execute such works needed as many hands as were employed upon the pyramids of Egypt." They stretch in succession to the north and south for a distance of four thousand yards, and are so numerous that it would take several days to inspect them all. They range in age from the time of Buddha until the age of later Brahmanism. Those built in later times are the most elaborate. Among these, is the Palace of Kailas, which is called an architectural marvel cut in live rock and entirely detached from the hills. Its columns are carved elephants and other enormous animals. They support a vast monolithic roof two-hundred and fifty feet long, one-hundred and fifty feet wide, and one-hundred feet thick.

The east gate of the Sanchi Tope also is worthy of particular mention. Its date is an unsettled question, but Mr. Ferguson thinks that it belongs to the earlier stage of Buddhist architecture.[1] It is remarkable for the figures of men and animals sculptured upon it, the most natural of which are the elephants and peacocks. A better idea

missionaries had spread the doctrines throughout all of Western Asia, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. This influence will be traced in its proper place.

[1] "Ancient Architecture in Hindoostan," p. 27.

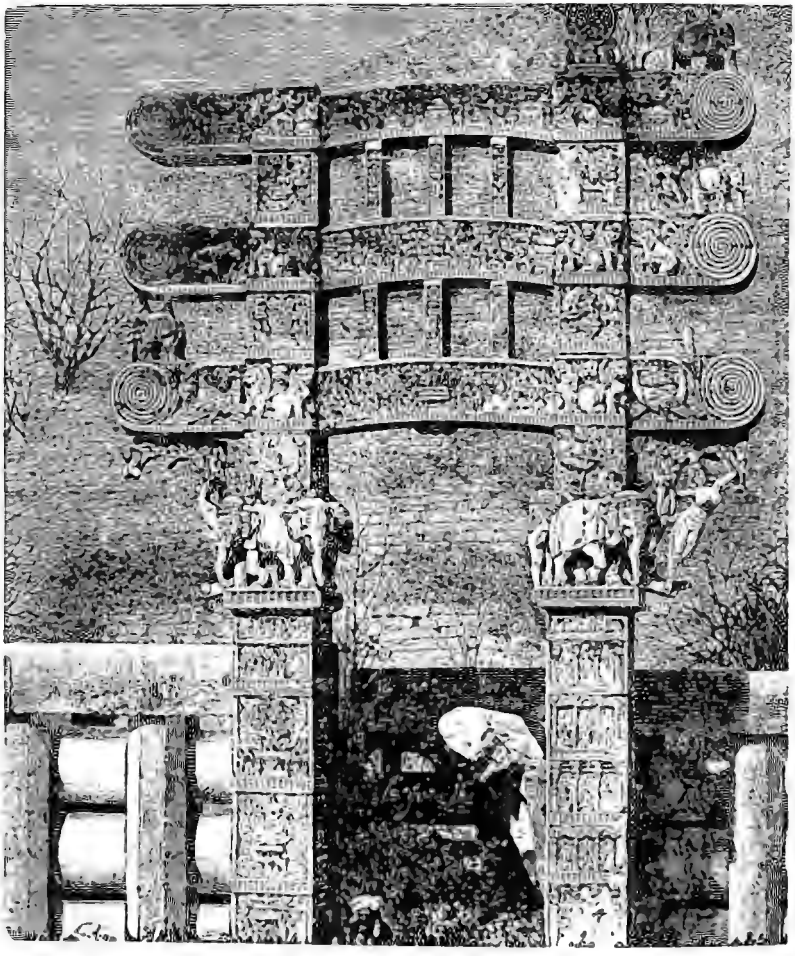
can be gained from the accompanying illustration than from any description. Indian architecture begins about the time of Asoca, while the more elaborate temples belong to the Hindoo period, or to the revival of Brahmanism.



Palace of Kailas

Buddism continued to flourish in India until about 1000 A. D. It at no time completely supplanted Brahmanism, but the two flourished side by side and finally merged into Hindooism. Even then, however, Buddhism was represented by a sect of worshipers called Jains who have many

temples scattered all over India. Among the localities most noted for these temples, are Mount Abu and Sunagarh. It must be remembered that they belong to a later stage of architecture than that of the Buddhist rock cut caves mentioned above.



Great Sanchi Gate.

The two great religions of India, Brahmanism and Buddhism, each for a season seemed to satisfy the people. The latter was much the more popular for twelve centuries,

between the time of Gautama and the seventh century A. D., and it threatened to completely destroy the former. It had the advantage of the support of the chieftains ruling during almost the whole of this period. "The vast monastery of Nalanda formed a seat of learning which recalls the Christian abbeys and universities of medieval Europe.[1] This was supported from the royal purse and sent out large numbers of missionaries into other fields of labor. Thus did Indo-Aryan thought, culture, and religious belief penetrate the surrounding world; and cells of early Buddhist monks may be found in all of the mountain ranges that surround India on its northern sides. But Buddhism was not proof against the influences of earlier superstitions and became greatly corrupted as the pure life and example of their great teacher grew gradually fainter and fainter, receding in the mists of time. Then, too, the Brahmans did not lose patience nor did they recede one jot nor one tittle from their demands. They demanded that a man should acknowledge the inspiration and supremacy of the Vedas and also recognize the laws of caste. They cared not what else he believed.[2] Therefore they adopted into their religion all popular features of every other religion. Theirs was not a proselyting creed, but all manner of policy was resorted to in order to keep their own believers true to their religion. In this endeavor at popularizing Brahmanism the old Vedic gods are almost forgotten.[3] We perceive that there is a decided change in the gods that are worshiped. The old Vedic gods Indra, Agni, and Varuna give place to Brahman, Vishnu, and Siva. Under various names, these three gods form the Hindoo pantheon, and

[1] Hunter: "Indian People," p. 72.

[2] Williams: "Religious Thought," p. 53.

[3] Wilkins: "Modern Hinduism," p. 43-5.

numerous images of the trinity may be seen in the various temples of India; the most remarkable is in the caves of Elephanta on an island off the coast near Bombay.

In the modern Hindoo, we detect an ethnical mixture of Aryan, non-Aryan, and later Turanian.[1] Modern Hin-

Buddhist Priests from Ceylon.

dooism, as a state of society, is based upon caste. Its religion is a union of many creeds and beliefs, associated in the various attributes of their trinity of gods, Brahman, Vishnu, and Siva. The god Brahman is the peculiar god

1 "Early Indian People," p. 81.

of the highest, or Brahman caste. Vishnu, the second member of the trinity, is a purely Vedic god, while Siva appears to be as purely an aboriginal deity, and is worshiped by the great majority of Indian people.[1]

"The Hindoo religion is a reflection of the composite character of the Hindoos, who are not one people, but many. It has held out the right hand of brotherhood to the fetich worshiping aborigines of India, it has permitted a descent to the most degrading cults of the Dravidian races; while at the same time, it has ventured to rise from the most groveling practices to the loftiest heights of philosophical speculation; it has not hesitated to drink in thoughts from the very fountain of Truth; and owes not a little to Christianity itself."[2] The Hindoo religion represents a growth through many centuries, and throghout all this time we notice the controlling influence of the great masters of thought, the Aryan Brahmans. From the time that the priesthood became first established, these Brahman priests watched the growth of the Hindoo religion with jealous care. They rejected what would tend to limit the power of the priest; they utilized everything that would tend to make their religion popular. They were patient, yet aggressively persevering when in political disfavor.

They moulded not only the religion of modern Hindooism, but also its entire social fabric. With a resident of India, not to be a Hindoo is to be a social outcast. The most degraded Sudra, considers his social condition far superior to the most enlightened foreigner, and will

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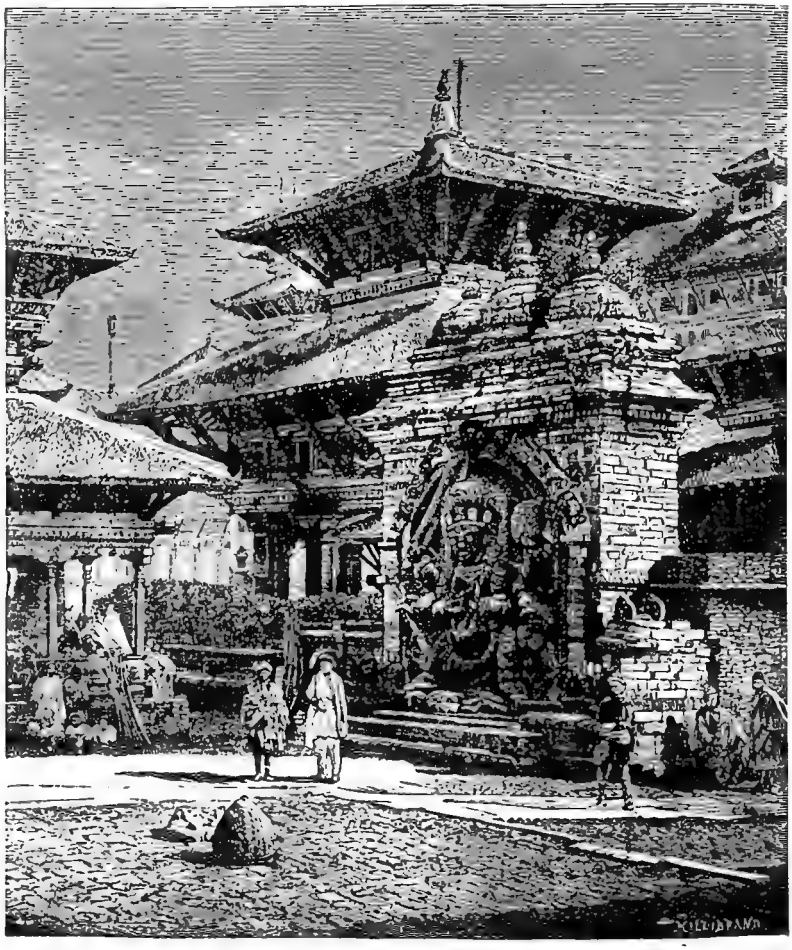
1 "Annals of Bengal," p. 127.

2 Williams: "Religious Thought," p. 58-9. In many respects this is too strong a statement. The fetich worship and degrading cults are, in many cases, survivals of early Aryan stages. It is not believed they have borrowed from Christianity. Higging: "Anaclypsis,"

avoid associating with him as much as possible. Hindooism has furnished the inspiration for the greatest specimens of Indo-Aryan art. Upon the revival of Brahman power, Buddhist shrines were converted into Hindoo tem-



Buddhist Temple, Himalaya Mountains.

ples; and to satisfy the desire of the Hindoos for the grand and the beautiful, still more magnificent structures were erected to cover the shrines of the various gods. In Orissa we find Bhuvaneswar, the temple city of Siva, and the

wagon shaped temple of Jagganath. Indeed Orissa is the Holy Land of the Hindoo, and thousands of pilgrims journey hither every year to be present at the various festivals and celebrations.

In reviewing then the growth of civilization in India, we see how a small handful of Aryan emigrants went down into the Punjab and became completely cut off from their brethren to the northwest and from all other outside influences. They found the country peopled by tribes whose civilization is yet in doubt. The gods of these people, they elevated to a place in the Vedic pantheon. In this contact, the civilization of the Aryan conquerors and that of the people already settled there, of course, mutually influenced each other. By Aryan thrift and industry, flourishing villages and walled cities sprang up all over the fertile river valleys. Although in numbers these Aryan tribes were not strong enough to spread their settlements all over Hindoostan, their superior intelligence and culture have, like the mite of leaven, leavened the whole lump. The savage hill tribes are no longer the degraded beings that the ancients knew. Dravidian India is no longer the home of the barbarian. All have felt the influence of the Aryan mind. It has made for the heathen of India a religion. It has built magnificent temples for the Dravidians. It has crowned the loftiest mountains of the world with temples and shrines. It has given five hundred millions of people a religion. Its influence has been felt from the lofty Himalayan summits to the "pearl drop on the brow of Ind," Ceylon, the Ophir of King Solomon of old. It has given the Indian world a social system that has defied the power of monarchs and the superstition of religion to break its bands.

Despite the grinding oppresssion of caste the Hin-

doo is not unhappy. No matter what his social condition he glories in it, for there are always others inferior to him in rank. He can not attain membership to a higher caste, but he is content. So ages passed in India. Finally the fanatic followers of Islam arrived, and the Hindoos saw neither freedom nor peace until the western Aryans came to their rescue, and the Indo-Aryan was restored to his much prized freedom of life and conscience.

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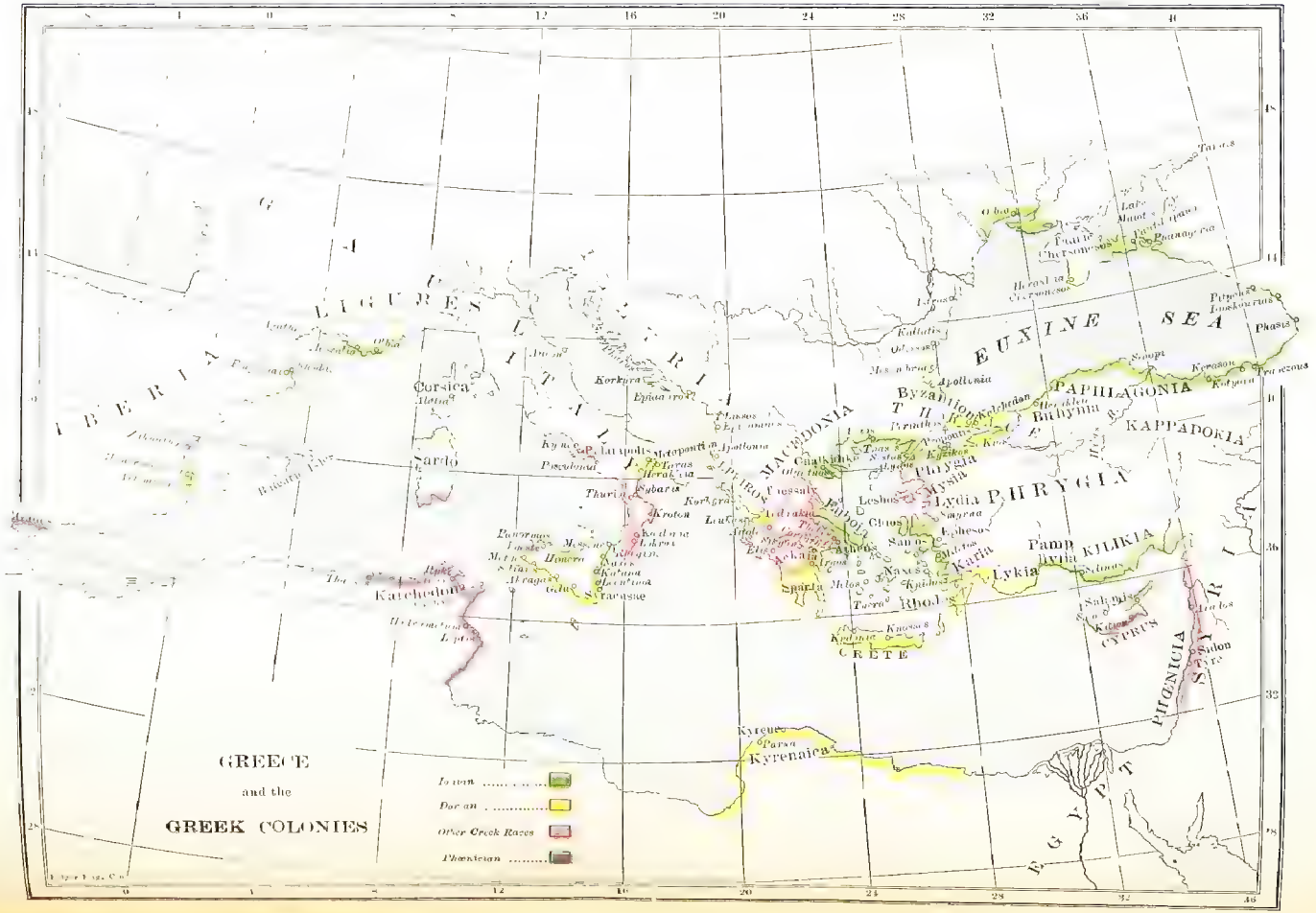
Prof. Sayce, in his Greek edition of Herodotus, with English notes, London 1883, has brought out some new material in regard to Cambyses. It seems that Cambyses was king of Babylon before the death of his father, Cyrus. There is considerable uncertainty as to the length of Cambyses' reign. We have contract tablets dated the eleventh year of his reign. Other writers make his reign eighteen and even nineteen years.

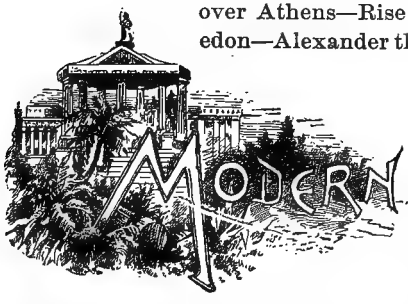
Monolith Island of Java.


GREECE
and the
GREEK COLONIES
Ionian
Dorian
Other Greek Races
Phœnician
EUXINE SEA
PAPHLAGONIA
Bithynia
KAPPADOKIA
Lydia
PHRYGIA
Karia
Lykia
KILIKIA
Pamphylia
CRETE
CYPRUS
PHŒNICIA
EGYPT
Kyrenaica
Sardo
Corsica
Karchedon
Syracuse
Korkyra
Epidamnos
Thurii
Kroton
Sybaris
Byzantion
Apollonia
Chalkedon
Troas
Lesbos
Chios
Samos
Miletos
Halikarnassos
Rhodes
Knossos
Kyrene
Parsa
Phasis
Kerasos
Trapezus
Olbia
Tanais
Lake Maiot
Panticapæum
Phanagoria
Fauns Chersonesus
Heraclia Chersonesus
Pitiuntis
Iuniskouria
Sinope
Amisos
Tauros
Mts. Caucasus
Kallatis
Odessos
Tyras
Tomi
Istros
Ister
Dyrrhachium
Epidamnos
Korkyra
Lissos
Epidaurus
Pharsalos
Larissa
Pydna
Potidæa
Olynthus
Amphipolis
Thessalonica
Chalkidike
Pella
Edessa
Lychnidus
Pelagonia
Heraclea
Pæonia
Dyrrhachium
Apollonia
Epidamnos
Korkyra
Ambracia
Actium
Nicopolis
Patræ
Corinth
Athens
Thebes
Megara
Eleusis
Sparta
Argos
Mycenæ
Tiryns
Nemea
Olympia
Elis
Pylos
Messene
Thermopylæ
Delphi
Lepanto
Naupactus
Aetolia
Acarnania
Epirus
Thessaly
Macedonia
Thrace
Mysia
Troas
Ida
Mt. Olympus
Mt. Pelion
Mt. Ossa
Mt. Parnassus
Mt. Cithæron
Mt. Taygetus
Mt. Erymanthus
Mt. Pindus
Mt. Athos
Mt. Haemus
Mt. Rhodope
Mt. Ida
Mt. Cadmus
Mt. Mycale
Mt. Latmus
Mt. Taurus
Mt. Amanus
Mt. Lebanon
Mt. Carmel
Mt. Sinai
Mt. Horeb
Mt. Hor
Mt. Nebo
Mt. Gerizim
Mt. Ebal
Mt. Tabor
Mt. Hermon
Mt. Gilboa
Mt. Gilead
Mt. Seir
Mt. Pisgah
Mt. Peor
Mt. Abarim
Mt. Nebo
Mt. Zion
Mt. Moriah
Mt. Olivet
Mt. Scopus
Mt. Gerizim
Mt. Ebal
Mt. Tabor
Mt. Hermon
Mt. Gilboa
Mt. Gilead
Mt. Seir
Mt. Pisgah
Mt. Peor
Mt. Abarim
Mt. Nebo
Mt. Zion
Mt. Moriah
Mt. Olivet
Mt. Scopus

# CHAPTER III.

## THE HELLENIC ARYANS

PELASGIANS — The Hellenes—Aryans of Asia Minor—The Phrygians —Explorations at Hissarlik—Ancient Troy—Relics from Hissarlik—Cyclopean Walls—Phœnician Influence—Early German Influence—Ancient Hellas—The Heroic Age—The Argonautic Expedition—The Poems of Homer—Beginning of History in Greece—Political Life in Ancient Greece—Religion in Ancient Greece—The Amphictyonic League—Early Settlements—The Dorian Migration—The Rise of the Spartans—The Period of Argolic Supremacy—Spartan Supremacy—Development of Athens—Stories of Solon—Important Cities of Ancient Greece—Greek Colonies—Other Aryan People—The Cimmerians—The Persian Invasion—Age of Pericles—Triumph of Sparta over Athens—Rise of Thebes—Rise of Phlip of Macedon—Alexander the Great—Conclusion.




RESEARCH is fast reconstructing ancient and medieval history. The reading of inscriptions, the comparison of languages, and the spade of the archaeologist are so focusing upon the pages of history the rays of light that fall to us from the dim past of myth and tradition that new negatives are forming, some of which produce only fancy pictures of the fruitful imaginations of nations in their childhood, while others portray, in life-like colors, truthful ideas of olden times. But many mysteries yet remain, the unknown is still more vast than the known, and, in the dim light of far away times, we catch uncertain glimpses of many people and races of which not yet much is known. Such a people are the

Pelasgians, of whom historians were wont to draw only a fancy picture. They were said to be indigenous "the children of the black earth."[1] Future discoveries may tell us more about them; but should we, with our present light, assign them a place in history, we can only conclude that they were the offspring of those Aryan tribes that were the first to penetrate into Greece, Thrace, and even reached the shores of Asia Minor. The conquered Turanian population, that previously occupied these lands, would, in many instances, furnish the mothers of a new race. The mingled Aryan and Turanian blood would produce a mysterious people to whom it would be difficult, in our day at least, to assign a racial place. Such appear to have been the Pelasgians. They constituted those mysterious tribes of people that inhabited the shores of Europe and the isles of the Mediterranean, and were wont, from time, to sweep down with their armaments upon the coasts of Egypt and the Valley of the Nile, to the fear and dismay of the Pharaohs. Aryan and yet Turanian, indigenous and yet foreigners, thus, probably, arose these people who have so seriously puzzled historians.[2]

Historians of half a century ago readily granted the mysterious Pelasgians a place among the early people of Southern Europe. They have been repeatedly made the ancestors of the Greeks and Latins. They are mentioned among the defenders of Asia Minor against the Egyptians by both Rameses II. and Rameses III.[3] In the first Homeric Epic[4] they are mentioned as inhabiting the coast of Asia Minor. Herodotus[5] refers to them in a number of places. He regards the Hellenic speech as a branch of

1 Curtius: "History of Greece," New York, 1871, Vol. I. p. 45.
2 See This Series, Vol. II. p. 597, note 1.
3 Brugsch in "Ilios," p. 755-8. 4 "Iliad," book ii. l. 840. 5 Bk. i. ch. 58.

the Pelasgic, thus giving the latter priority over the former, though he seems to have had little positive knowledge of the Pelasgians. Keane[1] says that "the Greek tribe itself, whose name was adopted by the Latins as the collective designation of the whole race, appears to have been Pelasgian." He further classes all the Aeolian, Dorian, and Ionian dialects under the title of "Pelasgo-Hellenic." Canon Rawlinson[2] ranks the Pelasgic language with the Aryan family, and gives it as his opinion, that the Greek and Latin sprang from it to some extent.[3] Prof. Sayce[4] regards the Pelasgians as simply tribes of Aryan people, but refuses to class them as a particular family. He further detects a double meaning in the word. At first it may have applied to some particular tribes, but later Greek writers used it in a sense almost synonymous with our word "prehistoric."

Curtius[5] seems to have gained a clear idea of these mysterious people. According to him, they were husbandmen and herdsmen, who everywhere preceded the purer Greek stock as it spread throughout Hellas, the isles of the Aegaean, and Asia Minor. They formed the dark background from which the Hellenes arose. Curtius says distinctly, that the Ionians (the Hellenes of Attica) developed from this Pelasgic stock. Future research will probably sustain this view.[6] As Aryan tribes pushed

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1 Stanford's "Europe," London, 1885, p. 566.

2 "Herodotus," New York, 1881, Vol. I. p. 541.

3 It must be remembered that Rawlinson maintains the Asiatic origin theory, and holds that the route of migration from Asia to Europe was by the way of Asia Minor. ["Herodotus," Vol. II. p. 541.] Those who hold the Asiatic theory, however, no longer trace the route of migration through Asia Minor, for they are obliged to admit that *all the Aryans in Asia west of the Halys river are of European origin.* Sayce: "Elements of Comparative Philology," p. 389 *et seq.*

4 In "Ilios," p. 127.

5 "Griechische Geschichte," Berlin, 186[illegible] Band I. s. 26 *et seq.*

6 This Series, Vol. II. p. 798.

southward from their Baltic homeland, the first mixture with the Turanians would produce a people whose Aryan blood would be very weak. Such were the Pelasgians. As Aryan tribes spread to the west and southwest from the Baltic region, a similar mixture produced the Celts. On the east, the ancient Sarmatians represent just such a weak mixture of Aryan with a super-abundance of Turanian blood.

Ancient people were always on the move; and, as we shall see, the pressure of migration in Central Europe was always toward the south. As the population of Hellas was mixed again and again with purer Aryan blood from the north, a new and decidedly Aryan people appeared. These were the Hellenes, who derived their name from a mythical ancestor called Hellen. They early developed into three types, or confederacies of kindred tribes, known as Ionians, Dorians, and Aeolians. The Ionians appear to have preceded the others in point of time. Curtius, as just stated, makes them descendants of the Pelasgians,[1] whom they followed from isle to isle across the Aegaean even to the southwestern shore of Asia Minor, where they had established themselves long before the time of the Trojan war. Thus was Hellenic or Greek influence established over the islands of the Aegaean, and the coast of Asia Minor, as well as in the Hellenic peninsula, at a very remote period.[2] The Ionians receive frequent mention in the earliest parts of the Hebrew Scriptures under the name of Javan.[3] Professor Brugsch-Bey interprets the word *Hauneb*, that appears on the monuments of Egypt, at a time previous to the eighteenth dynasty (about 1700 B.C.), as "foreigners who chose their chiefs

[1] Curtius, Op. cit. s. 26. [2] Sayce: "Ancient Empires," p. 212.
[3] Genesis x. 2, 4; I Chronicles i. 5-7; Isaiah lxxvi. 19.

in order to accompany them on warlike expeditions . . . the inhabitants of the islands and coasts of the sea." Thus pointing directly to the early Greeks, probably the Ionians whose name has the significant meaning of "emigrants."

There was another route open for the descending Aryans to crowd over into Asia. This was by the way of the Hellespont. A Pelasgian[1] population was, no doubt, first developed over Thrace and the region between the Carpathian mountains and the Danube river. But, as wave after wave of Aryan tribes came pouring down from the Baltic homeland, the resident population in this region became pretty thoroughly Aryanized. The Thracians were, no doubt, more purely Aryan than the Hellenes.

The Aryans pressed onward across the Hellespont into Asia Minor, and there also arose a Pelasgic population. But the great Semitic empires toward the east and southeast, and Egypt on the south, were powerful enough to check this continual stream of Aryan migration, although the Aryans of Asia Minor and Europe receive mention among the prominent enemies of Egypt. The farther advance of Aryan migration in these directions being thus checked, there was developed a strongly Aryanized population in Western Asia Minor by frequent intermixtures with tribes coming later from the Aryan homeland. Indeed there seem to have been certain tribes of Germanized Thracians, known as Briges,[2] who crossed the Hellespont in such numbers that they formed in Asia Minor a powerful confederacy, or state, that has been called Phyrgia, that

[1] We use this term as indicating the vanguard of Aryan migration toward the south, and the population resulting from the first intermixture of Aryan and Turanian blood.

[2] Karl Blind (appendix 4, "Troja," p. 355) says: "The Macedonians who said 'Aprodite' and 'Bilippos,' for 'Aphrodite' and 'Philippos,' called the Phrygians, Brig, Bryg, or Brykai, but there is no doubt as to this name, Bryges, Bryk, or Fryk, having meant a freeman a

embraced a large portion of Asia Minor within its borders.[1]

That the Phrygians were descendants of Thracians who had crossed the Hellespont from Europe is now admitted by the majority of recent students in this field. Strabo[2] long ago declared this to be a fact. Recent study of their language confirms his statement, and their name shows their relationship to the old Germans, though it had been subjected to Thracian influence.[3] After settling the central portion of Asia Minor, the Phrygians began to spread toward the western coast. A portion of Northwestern Asia Minor about eight miles long by four miles broad possesses peculiar interest to the historian. This was the famous plain of Troy, that has witnessed so many changes in the history of the past. The northern part of the Troad is washed by the waters of the Hellespont. Across this strait, lies the Thracian Chersonese, a long, narrow peninsula stretching toward the southwest into the Mediterranean, as if to form an easy highway for migrating bands to enter Asia from the west, or to welcome Asiatic invaders into Europe.

The shores of the Aegaean on the west rise to an average height of one hundred and thirty feet above the sea level.[4] The various rivers of the Troad rise from the slopes of Mount Ida, whose various branches extend throughout that portion of Asia Minor known as Mysia.[5] The largest of these rivers is the Scamander, which in

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Frank.... I hold it possible that even Thrax, or Threik, as a Thracian was called by the Greeks, may be connected with Frakk, Frank, Phryg, or Frigg, and free or frei."

1 "Historical Geography," Vol. II. map no. ii.

2 vii. ch. 295; x. ch. 471.

3 Sayce: "Troja," p. xi; Blind: "Troja," p. 358.

4 Schliemann: "Troy and its Remains," p. 69.

5 Schliemann: "Ilios." New York, 1881, p. 68.

ancient times flowed directly past the walls of "sacred Ilios." The region of the Troad was once fertile, fruitful, and populous. Even in classical antiquity it supported at one time eleven cities and two villages. One of these cities whose acropolis stood on the hill of Hissarlik contained, according to estimate, over seventy thousand inhabitants. Were we to penetrate into the dim past of prehistoric times, we would discover that comparatively modern cities were built upon the ruins of seven prehistoric cities, a Lydian city, and three towns of the ninth century B. C.[1] The ruthless hand of time, however, has covered this once fruitful region with ruins and miserable villages, and, in places, has converted it into marshy, malarial breeding tracts.[2]

What scenes this region must have witnessed. The poets tell us that in olden times Jupiter sat on the highest peak of Mount Ida and witnessed the battles between the Greeks and the Trojans. The historian of to-day can see not only the strife between the Greeks and Trojans, but can also picture in his mind innumerable hosts of strange and restless people as they tramped in never ending armies across this highway between two continents. He will see vaster armies and witness fiercer battles than were witnessed by the gods of old, a never ending panorama of wealthy cities, invading hosts, slaughtered armies, smouldering ruins, and new and stronger walls successively rising upon the ruins of past grandeur. Sacred Ilios has been reclaimed and such is the story that she has to tell.

The Phrygians were the founders of ancient Ilios, whose acropolis stood on Hissarlik and whose territory spread away down upon the plain of Troy.[3] The most an-

[1] Schliemann: "Troja," New York, 1884, p. 345-6. [2] "Troy and its Remains," p. 71. [3] Sayce: "Troja," p. xi. Blind "Troja," p. 357-8.

cient records that we have referring to the ruin of that city are the Homeric poems—the Iliad and the Odyssey—attributed to the authorship of an ancient, blind poet who bore the name of Homer. But ours is an extremely skeptical age. The vague and highly improbably myths and stories, that formed the basis of all ancient history, have been questioned and cross questioned and sifted down in order to find facts upon which to base a reliable record of events. Much that was once accepted as history has been discarded as wholly unreliable.

In regard to these Homeric poems, Professor Sayce[1] says: "Herodotus must have understood by Homer all that mass of epic literature which in after times was called Cyclic, and distributed among various authors, together with the Homeric hymns . . . . . In their present form, the Iliad and Odyssey bear traces of the age of Pericles; and the mass of epic and didactic literature, which went under the names of Homer and Hesiod, must have been of slow growth. Homer is a name rather than a person, and '*homeros*,' 'the fitted together,' is applied by Euripides to the marriage-bond." Thus can we see only darkly through the mist that time has thrown around the name and labors of one whom the later Greeks held as almost sacred.

A decade and a half ago, the skeptical had condemned these Homeric poems as utterly unfounded, and some had come to regard the story of the ill-fated city of Ilios as the wild picture of the disordered imagination of the poet.

[1] "Herodotus," London, 1883, Book ii. chapter 53, note 5.

But, in later years, there came the archaeologist with his spade and cleared away the rubbish that had gathered around these old and storied cities. Behold the mythical clouds began to clear away, and there was revealed to the astonished world treasures and cities and records of forgotten times. Thus have "Blind Homer's" songs been proved to contain rich treasures of traditional lore, descriptive of real events of historical importance.[1] The Archaeologist was Dr. Henry Sehliemann, whose name will ever hold a prominent place among those of distinguished investigators. Being a faithful student of the Homeric poems, he located the site of ancient Ilios upon the hill of Hissarlik, in the center of the Troad. He began his excavations in 1871. At a depth of fifty-two and one-half feet, native rock was uncovered. As the excavators sank their shafts, and cleared away the rubbish, they penetrated stratum after stratum of ruins, each varying from the previous one in the date and character of the remains found. The acropolis of seven cities, that had successively crowned the sumit of the hill and as often fallen beneath the hand of the destroyer, were there unearthed. Each of these settlements must have preceded the following by quite a period of time. The five lowest were entirely prehistoric, for we have records of the existence of none of them except Ilios of the Homeric poems, the sixth was a Lydian settlement, and the seventh was "Classical Ilium.[2]

Of the seven settlements, that have at various times occupied the hill of Hisarlik and spread over the plain of Troy to the west, south, south-east, the second above native rock has the greatest interest for the historian, for it has

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[1] Contemporary Review, Dec. 1878.

[2] The Ilios of Homer is entirely distinct from "Classical Ilium," four cities intervened.

been proved that it was the sacred Ilios of the Homeric poems. The more recent settlements were mere villages when compared to it, and do not interest us. But around Ilios—the stories of whose destruction, as recited by the ancient bards, were wont to stir the assembled Greeks to the highest pitch of excitement—there will ever linger memories of ancient times most enchanting to the student of history. And now—just as historians were about to cast aside the traditions of these heroic times—"the light has broken over the peaks of Ida, and the long-forgotten ages of prehistoric Hellas and Asia Minor are lying bathed in it before us."[1] We are now able to glean some historical truths from what it was feared was only myth.

As we have said, it is now known and generally admitted that these Trojans were colonists, or at least descendants of the Phrygians;[2] and the Phrygians trace their lineage back, through the Thracians, to the great Teutonic family of the Aryan race.[3] But when the Phrygians sent their first colonists to settle at Hissarlik, they found it already occupied by a people whom they must have conquered. Then who were these first people who dwelt in the Troad and built the first acropolis at Hissarlik? The discoveries of Schliemann have proved that this first settlement must have existed for "a great number of centuries."[4] They had erected only two buildings, however, upon the hill, but the settlement must have extended over a large area to the west, south, and south-east of the plain of Troy.

By a comparison of the pottery found in this first settlement with what has been found in "the so-called tumulus of Protesilaos" on the European side of the Hel-

[1] Sayce: "Troja," ix.
[2] Above page 43. [3] Above page 71. [4] "Troja," p. 39.

lespont, it has been proved that "the first inhabitants of Hissarlik, the builders of its first city, must have come across the Hellespont."[1] This means a great deal to us, for it tells us that the builders of this first settlement were more or less Aryanized, and we have little hesitancy in classing them with the great, but mysterious, Pelasgic people that so early spread over Southern Europe.

Polished Axes from Hissarlik.

But the remains of this first settlement teach us many things. They carry us back to a time when the inhabitants of Asia Minor were battling with one another with rude stone impliments.[2] They were still in the Neolithic Age, but just merging into the Bronze Age, for there were found a few ornaments of copper or bronze, such as brooches, knives, etc., showing that they had a slight knowledge of metals.[3] Their weapons, however, were of stone, the most interesting of which were two polished stone axes as represented in the accompanying cut. Exactly similar

[1] Sayce, "Troja," p. x. [2] Sayce, Op. cit. p. xii.

[3] See Lenormant "Les Antiquities de la Troad," p. 11, quoted in "Ilios," p. 481.

axes have been found in Denmark, England, Germany, Livonia, Courland, Hungary, and many other localities in Europe. We are thus introduced to a time prior to the existence of the great empires of Asia Minor, perhaps even before the empire of the Hittites had risen.[1]

To what remote antiquity this all points! Pelasgians had become Aryanized to Phrygians; Phrygians had become Aryanized to Thracians. And this must have been the state of affairs at the close of the Neolithic Age. For we know that the Neolithic Age was just drawing to its close when the Phrygian tribes of Trojans descended upon the first Aryan (or Pelasgian) settlement of Hissarlik, conquered, and destoyed it, laying the foundation of the Homeric Ilios. Now the Thracians and, in their turn, the Phrygians must have developed into quite a powerful people before the first Phrygian colonists appeared in the Troad; and that means that the Aryans had already gained the ascendency throughout the greater portion of Southern Europe long before the close of the Neolithic Age.

Although at the beginning of the Neolithic Age, we are to suppose that the greater part of Europe was peopled by a Non-Aryan race, of which the Basques, Etruscans, and Finns are the remnants,[2] the ethnologist tells us that, during the Neolithic Age, the Celts spread over much of the territory that they occupied at the dawn of history.[3] They probably occupied Gaul and Britain during the ages of Polished Stone, Bronze, and Iron. Those tribes that were compelled to remain nearest the Baltic homeland became, from the beginning, more and more Aryanized by the constant encroachment upon their territory

[1] Above page 42. Sayce, Op. cit. p. ix.
[2] This Series, Vol. I. p. 209 *et seq.*
[3] Ibid. p. 214.

of the Germans. Thus, while most of the broad-headed skulls found in Neolithic caves are undoubtedly Celtic, there is a probability that some are Belgic Germans,[1] so that there were, no doubt, also Germans in Western Europe at the close of the Neolithic Age.

It is, of course, impossible to give dates at this period in Aryan history. It was at the close of the Neolithic Age.[2] With our present enlightenment on this subject, we can not point to a single region in Central Asia and say that we know that the ancestors of the Asiatic Aryans dwelt there in the Neolithic Age. We have no evidence whatever, that they were there when the other great Oriental empires arose. But in Europe, on the other hand, we know that Aryan migration toward the west and southwest had developed the great Celtic branch; that the southward course of migration had given rise to the mysterious Pelasgic branch, extending even to the confines of the Oriental world; and, if we had any records whatever of the movements of the Sarmatian tribes during this Age, we would find them pressing forward toward the shores of the Caspian Sea. Thus at the close of the Neolithic Age, the Celts, the Pelasgians, and the Sarmatians, as the vanguard of Aryan migration outward from the Baltic center of dispersion, shared among themselves the border-lands of the extent of Aryan possessions even as they did at the dawn of history.

Centuries then rolled away, during which time we have no information of the events that transpired among the various Aryan people. From the close of the Neolithic Age to the Heroic Age, they are almost lost to history. During all this time, the Germans must have

1 See description of the Belgae in Bohn's "Caesar," p. 545.

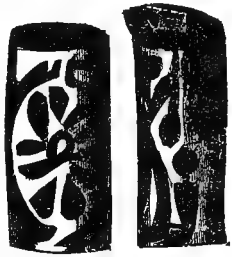
2 *Vide* This Series, Vol. I. p. 257 *et seq.*

kept pouring down into Thrace, and the Thracians into Greece and Phrygia. Tribes of Phrygians migrated into the Troad and laid the foundation of the Homeric Ilios. The Ionian Greeks spread over the isles of the Aegaean and founded many settlements on the coasts of Asia Minor. These foreigners took an active part in the affairs of the older world. They united their forces with the Hittites against Egypt;[1] and, for several dynasties, a number of Aryan tribes are powerful enough to receive distinct mention in Egyptian inscriptions among the powers that allied themselves against the rulers of the Nile region.

The Trojan children of the Phrygians played a more brilliant part in the history of that portion of the world than did the parent tribes. They founded their capital city upon the ruins of the Neolithic settlement, and there it stood for we know not how long. As restored by Dr. Schliemann, it has a wonderful tale to tell. It tells us of a former sacking many ages before its final ruin, for the Ilios that the Greeks burned was built on a partially ruined Ilios of an earlier date. Thus are we given an inkling to the foundation of the ancient myth, that the angry Hercules, on account of the deceit of Laomedon, had once captured and partially destroyed the city.[2] It is acknowledged to be the Homeric Ilios, for all the landmarks are there. The acropolis with its six palaces, surrounded by their Poseidonian walls of defense and filled with their treasures of gold, could have been none other than the home of the aged Priam. Thus does it prove true, that the "recent discoveries in the Troad show that Ilium was as real a place as Thebes."[3]

[1] This Series, Vol. II. p. 394.
[2] Grote: "History of Greece," Vol. I. p. 186.
[3] Sayce: "Comparative Philology," p. 319.

Among the souvenirs of ancient Troy so carefully preserved in the ruins of Ilios, as if for the enlightenment of our own favored nineteenth century, are some rare relics that tell us strange stories of past ages, long forgotten by historian and bard. When the spade of the archaeologist threw up from the deep trenches on Hissarlik, certain cylinders and whorls and images, they, falling at the feet of the discoverer, seemed to cast brilliant and penetrating rays of light upon the migrations and deeds of the past, rendered dim and even forgotten by the ages of time under which they had been buried. The first of these objects that interests us is a cylinder of blue feldspar, found by Dr. Schliemann at a depth of about thirty feet which, under the searching eye and keen mind of Professor Sayce,[1] has been made to reveal its story of the past. Some native artist has preserved for us his primitive skill by cutting on its surface "rude representations of a flower and a cartouche. The flower is of the old Babylonian type, but the cartouche reminds us of Egypt, and may possibly contain the name of the owner, symbolized by a flower tied with a string."[2] The tied string may represent a Cypriote character. But the main point for us to notice is that we have here "manifest indications of Babylonian influence."[3]



Cylinder of Felspar.

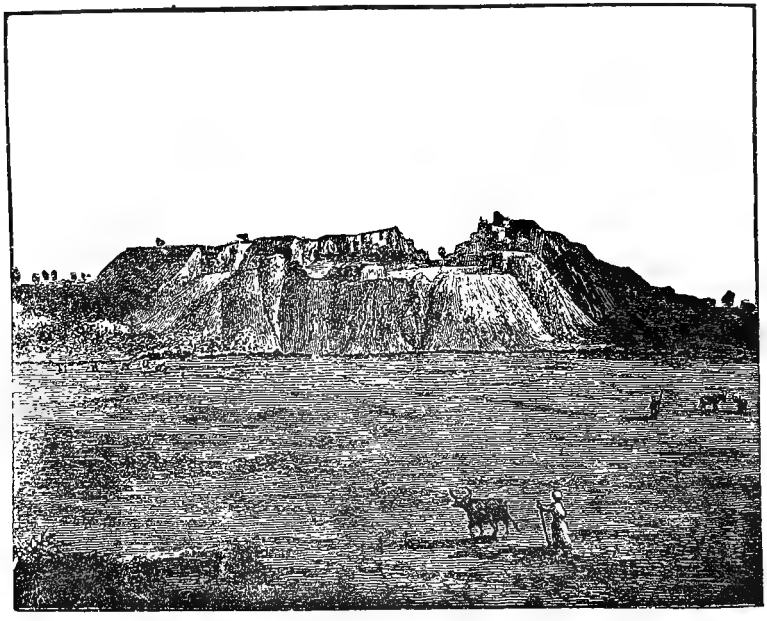
The next objects that attract our attention are a large number of whorls, seals, and pieces of pottery bearing inscriptions. Although we know next to nothing about the language of the Trojans,[4] still the inscriptions have inter-

1 "Ilios," p. 693. 2 Ibid.

3 Compare this with cut on page 383, Vol. II.

4 Sayce, Ibid. 374.

esting stories to tell us, for they carry us back to a time long prior to that when the Phoenician trader roamed over the seas at will, and visited every known portion of the world. We are thus told that, even at that time, the Aryans of Asia Minor had a written language, though it may have been but a rude forecast of the more perfect



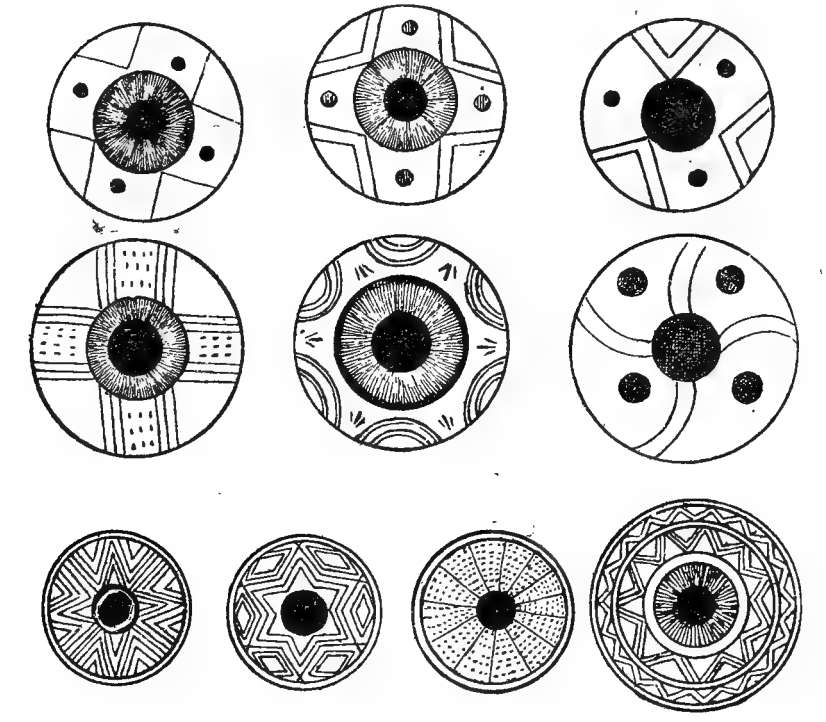
Hissarlik.

form that the Phoenicians themselves were destined to introduce.[1] It was a sort of syllabic form of writing, and goes by the name of Asianic syllabary, given it by Prof. Sayce. This form of writing was widely spread over Asia Minor and the isles of the Aegaean.[2]

Archaeologists are still trying to interpret these Trojan inscriptions, and we can not tell how soon they will

1 Taylor: "The Alphabet," p. 115-6.
2 *Vide* Inscription given Vol. II. p. 403.

read from them pages of history from the long forgotten past. For their interpretation, we are referred back to the time when the Hittite empire was in the height of its glory, and spread its influence over a vast region in Asia Minor between Babylonia and the smaller tribal districts along the western coast. They were the great tra-

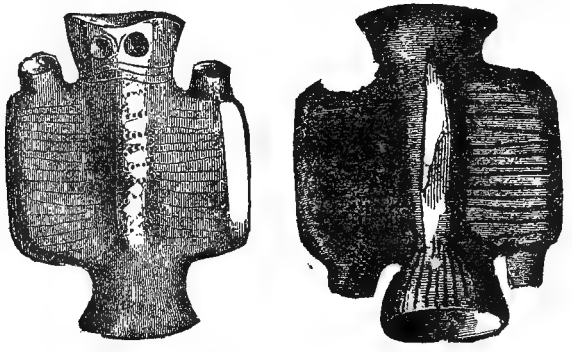


Whorls from Troy.

ders of the age; and it is due to them, that the culture of the East was transmitted to the less enlightened people of the West. The Trojans may not, then, have had direct intercourse with Babylonia, but may have received a knowledge of eastern culture as it came to them tinged with Hittite influence.

A few rude attempts at art were found in the burnt

city of Hissarlik. The most of the specimens that might be classed under that head consist of a rude draft of a pair of eyes, appearing on the pottery. The general appearance of these objects led Dr. Schliemann to class them all under the head of "Owl-headed" pottery. But there was also found a rude leaden image of some goddess that the Trojans worshiped. The discoverer of Ilios was inclined to identify it with the Greek goddess, Athene.[1] Prof. Sayce, after having pointed out the Babylonian and Hittite influence that had so much to do in molding the civili-



Owl-Headed Goddess.

zation of the Trojans, recognized, at once, the resemblance between this Ilian image and the representations of the great goddess of Carchemish, the Hittite capital.[2] The Trojans called her Ate, and the Hittites Athi. We are told that the "Owl-headed" vases also represented this same goddess. Her images occur all over Asia Minor and even appear at Mycenæ. Such was the modified Babylonian art, that spread over Western Asia, and along with it came the worship of the Babylonians as instituted at Carchemish. Thus should we notice the influence of the Turanian Hittites upon the culture, and especially upon

1 "Ilios," p. 153-6.

2 "Troja," p. xvii. and xviii.

the religion, of these primitive Aryan people. Though the former may have received their ideas from Semitic Babylonia, the entire religious belief of the Trojans was deeply colored by this Turanian religion.[1]

Such is our knowledge of the ancient Trojans. Though we may feel gratified by the remarkable strides that historians have made in the past few years in unraveling the mystery—that mystery that has ever veiled this storied land—yet it is humiliating to contemplate how little we, even now, know of the fleeting past, and the momentous events that have transpired. We begin to see through the veil darkly, and can indulge the hope, that it will not be many generations, before our scholars can read us a continuous history of these early times, from the many cylinders and tablets that are being unearthed in this interesting region, the cradle of Aryan civilization.

Now if we turn again to Europe, we will find that the more thoroughly Aryanized people of that continent were not entirely inactive. During the period of Trojan grandeur, the Aryans of Southern Europe were slowly, but surely, gathering ideas from the more advanced regions of the South and East. About the earliest evidence of an advance in culture that we have, is manifested in the great walls of defense, with which these herdsmen and husbandmen seem to have been forced to surround their tribal headquarters. So immense were the blocks of stone used for this purpose, that the ancients were wont to attribute the building of their walls to a race of giants, whom they called Cyclopes, hence we have the term "Cyclopean Walls." It is supposed that the oldest of these

[1] The above would seem to indicate that the tutelary goddess of Athens was of Turanian origin. Consult Lang: "Myth, Ritual and Religion," *cf.* Keary: "Primitive Belief." We have sought altogether too high a source for the gods of ancient Greece.

walls was built around the citadel at Tiryns in Argolis. Mycenæ had one, and Cyclopean walls formed a marked feature of Hellenic architecture of this period.

Writers do not as yet agree as to who the builders of the Cyclopean walls were. Many argue that the architects were brought from Asia. Professor Adler[1] argues that they were of Phrygian origin. Dr. Schliemann thinks that they were a "great Asiatic people, which about the middle of the second millenium before Christ covered the whole of the mainland of Greece, as well as the islands of the Ionian and Aegacan seas, with settlements, and which had already attained a high level of culture."[2] And again he says: "We may therefore assume, with great probability, that the gigantic walls of Tiryns were built by Phoenician colonists, and the same is probably the case with the great prehistoric walls in many other parts of Greece."[3] Here we are introduced to a new people who are taking part in European affairs; namely, the Phoenicians."[4]

In the ruins of Ilios, everything points to pre-Phoenician times.[5] The Hittites were the traders of its day, and we are to suppose that this later nation of merchants had not yet found their way to the shores of the Troad. But in Europe, there have nowhere been found any ruins that can be classed as pre-Phoenician.[6] The Phoenicians, then, must have appeared in numbers on the Mediterranean about the period of the fall of Troy, although single Phoe-

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1 Preface to Schliemann: "Tiryns," p. xlvii. *et seq.*

2 "Tiryns," New York, 1885. 3 Ibid. p. 28.

4 The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone regards these builders of the Cyclopean walls of Greece as a Poseidon worshiping race [*i.e.* Phoenician] related to the builders of the walls of Troy, thus connecting Greece and Troy. See preface to "Mycenae and Tiryns," p. viii.

5 Sayce: "Troja," p. xvi. and xvii.

6 Sayce: "Contemporary Review," December, 1878, p. 69.

nician traders had, no doubt, penetrated these regions long before that time. As private traders and daring navigators, their ships could have been no uncommon sight in Grecian harbors while yet the walls of Troy were standing. The pottery unearthed at Mycenae, though plainly of Babylonian origin, shows also a Phoenician influence. Yet Hittite traders may have early found their way across the Hellespont and down into Grecian lands,[1] and borne thence a knowledge of Oriental arts and manufacturers. We thus catch a glimpse of the wide spread traffic and the long and dangerous journeys of these harbingers of civilization in the very childhood of European nations. The dates of this period are indefinite, but they have been limited by the best authorities to between the eighteenth and fourteenth centuries B. C.,[2] and that is just the period when Assyria and Babylonia were at the head of the civilized world.

Prof. Sayce[3] recognizes two distinct periods in the development of Grecian art and culture. The first of these he calls Phrygian, and defines it as the period when Phoenician and Oriental influence was felt only indirectly, by intercourse with a few traders who periodically visited the cities of Greece. The second was a period when teachers and artisans were invited across the Aegaean to manage the construction of buildings and works of art. As early as the sixteenth century B. C., the Phoenicians had distinguished themselves as a great commercial people, trading between Assyria and Babylonia; and we can not believe that they were ignorant of the very localities where the purple-giving murex, cuttle-fish, and

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1 Ibid p. 67, 74.

2 Sayce, Ibid.; also Dr. Schlieman's "Mycenae and Tiryns," p. 9-18.

3 Op. cit.

slaves were most easily attainable.[1] But the wide extent and wonderful influence of the Phoenicians on the culture of early Europe has already been sufficiently discussed.[2]

The Phoenicians, accepting the Assyrians and Babylonians as their masters, brought to the people of Europe new ideas, and opened their eyes to a better mode of life. The Aryan mind grasped the new ideas at once. "They entered into other men's labors, and made the most of them." Their small village communities assumed the airs of cities; walls of defense were erected; elegant vases, fine linen, Oriental fabrics, and, indeed, all manner of foreign articles were eagerly purchased, with the produce of the land, or with captives procured in their tribal warfare. Finally, they began to import workmen, who, under the guidance of the Aryan master mind, soon improved upon their models. They built ships, and sought to compete with the Phoenicians upon the sea. Their own works of art came into demand in foreign markets, and Greece soon entered upon a career that was destined to place her at the head of the culture of the Medieval world.

In our haste to give Oriental civilizations credit for all they may have done to advance Aryan culture, we must not overlook the influence that was constantly exerted over these regions from the Baltic homeland. In their love for classical literature and art, scholars are wont to overlook the barbarous and inhuman practices of their particular favorites, the Greeks and Romans. As touched by the poet's art, the act of the great Agamemnon, in slaying his beautiful daughter, Iphigenia, to appease the anger of some goddess, has received plaudits from the literary world from that day to this; but the Druid priest, who, in the midst of the solitary forest, offered up his sac-

[1] Sayce, Ibid. p. 94. [2] See This Series, Vol. II. p. 733.

THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS—RECONSTRUCTION.

rifices to gain the favor of some angry deity for his suffering people, has been ranked as a murderer from the beginning. Let us not forget that, until their contact with Oriental civilizations had wrought wonderful changes in

Lions Gate at Mycenae.

classical people, they were as inhuman and barbarous as any other Aryan people. The Spartans can boast of neither humanity nor refinement.[1]

[1] Consult Lang: "Myth, Ritual and Religion," Vol. I. p. 265, *et seq.* where it will be seen that human sacrifice in Greece existed in *reality* to a late date, perhaps, even, to the time of the Roman conquest.

In the royal tombs at Mycenæ were found a number of amber beads.[1] A quantity of these were placed in the hands of a distinguished chemist, and were thus proved to be from the Baltic.[2] Among the specimens of pottery discoverd in the ruins of the first settlement at Tiryns[3] were found vases with "vertically bored excrescences on both sides," which are regarded as very rare and ancient specimens. Still similarly marked vases are found along the Upper Danube, and in many parts of the Baltic region.

Now, the German graves which contain pottery of this class are referred to the Neolithic Age.[4] We must admit, then, that these ancient Germans either manufactured this pottery or else had communication with parts of Greece during the period between the Neolithic Age and the second millennium B. C., back of which time Dr. Schliemann does not carry the date of the founding of Tiryns or Mycenæ. We can not, therefore, believe that these Germans had completely buried themselves in the forests of the north. They were, no doubt, as steadily, though perhaps not as rapidly, advancing in culture as their more favored kindred to the south.

As regards Europe proper, the first gleams of historic light seem to dawn on the shores of ancient Hellas, which has been called "a mountain region in the midst of the

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1 "Tiryns," p. 368.

2 This Series, Vol. I. p. 237; Vol II. p. 730.

3 There is a dispute about the date of this first settlement, but those who maintain that it is of recent date are in the minority. See Goodwin: "Nineteenth Century," 1886, p. 914 *et seq.* Also Stillman: "Nature," May 20, 1886.

4 Given as Prof. Virchow's opinion in "Tiryns," p. 63. See also same work p. 57 *et seq.*

sea."[1] Hellas proper is the southern portion of a great peninsula, the northern and eastern parts of which were possessed by the Thracians, Macedonians, and kindred tribes. Hellas was cut almost in two parts by an arm of the sea running in from the west. The southern, almost insular portion, was known as the Peloponnesus, and the narrow neck joining it to the mainland was the isthmus of Corinth. To the south of this isthmus, the peninsula of Argolis pushed off to the southeast into the Aegaean sea; to the north was the peninsula of Attica taking a like trend into the sea.

In ancient Hellas, were "Alpine landscapes in the neighborhood of the sea.... in Olympus, Parnassus and Taygetus.... Here steep rocky summits towered in peaceful splendor above groves of olive and laurel, there stately forests inclosed green land spaces,"[2] So varied is the climate that the land produces both temperate and tropical vegetation. "The beautiful pastures on the upland slopes sufficed for the breeding of cattle, the numerous, well-situated mountain terraces were favorable to the culture of the vine."[3] The streams varied from trickling rivulets in the summer to mountain torrents in the spring. Such was Hellas, and the hardy race she produced was not daunted by all the hosts of the Persian Emperor, but returned only defiance to threats of invasion. The country gave them fortifications, and an industrious and rigorous life gave the people the hardihood for which they were famous.

We are now approaching the borderland of history, though we have to deal with myths and legends. We

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1 Duncker: "History of Greece," Eng. ed. 1883, p. 2.

2 Duncker, Op. cit. 3 Ibid. p. 95.

must remember that thus far we have depended upon language, researches of the archaeologist, and Oriental inscriptions for our information. Though some of our best Egyptologists believe that the names of many Greek tribes are mentioned in the inscriptions of the Pharaohs, others doubt the accuracy of their interpretation.[1] We have now to deal with records even more uncertain. We have reached the period of myths and traditions which center around certain legendary heroes who, if they lived at all, lived so long ago that the ancients supposed that they were the children of the gods. This has been called the "Heroic Age."

Strange and ridiculous as it may appear to us, the heroic age was a time honored reality to the ancient Greeks and Romans. Even down to a very recent time, the mass of the people were firm believers in the genuineness of the mythical history that clusters around their ancestral gods and forms a part of their vestal worship. We must constantly bear in mind that every illustrious hero of this strangely unreal age thought it no sacrilege to claim relationship to some god or goddess of the Grecian pantheon. It was not considered as at all opposed to the ideal character of divinity for their revered gods to visit the earth and deflower the daughters of men. Neither did their goddesses, whose beauty, purity, and divinity inspired the sculptor's chisel, lose anything in the reverence, of the people by meeting earth-born heroes and bearing them children destined to accomplish deeds of renown. Thus the fertile minds of the ancients peopled the earth with a race of demi-gods, in whom they firmly believed and whom they devoutly worshiped.

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[1] See Sayce: "Contemporary Review," Dec. 1878, p. 74-5.

We must look to the bards of Hellas for the legends of this remote age. Since blind Homer has become such a visionary personage, we can not mention him as an historical character; but the great mass of poetry known as the Homeric poems is as interesting and valuable as ever as a treasure-house of this ancient folk-lore. One of the most ancient legends that interest us is that of the voyage of the ship Argo in search of the "golden fleece." Their vessel was constructed under the supervision of the goddess, Athene, tutelary goddess of Athens.

Argonautic Expedition.

It was manned by fifty heroes and demi-gods, among whom were Hercules, Theseus, Castor and Pollux, with Jason, heir to the chieftainship of Thessaly, in command. Perhaps we can conclude from this legend, that long voyages of discovery were of early occurrence among the Greeks,

and that they journeyed toward the east in quest of gold and precious metals.[1]

So in regard to the sacking of Troy or Ilios, we have no satisfactory records, for this event has ever been a most fruitful source of legends and myths. The spade of the archaeologist has proved that Ilios once was. That she had been twice conquered, once she was but partially destroyed, but at last she met the same sad fate of so many ancient cities. Thus far, we are in no doubt and so we admit that there is an historical foundation for the Homeric poems. We need not dwell upon the myths that cluster around the history of the rise and fall of this ill-fated city. The walls built by Poseidon; the sacking by the angry Hercules; Paris, the unfortunate castaway; the envious contest of the beautiful goddesses, Aphrodite, Here, and Athene; the rape of Helen, the "fairest of living women;" the vengeful Greeks, bent on rescuing the fair Helen and punishing her seducer; the Olympian gods in angry council over the affair; the returning heroes doomed to endless wanderings:[2] all savor too much of the unreal to claim space for detailed mention here; and these legends are, no doubt, familiar to all readers of the older school of historians. We must conclude with Dr. Webb,[3] that "the tale of Troy, as we have it in Homer, is essentially a poetic creation."

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1 This legend is given in full in Grote: "History of Greece," Vol. I. p. 231 *et seq.*; also "History of Ancient Geography," Vol. I. p. 19. See Richard Payne Knight: "Symbolical Language of Ancient Art," p. 168. Possibly in the legend of the Argonautic Expedition we have a myth to account for a survival from ancient Phallic worship. The ark plays an important part in all religions of the Orient, it probably represents the womb from whence all living things proceed. See Inman: "Ancient Faiths," Vol. I. p. 383 *et seq.*; Knight, Op. cit. p. 133; Higgins: "Anacalypsis," p. 128; Blavatsky: "Isis Unveiled," Vol. II. p. 444.

2 See Homer's "Odyssey" and Virgil's "Aenaeid."

3 "An Introduction to Homer," Boston, 1877, p. 147.

It may be of interest to us, however, to note how faithfully the poet portrays the life and culture of the

Return from Troy.

the times. His characters are all heroes and demi-gods. There were Menelaus, husband of the fair Helen, the great Agamemnon, the wise Nestor, the wily Odysseus,

and the powerful warriors, Ajax and Achilles. Agamemnon was the chosen leader, yet he dared not act before he had called a council of the chieftains. In this council, all the chieftains spoke with as much freedom as the commander, and they did not hesitate to denounce him in the boldest manner. His authority was only nominal, for he seems to have had no power to compel obedience. Pouting Achilles could lie unmolested in his ships, regardless of his superior's commands, as well as the peril of the Grecian cause, just on account of a quarrel between himself and Agamemnon.[1] This all points to a loosely organized tribal state of government, where every chieftain ruled his own tribe independent of any superior authority.[2]

Herodotus but echoed the sentiments of his day, when he makes the Persians say: "To steal women is the deed of knaves, but to hastily seek vengeance for those who have been carried off is foolish."[3] So that it is improbable that the earlier Greeks should raise such a stir about a single woman, even were she the fairest of the sex. The poet's story is, probably, but the solar myth of the strife between light and darkness retold, with perhaps a slight historical foundation. "Some memorable capture of a town in the Troad had probably been made by Greek warriors."[4] We would go even further, and surmise, that it was one of those great periodical migrations of the Hellenes into Asia Minor, when the pent up forces of Aryan migration burst forth with renewed vigor, and the waves flooded the entire eastern shores of the Mediterranean and even laved the feet of the Pyramids of

1 "Iliad," Book i.
2 This Series, Vol. II. p. 179 *et seq.*
3 Book i. chapter 4.
4 Webb, Op. cit.

Egypt, retreating before the armies of Rameses III. Some of the chieftains, after years of wandering, may have found their way back to their homelands only to find that they had sold their birthright for a mess of pottage, and to sink beneath the hands of the assassin.

Historians allow us only four centuries of time between the destruction of the second city of Hissarlik, the fated Ilios,[1] and the first date that appears in Grecian

Trojan War Heroes.

history.[2] In that comparatively brief period of time, are crowded events momentous indeed to the population of Greece. There occurred the building of temples and the establishment of councils. There occurred wars and vast migrations. The populations of Epirus and Thessaly were displaced by invading tribes from the north. The early Dorian territory was also depopulated, and all of Upper Hellas was given a new population that flocked downward

[1] 1200 B. C.; above p. 42, note 2.

[2] The first Olympiad, 776 B. C.

from that ever swarming Aryan hive in northern Central Europe. The Dorians entered the Peloponnesus, and the earlier dwellers there were either Dorianized, enslaved, or driven out upon the islands of the sea. The western coast of Asia Minor was finally repopulated by tribes of Aeolians, Ionians, and Dorians from the opposite coast of Hellas. The Phoenicians planted their colonies along the Mediterranean shores, and even built commercial towns in Greece itself. But, as far as Greece was concerned, they came, performed their mission as harbingers and messengers of a greater civilization, and passed away[1]—all within this period.

The Homeric poems grew during this era. The great epics—the Iliad and Odyssey—have ever since furnished models for the poets of all nationalities. This period also witnessed the introduction of the Greek alphabet, and thus the foundation of a literature, in the scope and perfection of which Greece for many centuries led the world. We seek in vain for more than traces of all these changes. History is all but silent regarding them. A few legends and their stories are told; the growth of language adds its mite; and the spade of the archaeologist brings its tribute. Thus do we glean the seeming facts and shape the records of a great nation through four centuries of its childhood. The rest is buried in a long forgotten past, which may, perhaps, never be recalled. "Our clock strikes when there is a change from hour to hour; but no hammer in the horologue of Time peals through the universe, when there is a change from Era to Era. Men understand not what is in their hands; as a calmness is a characteristic of strength, so the weightiest causes may be most silent."[2]

Should we attempt to compare ancient Hellas with

[1] Grote, Vol. III. p. 270. [2] Carlyle.

modern nations, we would be surprised at its almost insignificant territory. Being about two hundred and fifty miles long and with the average breadth of less than one hundred and eighty miles, it covered an area about the size of Portugal. Still how great an influence it has exerted in the world's history! Many volumes have been written, relating in the minutest detail the myths and legends and songs of the childhood of this great people. But all this is worthless when we seek facts upon which to build history.

The Greeks were the first European Aryans (if we exclude the Phrygians and Trojans) who came into prominence. They were the first to mingle with the civilized nations of the East; and, being ready imitators and remarkably ingenious, they not only adopted the civilization of the East, but finally carried it to a remarkable degree of perfection. Much of the art and culture that has been called Hellenic is, as we have seen, only modeled after foreign masters. This is true also in religion. Some of the gods and many of the practices that the Phoenicians had adopted in their intercourse with Egypt and Persia, were transmitted by them to the ever receptive Greeks. We must not set too high a value on Aryan religion. Human sacrifices, polygamy, and mutilation of the bodies of captives and criminals were practiced by the Greeks as well as other people. Only by slow degrees and after a long time were such practices discarded.[1] Through all ages it seems to have been characteristic of the Aryan mind to glean new ideas from all sources. Of knowledge, habits, and culture, they rejected what was offensive or

[1] See Lang: "Myth, Ritual, and Religion," London, 1887, Vol. I. chapter vi.

corrupting, and carried forward to perfection what was enlightening, ennobling or refining.

When history finally dawns upon Greece, we find that land peopled by tribes who claimed descent from one common ancestor,[1] and recognized "fellowship of blood; fellowship of language; fixed domiciles of gods and sacrifices, common to all; and like manners and customs."[2] The majority of ancient historians, including Herodotus[3] and Thucydides,[4] believed that there was a time when different languages were spoken in the various parts of Greece; but, during historical times, the Greek language has been universally used throughout Hellas. As we would suppose, however, in a tribal state of society, there were many dialects, principal among which were the Doric, Aeolic, and Ionic. Each tribe had its peculiar dialect, though the divergences were not such as to prevent every Greek from understanding every other Greek. This points to a time when a common mother language was spoken by the Hellenic tribes. This language was different, though cognate with the primitive Latin tongue.

Politically the Hellenic tribes were universally independent of one another. Athens was only one of a number of Ionic cities, each of which regarded itself as free from all manner of political servility. As regards dialect,[5] the various political communities of Attica were closely allied. So likewise all Greece was united in the worship of certain deities. But politically there was no unity in ancient

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1 Hellen.

2 Grote, Op. cit. p. 237.

3 Herodotus, i. 57-8.

4 Thucydides, i. 3.

5 Grote says: "There was no such thing as one Ionic dialect... The Ionic dialect of grammarians was an extract from Homer, Hekataeus, Herodotus, Hippocrates, etc.; to what living speech it made the nearest approach amidst these divergencies, which the historian has made known to us, we can not tell."

Greece. More recent research in the field of ancient society, enables us to clearly understand society in ancient Greece. It was simply tribal society. A brief study of it has already been made.[1] We need simply recall, that each tribe was independent, and that the several divisions of a tribe allowed no interference in their internal affairs. As each important city in ancient Greece was the headquarters of a tribe, we understand why there was no connecting bond between them, and why it was so difficult for a resident of one city to acquire rights in another; it could only be done by tribal adoption. Only at a later date were confederacies formed. At an extremely early date, however, both at Athens and at Sparta, some tribes, probably Pelasgic, had been reduced to tribute.

The Greeks were further, to a great extent, religiously united. Were we to seek a date commemorated by the founding of the Delphian temple to Apollo, we would loose ourselves amidst the shadows of antiquity. It stood on the slopes of Parnassus before Homer sang of the wrath of Achilles.[2] Even before the return of the Heracleids, the Amphictyonic council was wont to assemble and deliberate for the protection of this sacred temple and the rich gifts, that had at that time, even, been brought from the ends of the world[3] and dedicated to that all-wise god.

Long before the first date appears in Grecian history, the priestess of Apollo was wont to enter the caves of Parnassus and listen to the will of the gods in regard to the affairs of men. Even at the dawn of legendary history, no great enterprise was undertaken without first

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1 This Series, Vol. II. p. 182 *et seq.*

2 "Iliad," ix. l. 504.

3 Smith: "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities."

consulting the Delphian oracle in regard to the success of the undertaking. In later times, the Greeks founded colonies only under the approval of Apollo, as manifested through the priestess at Delphi. Lycurgus sought the aid of the Delphian oracle before he prepared his laws for Sparta.[1] In still later times, rulers and statesmen from Rome, Egypt, and Asia, sought advice from Delphi,

The Priestess of Apollo at Delphi.
[*Vide* Vol II. p. 328.]

and acted accordingly. Here was the spot in all the world most favored by the gods. This, according to the ancient legend, was the spot chosen by Apollo himself, as his favorite resort. Here, the ancients thought the ear of that god could be reached with least effort and their petitions

[1] Grote, Vol. II. p. 253.

meet with greatest favor, and so, from the earliest times, they flocked hither to listen to the will of the gods.

Now, there was, no doubt, a time when this place of worship was a simple, local shrine,[1] and it must have taken a long time to bring it into national prominence. But finally it came to be known all over Hellas. The rich gifts, that were brought as propitiatory offerings to the gods, accumulated to such an extent, that fears were entertained for the safety of these treasures. So we find, even at the very beginning of Grecian history, that certain twelve of the numerous Hellenic tribes had formed a league for the protection of the temple and treasures of the Delphian Apollo.[2] This league was called the *Amphictyonic Council.* Its origin extends so far back in time, that the legend making Grecians were wont to attribute its organization to a mythical personage, Amphictyon, whom they made a brother of Hellen, the so-called ancestor of the Hellenes.

The word "Amphictyon" means a gathering of friends, or neighbors.[3] It is a noteworthy fact, that only such Hellenic tribes as dwelt in the neighborhood of Delphi and Thermopylæ before the Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus, were represented in this league. Representation was also according to tribes, and not according to cities. Athens was placed on an equality with all other Ionian towns. So, likewise, Thebes was one of several Bœotian towns. Each tribe had two votes in the deliberations of the council, and the small towns were entitled to an equal voice with those that were known in historic times only as large cities. Some of the tribes that were co-powerful with the

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1 Strabo, book ix. chapter iii. 7. 2 Strabo, ix. iii. 7-8.

3 For a deeper meaning of the first syllable, *Am*, see Higgins: "Anacalypsis.

Ionians and Bœotians are only known to us as subordinate to the rule of others that were also members of this league.[1]

In the council, however, the subordinate Perrhæbians had two votes that proved as weighty as the two votes cast by the ruling Thessalians. Thus we see that all this evidence points to a very early period in the history of Greece. It leads us back to a time prior to the return of the Heracleids; to a time, in fact, when Athens, Sparta, and Thebes were not so much more powerful than their neighboring towns as to be deemed worthy of special notice; also to a time when the five dependent tribes represented in the league were equal in strength and liberty to their later masters, the Thessalians.

This much, then, does the Delphian oracle reveal to us in regard to the history of Hellas in the past. We are taught that even before the dawn of history, neighboring tribes were accustomed to hold councils to deliberate upon their common interests. These associations were not confined to this particular league, but there were a number of less prominent Amphictyons, that had their special places of assemblage throughout Greece and her colonies. The Dorian, Ionian, and Aeolian settlements of Asia Minor, each had their league that assembled at stated intervals, at a certain place, in honor of some god. There were others in Hellas itself.[2] The great Amphictyonic council, however, met twice a year; in the spring, at Delphi, in honor of Apollo, and, in the autumn, near Ther-

1 The twelve mentioned as members of the Amphictyonic council are "Thessalians, Boeotians, Dorians, Ionians, Perrhaebians, Magnetes, Locrians, Oetaeans, Achaeans, Phocians, Dolopes, and Malians. Perrhaebians, Magnetes, Achaeans of Phthiotes, Malians and Dolopes were in the state of irregular dependence upon the Thessalians.

2 Grote, Vol. II.

mopylæ, in the "second precinct of Demeter Amphictyonis."

At first, the assembly consisted of little more than delegates from the separate tribes; but later, these representatives were followed to the place of assemblage by large concourses of people who came together for purposes of trade and sacrifice, or to witness the games that were made a part of each festival from very early times. When, in historic times, the Pythian games came to be celebrated at Delphi, the roads and by-ways leading from the remotest corners of Greece were crowded with pilgrims, both on foot and in their magnificent chariots drawn by their finely caparisoned steeds, destined to contend in the races for the honor-bearing prize, a wreath of wild olive.[1]

We must remember that the Greeks, in common with all early people, were still in a tribal state of society when their really historical period begins. While we can speak of them, as we have above, as Dorians, Ionians, and Aeolians, we must not forget that these were only the ruling confederacies. There were many, and different, tribes still dwelling in the Peloponnesus, but so much weaker and inferior to their Dorian masters as to have remained buried in oblivion. The tribes that occupied Hellas had, like all European Aryans, already reached a social development, in which the family was recognized, and the village community was the center of governmental life. They already had their walled towns, but Athens and Sparta had not yet attained the power and grandeur that characterized them later[2].

The majority of their towns were without walls and

[1] These games will be more fully described later.

[2] Grote, Op. cit. p. 247.

scatteringly inhabited; and, according to Thucydides, they regarded it as contributing to their glory to plunder their weaker neighbors.[1] Through fear of being assaulted by pirates, who swarmed the seas, the most of the early villages were located at a distance from the coast.[2] But when the people became more wealthy, through their commercial relations with other countries, they built walled towns on the sea-coast and easily defended isthmuses. In the summer, the mountain slopes were covered with flocks and herds, and all tillable lands were cultivated like gardens. Their products were wheat, barley, flax, wine, and oil.[3]

Although the year 776 B. C. furnishes us a starting point in Grecian chronology, for two centuries more we are left to grope about in the darkness of Grecian history, with only here and there a stray ray of light to guide our uncertain steps. Some events, that ripened into historical facts of greatest moment, sprang into life during the uncertain century preceding the first Olympiad. During three centuries,[4] we are constantly introduced to past scenes, where the historical and legendary meet on nearly equal grounds. It was during the early part of this period, that the semi-mythical character, Lycurgus, existed and gave to Sparta laws remarkable for their originality and severeness.[5]

It was during this period, that the Dorian invasion

1 Book i. 5. 2 Ibid. chapter vii.

3 Grote, Op. cit. 230.

4 One preceding and two following the first Olympiad.

5 Plutarch says concerning Lycurgus [ch. 1] that there is so much uncertainty about him that scarcely anything is said by one historian which is not contradicted by the rest. The conflicting authorities are Aristotle, Eratosthenes, Apollodorus, Timaeus, Herodotus, and Xenophon. O. Müller sums the whole account we have of him in the statement that "we have absolutely no account of him as an individual person." "Dorians," Vol. I. p. 152. This Series, Vol. II. p. 220.

of Peloponnesus was brought to a close by the conquest of Messena by Sparta. It was during this period, that the tribal villages of ancient Greece first grew into importance as cities. It was a period of tyrannies, when ambitious men usurped the ruling power in nearly all the tribes of Hellas. Thus tribal life was largely broken up, and subject tribes came forward to demand some share in the government. This period was also distinguished by the extension of the circumference of Grecian territory to its greatest limit under Hellenic rule, by extensive colonization along the shores and upon the islands of the Mediterranean.[1] The onward march of Aryan migrations had not yet ceased, and the crowded cities of Hellas planted colonies on foreign shores; and, they, in turn, became independent Hellenic cities

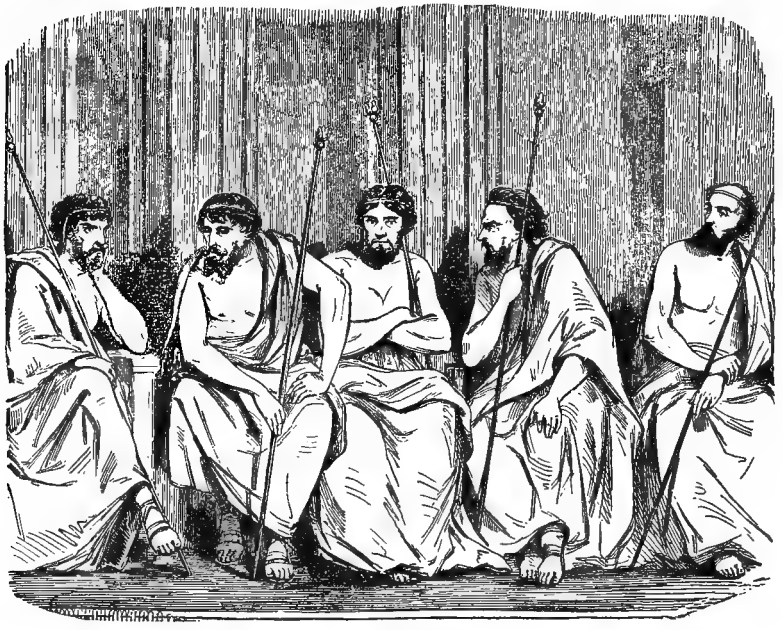
These three centuries witnessed the gradual rise of the Spartans. Sparta was situated among the mountains, in the heart of Peloponnesus. This was one of the points early occupied by the Dorians when they made their appearance in Peloponnesus. It is now generally supposed, that the Dorians united with the Aetolians crossed the Corinthian Gulf. The Artolians took possession of the fertile plains of Elis, but the Spartans passed on to the plains of Poloponnesus proper. They could not have been very numerous or powerful, and seem to have consisted of two bands, the Spartans proper and the Messenians. We have seen reasons in a former chapter to conclude that the Spartans consisted of five tribes.[2] When they reached the location of ancient Sparta, they built each their tribal city, five in all, unwalled and unadorned, at a distance from the sea

[1] It must be remembered that Philip of Macedon and his son, Alexander the Great, were not Hellenic Greeks.

[2] Vol. II. p. 184.

coast, shut off from all risk of invasion by almost impracticable mountain roads. The band of Messenians pushed on further southwest, and established themselves not far from the border line of Arcadia, with whom they lived in peace.

On the eastern side of the Peloponnesus, another, though independent, invasion was in progress. Certain tribes of Dorians were advancing upon the native villages of Corinth



The Five Ephors

and Argos. There is every reason to believe, that these attacks were made from the sea. But we know that the Dorians finally gained possession of both towns and formed settlements there. Corinth was located on the narrow isthmus that joined Upper Hellas to the Peloponnesus. Argos was situated at the head of the gulf that separated the peninsula of Argolis from the mainland. This all happened during the first century after the fall of Troy. The

 CROESUS ON THE FUNERAL PYRE.

Spartans and Messenians were for several centuries close friends and allies. They were alike powerful at the Olympic festival, and had even erected a common shrine to Artemis Limnatis.

Though the Spartans entered their land as conquerors, and the Messenians forced the natives to an alliance, they found life among a strange people full of risk and contention. They, therefore, grew into power very slowly. Messena never attained the strength of her neighbor and after

Hoplites.

rival and conqueror. Though they reached their homes very early in the twelfth century B. C., it was not until the close of the ninth century, that Sparta became powerful enough to extend its conquests beyond a very limited area. About fifty years before the first Olympiad, there was said to rule at Sparta a chieftain by the name of Teleclus who claimed to trace his descent from Hercules. This was about the time that Sparta was given the laws of Lycurgus, and, no doubt, had begun to feel the benefits of these stringent enactments.

The result of Sparta's laws was the formation of a powerful army. Every man was physically perfect and trained to endure all manner of hardships. A military training began at the age of seven, and no man was exempt until he had reached his three score years. Now, as an indication of Sparta's weakness up to this time, we are told[1] that during the three and one-half centuries that the Dorians had occupied the five villages at Sparta, there had existed a number of independent native tribes to the south, one of which, Amyclae, was only two and one-half miles from the Spartan headquarters. It was not until the time of Teleclus that these towns were conquered and made a part of Spartan territory! Not until this occurrence did Messena and the balance of the Peloponnesus begin to be fearful of Spartan supremacy.

For the ruling power in the Peloponnesus during the entire period of three centuries,[2] we are to look to Dorian Argos. This was her period of conquest and glory. As soon as her city became filled with inhabitants, an expedition was sent out to conquer and possess some neighboring villages. Thus did Argos establish colonies at Kloenae, Phlius, Sicyon, Epidaurus, Troezen, and Aegina, and make herself mistress of all the neighboring towns. Herodotus claims for her the sovereignty of the whole of the eastern Peloponnesus, Cythera, and other islands. Argos was the metropolis of Greece, and so continued until the Spartan armies, by mere physical superiority, gained supremacy in Hellas.

Argos seems to have reached the height of glory and power under the reign of the tyrant, Pheidon, who seized the government soon after the first Olympiad.[3] He

[1] Grote: "Greece," Vol. II. p. 329.

[2] Herodotus, i. 82.

[3] 770-730 B. C.

even had the effrontery to claim, as right of descent from Hercules, the privilege of presiding at the Olympian games; so at their eighth celebration, he appeared with an army, and took charge of the festival.[1] The insult was afterward punished by the combined armies of Elis and Sparta.[2] This may have been the prime cause of the enmity between Sparta and Argos. The most memorable act of Pheidon is yet to be mentioned. He caused the first coins to be struck at Aegina, and established a system of weights and measures, called the Aeginaean scale,[3] that came into general use throughout the greater part of Hellas. The Ionian Greeks modified this system and introduced the Euboeic scale which finally came into more universal use. Pheidon was the last ruler of prominence at Argos.

While Argos was enjoying her supremacy, the Spartans and the Messenians had become open enemies. About 743 B. C., they came to open hostilities; and, for the following three-fourths of a century, an almost continual warfare existed between them. The cause of this hostile state of affairs is attributed to a dispute in the neighborhood of the common shrine that stood on the borders of the two countries. The Peloponnesus, in the latitude of these two cities, is about eighty miles across from sea to sea. The border line between the two could not have been more than twenty miles from either.[4] During the seventy-five years of contention, Sparta was on the whole the stronger, and, finally, about 668 B. C., she succeeded in re-

1 Strabo, viii. 358.

2 The Elians had for a long period been given the honor of presiding at this festival, as it was celebrated on their territory.

3 Grote, Op. cit. p. 318.

4 It is evident, then, that this famous war, seventy-five years in duration, must have been a sort of tempest in a tea-pot.

ducing the Messenians to complete subjection. Her way was now clear for the conquest of the balance of the Peloponnesus, and her armies did not rest until this object was accomplished.

It was not until after the conquest of the Messenians by Sparta that Athens came into prominence. About 624

Solon Dictating his Laws.

B. C., there was introduced the Draconian code of laws, which were so severe that they were said to have been written in blood.[1] Almost every crime was made punishable by death. Thirty years later, Solon was elected Archon[2] and distinguished himself by the capture of Sal-

[1] But as to the meaning of this tradition, see Vol. II. p. 219.
[2] Ibid. p. 192.

amis, which was at that time under the control of Megara. That placed him in a position to have made himself tyrant of Athens. He was urged by his friends to do so, but chose rather to uphold the existing form of government.

During the season of his popularity, he was urged to draft a code of laws for Athens. The government promised to adopt and uphold for ten years his laws should he do so. The result of his efforts was the great Solonian code,[1] written on tablets,[2] which were ordered to be placed in the market place where all could read them. Then, so runs the tradition, in order to avoid being annoyed by clamors for changes and requests to repeal these laws, Solon absented himself from his country for ten years. It was during this time, that, traveling from country to country, he was invited to visit Crœsus, then ruling Sardis. Tradition asserts that he viewed the treasures of this richest of living men, but gave great offense by claiming that no one could be sure of happiness before the end of life.

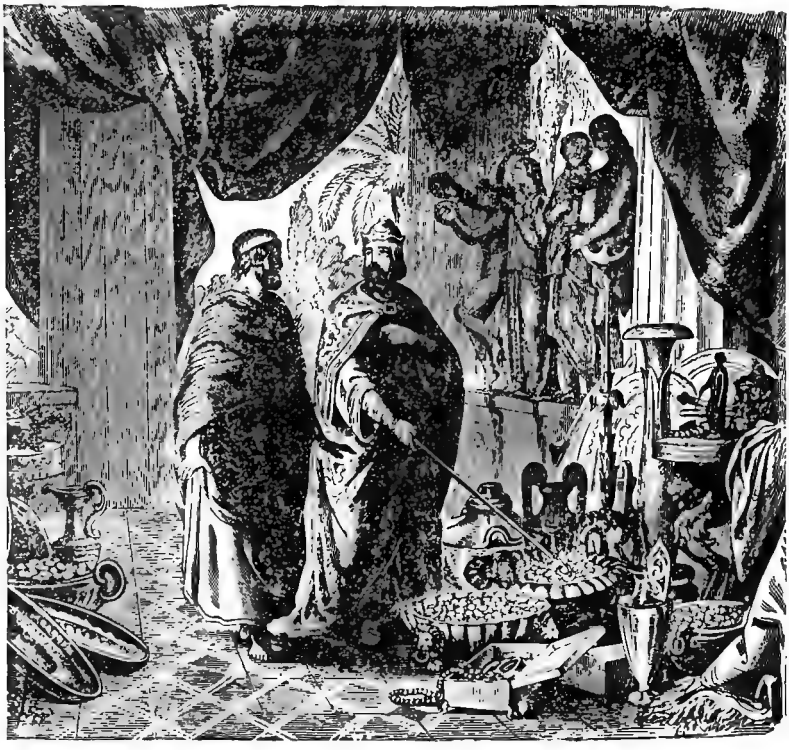
An apochryphal story is told by Greek writers of a happy use afterward made by Crœsus of this remark by Solon. The story runs, that when Cyrus the Great was consolidating, into one harmonious whole, the petty Aryan states of Western Asia, he conquered Crœsus and condemned him to death. He was already placed on a funeral pyre, and the cruel flames were already lit, when Crœsus thinking on Solon's words exclaimed, "O Solon, Solon!" An opportune storm extinguished the flames, and the whole story coming to the ears of Cyrus, made so great an impression on him that he gave Croesus his life and

[1] For a full discussion of this code, see Vol. II. p. 192 *et seq.*

[2] Grote, Vol. III. p. 133-4.

restored him, in a measure, to influence and power. This illustrates how fact, tradition, and myth intertwine in Greek history.

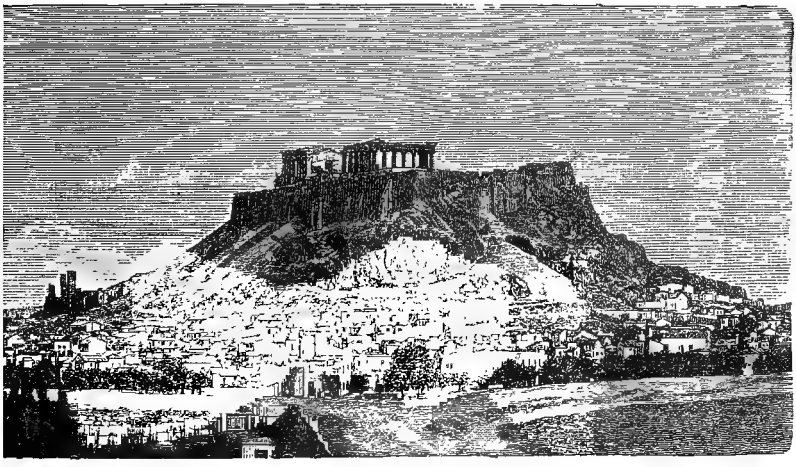
We must not forget that Athens and Sparta were not the only powerful cities in Greece. There seems to have



Solon and Croesus.

been about one prominent city in each of the small states into which Hellas was divided. Now in early times, these settlements seem to have been merely tribal headquarters, or the headquarters of a confederacy of tribes, where dwelt the supreme chieftain, and, as in the case of Sparta, the chieftains and house-fathers of several tribes. Thus was often planted the germ of a powerful city. Argos

was tribal headquarters for Argolis; Sparta, for Laconia; Athens, for Attica; Corinth for the state of that name; Thebes, for Bœotia; and Chalcis, for Euboea. On the coast of Asia Minor, the prominent cities were Myletus and Ephesus in Ionia. Smyrna was first Aeolic but afterward captured by Ionians. The Island of Rhodes was occupied by Dorians. The remaining states and settlements of Greece play a very insignificant part in the world's history, except it be Thessaly and certain colonies founded by the cities already mentioned.



Ancient Athens.

The Greeks at an early date sent out numerous colonies, and thus extended Greek influence and culture, and helped forward the nascent civilization in Europe. Near home Corinth planted a colony at Megara and another on the island of Corcyra.[1] The same year, she sent a colony into Sicily that founded the city of Syracuse. She was preceded in occupying Sicily by one year by an Ionic colony at Naxos sent out by Chalcis in Euboea.[2] Megara was behind Corinth only six years[3] in establishing

[1] 734 B. C. [2] 735 B. C. [3] 728 B. C.

a colony in Sicily, which was called by the name of its mother colony. Then colonization passed northward into Italy, and Sybaris,[1] Cratona,[2] and Messenia were founded. Cumae, on the western coast of Italy, and Ancona on the eastern coast are said to be Greek colonies, though the dates of their foundation are lost in the gloom of antiquity.

The Phocean Greeks from Asia Minor established a colony at Massilia on the southern coast of Gaul in 600. B C. which became a very important trading post. But Phoenician power was so great along the coast of Spain, that the Greeks found little encouragement to settle there. Encouraged by King Psammetichus, some Ionian Greeks founded a colony on the west branch of the Nile in the seventh century B. C. and called it Naucratis.[3] Miletus, and Megara vied with each other in exploring the shores of the Exuine Sea. The latter, in the seventh century, planted colonies at Chalcedon and Byzantium, while the former had sought to command the entrance to the Euxuine by establishing settlements at Abydus and Cyzicus.[4] There were many other smaller colonies planted by the Greeks during this period, but we have mentioned the most important. We have seen that this was a period of growth and spread of Aryan people. Wherever these colonies were planted, there is a hidden story of conquest, where an earlier people were either forced out of their homes to go and prey upon a weaker race, or else the men were reduced to slavery, and the women were made the

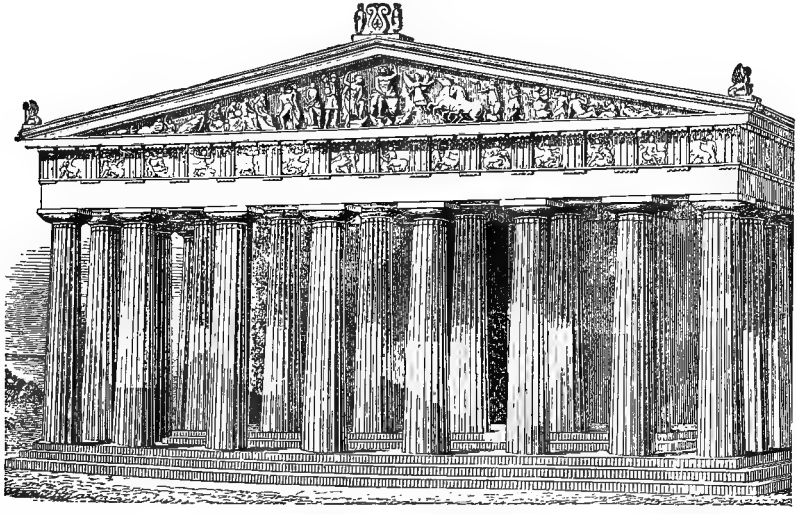
1 720 B. C. 2 710 B. C.

3 For recent researches as to location of Naucratis, see "Contemporary Review," July 1885.

4 For fuller information regarding this colonization scheme, See Bunbury: "History of Ancient Geography," Vol. I. p. 91-119; also Freeman: "Historical Geography of Europe," Vol. I. p. 47 *et seq.*

wives of the conquerors. Such was the history of conquest and colonization in ancient times.

While the population of Hellas was outstripping the surrounding Aryan people in growth and culture, we must not forget that these other tribes did not remain stationary. The power and importance of the early Thracians have already been dwelt upon.[1] During this entire period and for many centuries previously, they must have been



The Parthenon at Athens.

also advancing in culture, and had doubtless attained no inconsiderable stage of enlightenment. The historical and literary world has been for so long a time blinded by the glitter of Grecian later culture, that scholars have had little time and less inclination to study Thracian antiquities. But we doubt not that discoveries will in the future be made that will result in a revolution in the history of Southern Europe. In the time of Strabo, the military force of Thrace was established at two hundred and fifteen thousand men. And so, in earlier times, it must have

1 Above page 41.

been a rival in power to any European nation or confederacy.[1] They had already, in the sixth century B. C., adopted an alphabet and introduced coined money.[2] Their alphabet was akin to the Runic alphabet of the northern regions, and inscriptions are being found, that, when interpreted, may place the northern Aryans in a more enviable light as compared to those of the southern peninsula.

The Danube and the Dnieper, two great highways of travel and commerce, were used from very early times. The Greek colonists about their mouths seem to have been attracted there by the profits of this trade; and, in the days of Herodotus, merchantmen were accustomed to run up these rivers for a distance of five or six hundred miles,[3] while the distance in a straight line between the Baltic and the Black Seas is only about seven hundred miles. A spearhead, bearing an inscription of very ancient type, has been found at Volhynia, showing that the alphabet had been transmitted into the Baltic region at a very early date. Now the Thracians and Germans could not have been rude and painted savages with their alphabet, their coins, and their traffic with southern countries.

Along the northern shores of the Black Sea to the east of the Thracians, dwelt the Cimmerians, who were almost as mysterious a people as the Pelasgians. Reasoning from the similarity of names they have been connected with the Cymric Gauls of Western Europe. Indeed Canon Rawlinson[4] speaks of them fleeing westward in the

[1] Rawlinson: "Herodotus," Vol. III. p. 216.

[2] Taylor: "Greeks and Goths," London, 1879, p. 51 *et seq.*

[3] Rawlinson, Op. cit. p. 50.

[4] "Herodotus," Vol. III. p. 186.

seventh century B. C., through land that we know was occupied by powerful Thracians. He also states that the Belgæ were exclusively Cimbrians.[1] But we know now that the Belgæ were Germans. Then, too, Jutland, a German country, was called Cimbric Chersonese.[2] We therefore feel justified in classing the Cimmerians as tribes of pretty thoroughly Germanized Thracians. We do not run counter to any philological question here, for there is nothing known of their language, beyond the word "Cimmeric."[3] Grote[4] speaks of the Cimmerians as "perhaps the northernmost portion of the great Thracian name." Both Strabo[5] and Tacitus,[6] speak of the Cimbrians as German tribes. Until we receive some further light on the origin of the Cimmerians, we can not be judged very much in the wrong if we call them Thracianized Germans.[7]

Their early home was the northern shore of the Black Sea, in the neighborhood of the Tauric Chersonese; and as a souvenir of there presence there, the name Crimea, still clings to that region. As we have stated, they gave their name to a portion of the Bosporus.[8] They are mentioned in the Homeric poems,[9] and they must have been quite an ancient people in the Black sea region. They are mentioned by Eusebius as having made a raid into Asia Minor early in the eleventh century B. C. As no other authority mentions this event, it is not given much credit.[10] But as the people of Southern Europe were on the move about this time, as is indicated in the Aeolian and Dorian migrations, we should not be surprised if

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1 Ibid. 187, note 6. 2 "Encyclopedia Britannica," article "Cimbri."
3 Rawlinson: "Herodotus," Vol. III. p. 188.
4 "History of Greece," Vol. III. p. 248.
5 Strabo, viii. p. 426. 6 "Germania," chapter 37. 7 Above p. 37.
8 Above p. 38. 9 "Odyssey," book xi. line 13-22.
10 Rawlinson: "Herodotus," Vol. I. p. 290.

this offshoot of the Thracians was also touched by the spirit of migration even at this early date.

To the north and east of the Cimmerians and contemporaneous with them, dwelt the so-called Scyths. They were also a sort of anomalous people, something like the Pelasgians. The philologist has finally admitted them into the great Aryan family.[1] Sayce[2] calls them Sarmatians or Aryan Slaves, and represents them as mingling with Tartars, in the entire region between Thrace and the steppes of Tartary. They had probably been wandering across these fertile plains ever since the ancestors of the Asiatic Aryans had found their way around the northern shores of the Caspian sea into the Hindoo Koosh mountains.[3] And it is interesting to note that the name of one of their prominent tribes, the Melanchlaenic, is identical in meaning with Siah-Poosh,[4] the name of one of the purest Aryan tribes of the Hindoo Koosh region. Both are translated "black cloaks."[5]

We are also interested in noting the characteristics of the Budivi, another tribe of these ancient Scyths, as they are described by Herodotus. They had deep blue eyes and bright red hair. They dwelt in a city which was surrounded with a wall thirty furlongs each way. They had temples built in honor of Grecian gods and adorned with images after Greek fashion.[6] Were these indeed the half-savage people who were wont to plunder the civilized world? Do they not plainly show their German ancestry?

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[1] Ibid. Vol. III. p. 203.

[2] See his "Herodotus," book i. chapter 216, note 8.

[3] Above page 57.

[4] Biddulph: "Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh," tells us that Russian explorers claim that the present Siah-Pooh tribes are Slaves.

[5] Rawlinson: "Herodotus," Vol. III. p. 94, note 2.

[6] Herodotus, iv. 108.

It must be remembered that Herodotus wrote of these Scythic people about the middle of the fifth century B. C. Still he represents them as supplanting the Cimmerians early in the seventh century B. C., and we doubt not that they peopled this region from very remote times. We must remember that the most cultured foreign people were but barbarians in the eyes of Greek and Roman authors. But the so-called barbarians of Europe played too influential a part in shaping the affairs of that continent to be the rude savages that they are represented as being.

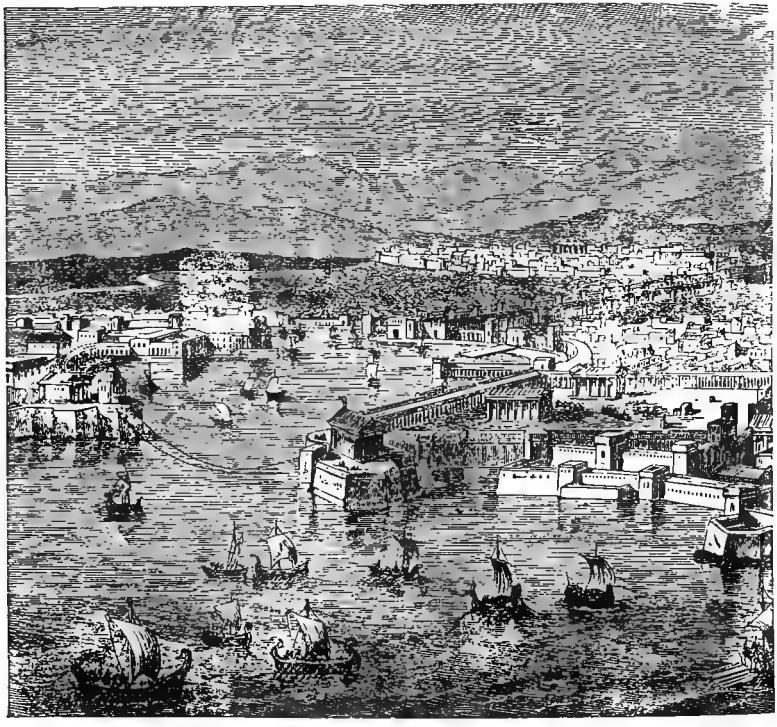
Returning now to the Greeks, we are to observe, that, as the period of Grecian colonization drew to a close, Athens and Sparta were rivals for mastery in Greece. Sparta however had become considerably stronger than Athens before 540 B. C. She held sway over all Peloponnesus, and her extremely well disciplined army caused her to be treated with the greatest of respect by all the states of Hellas. In fact, she exercised a recognized ascendancy over all Greece.[1] At Athens, Peisistratus and his descendants, designated as tyrants, ruled, with intervals of expulsion, from 560 to 509 B. C., when Cleisthenes came into prominence and completely changed the state of government in that city. The old tribal organization was completely broken up and the territory of the city was divided into ten territorial divisions, and thus political society founded on territorial relations, took the place of tribal society founded on personal relations.[2]

Shortly previous to 498 B. C., occurred an event wherein the Greeks were brought into prominence in the international affairs of Europe and Asia. The Ionian colonies of Asia Minor had been conquered and added to the Persian

1 Grote, Vol. II. p. 455.

2 See Vol. II. This Series, p. 194.

Empire. They determined to throw off the Persian yoke, and called upon Athens for assistance, which was readily granted, and the colonies thus gained their freedom. Darius, the Persian, subdued this revolt, and determined to punish the Athenians for interfering with his affairs. In order that he might not forget his resolve, it is stated that



Athens Under Pericles.

he gave one of his servants the special duty every day, at dinner, of calling out three times, "Master, remember the Athenians."[1] In 493 B. C., Darius planned an expedition against Greece which met with defeat both by land and sea. This new and powerful enemy, however, had the

[1] Herodotus, v. 105.

effect of uniting Greece against a common foe as firmly as the Hellenic states were capable of uniting by alliance.

The defeat of his army simply angered Darius against the Greeks all the more. He again sent messengers to all the Grecian states demanding submission. Athens and Sparta refused peremptorily, the latter throwing the Persian embassadors into a deep well with advice to take from thence the earth and water as tokens of submission. A

Miltiades at Marathon.

second Persian army, therefore, entered Greece, more determined than ever to conquer. The great eastern army landed twenty-two miles from Athens, planning to march against that city. But the Greeks, under Miltiades, preferred rather to meet them on the open field, and so an engagement took place on the plain of Marathon.[1] The

[1] 490 B C.

result was the overwhelming defeat of the Persians, and Marathon passed into history as one of the great pivotal battles of the world. The Spartans did not participate in this battle which occurred during a time in the month when their ancient customs forbade them to engage in battle[1]

The remainder of Darius' life was spent in preparations for a third invasion of Greece, but he did not live to realize the desire of his life, the conquest of Greece. No sooner, however, did his son, Xerxes, succeed to the Persian throne than he resolved to accomplish what Darius had begun. The largest army that has ever, in historical times, crossed the border land between the two continents is said to have been marshalled, equipped, and led against the almost insignificant handful of Greeks, by the great Persian king himself. The lesson that this great army was taught at the pass of Thermopylæ, and the story of the martyred Leonidas and his three hundred companions are too well known for mention here. This was followed by the great naval victory for the Greeks at Salamis.[2] The next year, the Grecian fleet crossed the Aegaean Sea, while the Persian army under Mardonius, wintering in Thessaly, invaded Attica.

In that year,[3] occurred on the same day the famous battle of Plataea, in which the Greeks, under Pausanias the Spartan, almost annihilated the Persians, and the naval battle of Mycale, where the fleet of the Persians was destroyed by that of the Athenians. The severe lessons that Persia had received on the memorable fields of Mararthon, Thermopylae, Salamis, Plataea, and Mycale saved the Europeans from any further trouble from that direction. Persian armies did not again try to reduce the Greeks to subjection. In order, however, to be pre-

[1] Grote, IV. p. 342. [2] 480 B. C. [3] 479 B. C.

pared for any future trouble with Persia, the confederacy of Delos, whereby the principal states of Greece were pledged to contribute either ships or money for the maintenance of a navy to keep the Persians out of the Aegaean, gave Athens the care of their funds and navy, and thus elevated that city to the chief rank among the naval powers of that day.

From 479 to 429 B. C., Athens' greatest benefactor, Pericles, was at the head of the State. Though the city had been twice leveled to the ground by the Persians, it was quickly rebuilt. But rebuilt Athens was not the same as Athens of old, simple tribal headquarters. Under Pericles, magnificent buildings were erected and the city was beautified by paintings and statuary. Above all, were her fortifications strengthened by almost Cyclopean walls, leading from the city to the harbor. These walls were two hundred yards apart and extended over four miles, thus uniting the city with her fleet. "The Acropolis was so enriched by magnificent structures that it was called 'the city of the gods.'"[1] In power, Athens led all the Grecian states.

Pericles.

1 Barnes: "History of Greece," p. 25-6.

Abroad, she not only gained the respect of all nations, but inspired fear. "During a single year, she was waging war in Cyprus, in Egypt, in Phoenicia, in Aegina, and on the coast of the Peloponnesus;"[1] while, at the same time, she maintained her authority at home. In 450 B. C., she extorted a treaty from Artaxerxes, whereby the Grecian cities of Asia Minor were declared independent, and the Persian fleet excluded from the Aegaean sea.[2] It was during this time that Herodotus, the father of history, flourished, and literature and art were at their height.

The remaining events of the political history of Greece are too well known to further occupy much of our attention. Athens had at last become a powerful and magnificent city. The jealous Spartans had long sought an excuse to carry war against their rival power. In 431 B. C, a quarrel arising between Corinth and her colony, Corcyra, Athens and her allies sided with the latter; but Sparta immediately proffered aid to the former. The Hellenic forces were nearly equally divided, and this struggle, called the Peloponnesian war, was continued until 404 B. C. Athens, during this time, had no such hand to guide her affairs as that of Pericles. Her most promising young leader was Alcibiades, who was usually undergoing the punishment of ostracism for some wild escapade just when his country most needed his services. Thus it was when the Athenian forces met with their last disastrous defeat in the harbor of Syracuse in 413 B. C. The city itself held out for ten years longer when Sparta compelled submission. The protecting walls and the magnificent buildings were leveled to the ground, and proud Athens groaned under the oppression of the thirty tyrants.

[1] Ibid. [2] Ibid.

Sparta was now mistress of all Hellas. The five unwalled and defenceless mountain villages dictated to the rest of Greece. Persian money, however, again enabled Athens to rise but only to a shadow of her former grandeur. It seems to have been the plan of Persia to subdue Greece by keeping up this internal strife between Athens and Sparta. With Persian gold, Athens' walls were again rebuilt and her fleets were[1] again able to meet the Spartans on the Aegaean. Then Persia made friends with Sparta

Athenian Fleet before Syracuse.

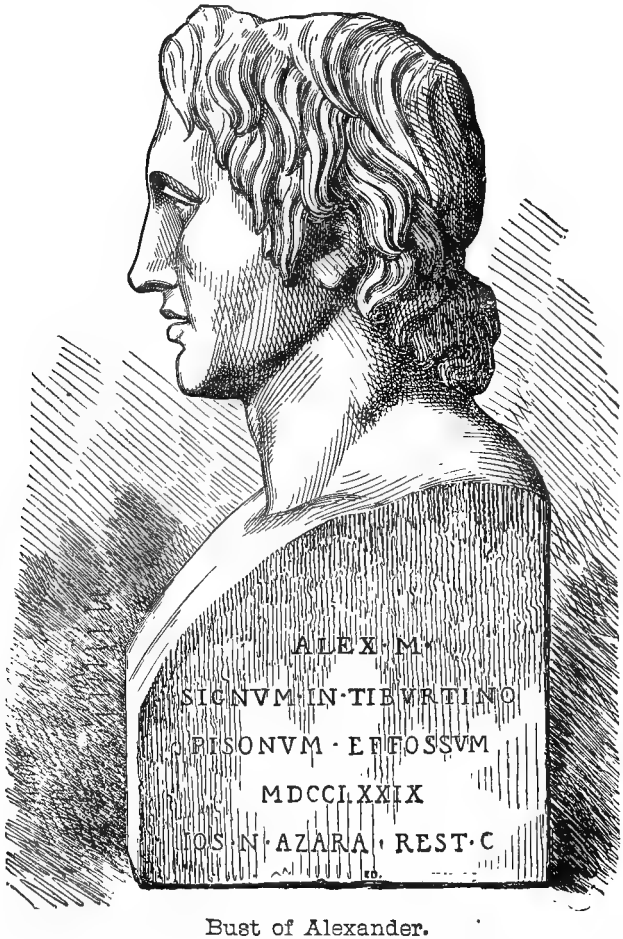
and compelled both cities to accept the "Peace of Antalcidas,"[2] which surrendered the Greek cities in Asia Minor to Persian rule.

Sixteen years later, there arose in the Bœotian city of Thebes, a leader who succeeded in completely changing the political affairs of Hellas. Epaminondas organized and equipped an army that, in discipline, ranked well with

[1] 394 B. C.

[2] 387 B. C.

the Spartan soldiers. When Sparta heard that the Theban army was overthrowing her governments in the Bœotian towns, she sent her forces to put down the rebellion. The famous battle of Leuctra was fought and won by Epaminondas. The stream of Persian gold was now turned




Bust of Alexander.

to Thebes, and Epaminondas, conquering one town after another, was soon the ruler of Hellas. At the battle of Mantinæa,[1] however, he was killed. No one was found

[1] 362 B. C.

after him with ability to fill his place, and Hellas soon became a hot-bed of jealous, quarreling, fighting towns and villages, as bad as it ever was in old tribal times. It only needed some one firm hand and strong mind equal to the situation to change all this into a nation of peace. Such a person arose in the North. A new infusion of Teuto-Aryan blood was needed to invigorate the people of Southern Europe. The "barbarous" Macedonians came to the rescue of Greece, when Philip of Macedon turned his armies toward the south.[1]

Now the Macedonians did not come down into Greece uninvited. The Phocians, a state that had from time immemorial been a leading member of the Amphictyonic council, and had regarded her right to the presidency of that council as indisputable, had, by some political intriguing of her neighbors, been expelled from the league. She raised an army, took forcible possession of the Temple of Apollo, and defied the whole Hellenic world. Philip of Macedon was anxious to be acknowledged as a Greek, and had laid his plans to take a hand in Grecian affairs. Thus far he had confined his campaigns to Thessaly and Thrace, where he had reduced town after town and tribe after tribe to subjection. While professing to be the friend of the Athenians, he had taken forcible possession of all their cities along the coast of Thrace and the Propontis. He was then the most powerful prince in Europe. In the course of his campaigns in Thessaly, he met the Phocians in batttle and was conquered by them. His defeat checked his advance, but strengthened his determination to conquer all Greece. One man in Athens seemed from the first to have detected Philip's intention. Demosthenes, the greatest orator of his age, delivered oration after ora-

[1] 359 B. C.

tion, exposing the designs of Philip. His Philipics are even to-day considered models of oratory.

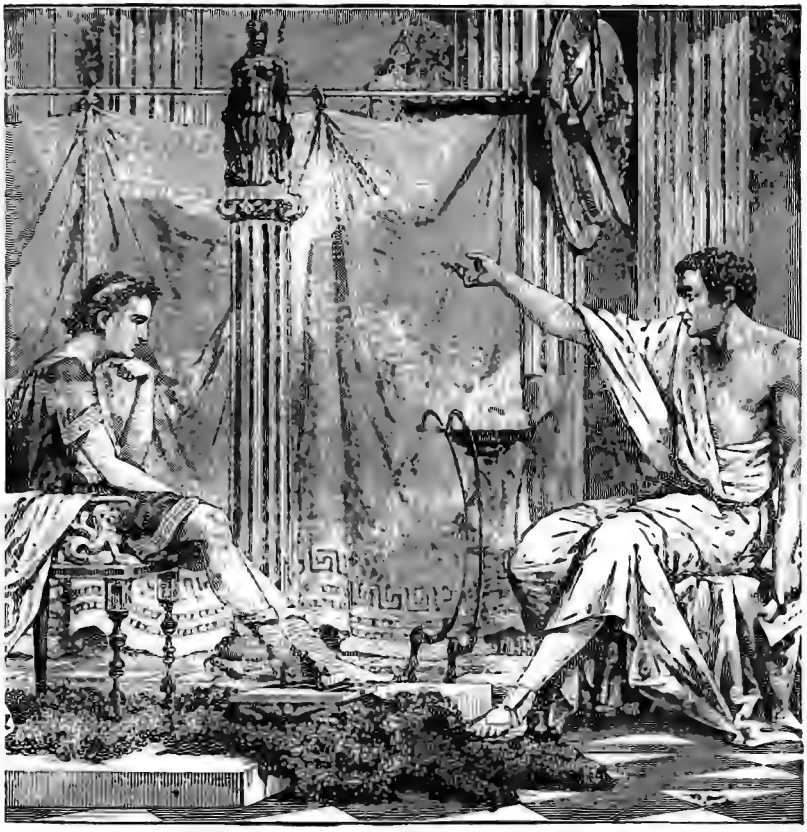
Both Athens and Sparta awoke to the importance of the occasion too late. They now rushed to the aid of the Phocians[1] against the common enemy, who was fast approaching the pass of Thermopylæ, the gateway to Attica and the Peloponnesus. Philip now boldly proclaimed his championship of the cause of Apollo against the sacrilegious Phocians and their allies. His army was the best disciplined of any in the world. He had introduced the Macedonian phalanx and other new tactics that rendered his army almost invincible. He had also fitted out quite a navy to co-operate with his land force; and he plundered the merchantmen of the Aegaean for supplies and to interfere with the commerce of Greece. Thus Philip increased in power. In 352 B. C., he defeated the Phocians and their allies in battle. For four years Philip was engaged in subduing the Olynthians, while the rest of Greece looked on,[2] or lent only too tardy an assistance to the besieged city. In 346 B. C., Philip forced the Grecian states to a treaty whereby he was made a representative in the Amphictyonic council in place of the Phocians. Thus did he gain admission into Greece and realize his most cherished desires, for he was made president of the Pythian festival, the highest honor that could be conferred upon a Greek.

At last, after Philip had stationed his large and finely disciplined army at the pass of Themopylae and had been admitted with honors as a Greek among Greeks, the oratory of Demosthenes awoke the people of Athens to the lamentable condition of Grecian affairs. Now it must be remembered that Philip had conquered as many cities by

[1] Grote, Vol. IX. p. 297-8.

[2] 348-344 B. C.

falsehood and intrigue as by open warfare, so that it is not surprising that the Greeks could place no reliance on his word. Athens and Thebes finally united against the Macedonians, but were[1] defeated at the battle of Cheronaea.



Alexander and Aristotle.

All Hellas passed at once under Macedonian rule, and the Greeks never again gained their independence until after the Roman empire had become a nation of the past.

Under Macedonian rule Greece was united. The hand of a conqueror held all the petty tribes, as well as the more

[1] 338 B. C.

powerful cities, in entire subjection, and could command united action upon any and every occasion. Such being the case, unlimited resources were placed at the command of the ruling prince. Philip now conceived the idea of carrying Grecian arms into Persia to punish that nation for the injury that she had often inflicted upon Greece, and also to extend his own territory. The hand of the assassin was however uplifted against the king, and Philip of Macedon was slain.[1]

Alexander, the young son of Philip, immediately entered upon the plans of his father. After destroying the city of Thebes as a punishment for revolting, he began his march for Asia at the head of thirty-five thousand well disciplined Grecian and Macedonian troops. His life was a short one, but it was a life of conquest from beginning to end. From Thrace, he entered Asia Minor and fought battle after battle until the terror of his armies, preceding him, led his enemies to pledge submission without resistance. We can follow his troops as they passed down the coast of Asia Minor conquering the armies that met him at every point. Entering Egypt as conqueror and thence passing eastward, he subdued Babylon; at the battle of Issus he overthrew the Persian power; burned Persepolis; and penetrated to the Indus river.[2] He laid the foundation of many new cities, among which was Alexandria at the mouth of the Nile, that became so famous as a seat of learning. In 323 B. C., he died from the effects of dissipation, and so never returned to his native land. During the nine years that he spent in Asia, the history of Greece is almost a blank. As the empire that he attempted to found was completely broken up at his death, Greece gained

1 336 B. C.

2 See note 3, p. 140.

very little if anything by his conquests.[1] The government of Greece and Macedon fell to the lot of one of his generals, Cassander. From 323 B. C., until 146 B.C. the old-time struggle of the petty states of Greece for independence was again renewed, but with no definite result. In 146 B. C., Greece

Battle of Issus.

came under Roman supervision ; and, as such, she enjoyed a degree of peace and quiet prosperity before unknown to the Hellenic people.

Now, as we glance back over the history of the Aryans of Southern Europe, we perceive that their growth has been very slow indeed. They were a people of few origi-

[1] In another place we will show the very great influence exerted on civilization in general by Alexander's conquests.

nal ideas except the inborn sentiments of liberty and independence. They were ever ready to adopt new ideas from the nations with whom they came in contact, and to develop the same to the highest state of perfection. Their art was developed from borrowed models, and their laws were compiled from the laws of foreign princes.

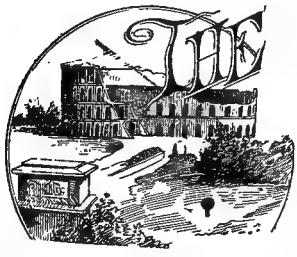
In the arts of war, however, they seem to have been about the first to originate a system of military tactics worthy of mention. The Spartan companies of hoplites were all-powerful, the brotherhood of three hundred picked Thebans carried everything before them, and the Macedonian phalanx, under Alexander, was literally invincible. In literature, the Greeks were not only originators of several schools, but attained a degree of culture and refinement that has placed them at the head of the ancients in every department. And long after she had lost her place in the political history of the world, she continued to lead in thought, in philosophy, and in the fine arts. By no means was this a mean end for this great and peculiar people.

THE ROMAN EMPIRE
UNDER TRAJAN
A. D. 117.
BRITAIN
HIBERNIA
GAUL
SPAIN
ITALY
ROMA
SARDINIA
CORSICA
SICILY
MAURETANIA
NUMIDIA
AFRICA
CYRENAICA
EGYPT
ARABIA
PALESTINA
SYRIA
CYPRUS
CRETE
ACHAIA
MACEDONIA
THRACE
MŒSIA
DACIA
PANNONIA
NORICUM
RÆTIA
ILLYRICUM
Marcomanni
Bastarnæ
Sarmatians
CAPPADOCIA PONTICA
CAPPADOCIA
CILICIA
PAMPHYLIA
ASIA
ARMENIA
COLCHIS
IBERIA
ALBANIA
MESOPOTAMIA
ASSYRIA
PARTHIAN KINGDOM
Alexandria
Petra
Caesarea
Antiochia
Edessa
Nisibis
Seleucia
Babylon
Syracusa
Carthago
Narbo
Tarraco
Burdigala
Mogontiacum
Colonia Agrippina
Noviomagus
Ravenna
Capua
Corinthus
Byzantium
Nicomedia
Herakleia
Carsorasus
Cyrene

# CHAPTER IV.

## THE ROMAN ARYANS

FIRST GLIMPSES OF ITALY—Geographical Description—Phoenicians in Italy—First Aryans in Italy—Greek Colonies in Italy—Celtic Influence in Italy—The Latin Tribes—The Confederacy of Alba Longa Physical Sourroundings of Ancient Rome—The Etruscans—Legends of Ancient Rome—Gallic Invasion of Rome—Architecture of Ancient Rome—Rise of Roman Power—War with Carthage—Extension of Roman Territory—Capture of Carthage—Internal Troubles at Rome—Marius and Sulla—War with Mithridates—Gladiatorial Contests—Spartacus—First Triumvirate—Rise of Caesar to Power—Second Triumvirate—Antony and Cleopatra—The Formation of the Empire—The Beginning of the Decline—The Division of the Empire—Review of the Growth of Rome in territory—Conclusion.



NORTHERN shores of the Mediterranean seem to have been the border line between races during the period of the Ancient and Mediaeval Worlds. To the south and south-east of Mediterranean, from time immemorial to modern times, there existed most remarkable civilizations, and there were the homes of the Turanian and Semitic races. Stretching away to the north from the great inland sea even to the lands of the Lapps and Finns, were the homes of the Aryans, the hardiest races of mankind. There was concealed a latent energy and strength of body and mind that were capable of grasping Semitic and Turanian civilization at its summit of development, and bearing it onward to purer ideas higher modes of life, and more perfect forms of government.

We have seen how fully the Aryan inhabitants of the Troad assimilated Assyrian and Babylonian culture, customs, and enlightened modes of life, and grew into a power dreaded by the pharaohs of Egypt, requiring the combined forces of the Hellenic world to crush. The next European Aryans to come into contact with eastern civilization were the Greeks. In tracing their rapid development, we have seen how the Hellenic land was peopled by successive waves of immigration from the North; how the Phoenicians brought a knowledge of Turanian civilization to their doors; and how, with Assyrian and Babylonian models, the Aryan Greeks leaped to the very pinnacle of ancient and medieval knowledge and culture. What a literature they left to the world; what models in architecture; what masterpieces—almost divine—in art! We have now to consider the gradual rise to a commanding position in the affairs of the world, of that remarkable people known as the Romans. Their history and culture fill the entire foreground of the Medieval World. They were the lawgivers of the world, and from the ruins of their vast empire, have arisen the various nations of modern times.

About the time that Philip of Macedon was coming to the front in Grecian affairs, Rome, as a new and rising power, began to exercise a voice among the ruling powers of the world. Before the first quarter of the third century B. C., Rome was scarcely known, though for centuries previously, the Italian peninsula had been an open field inviting the spreading Aryan tribes to settle therein. The general lay of this peninsula is from northwest to southeast. Its semicircular head is cut off from the rest of Europe by the Alps, the highest mountain barrier of the continent. With the Apennines for a backbone, the pen-

insula shoots out into the Mediterranean for a distance of several hundred miles, ending in two spurs which give it the appearance of a boot. Off the toe of this boot is a triangular shaped island called Sicily. The greatest length from the Alps to the toe of the boot is some over seven hundred miles. The head of Italy is about three hundred miles wide, but its average width is only one-third as much. Its area, including the islands along the shores, is about one hundred thousand square miles. The head of Italy is the only extensive plain, and comprises the valley of the Po, or Padus, river.

When we enter the peninsula proper, the rivers are necessarily very short; and, owing to the many cross ranges of mountains and hills, volcanic in character, there are no plains of any size. We must, however, except quite an extensive tract of land on the eastern shore as we approach the heel of the boot. This plain was called Apulia, and was noted for its fertility. The western shore was washed by a portion of the Mediterranean called the Tyrrhenian[1] Sea.

Passing southward along the western coast of Italy, we would pass the mouths of the Arnus, Tiber, Liris, Vulturnus and Silarus rivers. The waters of the Aesis, Aternus, Tifernus, Trento, Cerbalus, and Aufidus flow toward the east, finding there way into the Adriatic. Lying to the west, at some distance out into the Mediterranean, were the two extensive islands of Corsica and Sardinia. The soil of these, as well as that of Sicily, was noted for its fertility.

In ancient times, Italy was cut up into a number of small states, each of which was peopled by a confederacy of allied and kindred tribes. The head of the peninsula

[1] From the Greek name for the Etruscans.

was the home of the Ligurians on the west, the Venetians on the east, and the Upper Etruscans between.[1] Central Italy, or the upper portion of the peninsula proper, extended down to the mouths of the Silarus on the one side and the Tifernus on the other. It comprised the six states that subsequently played prominent parts in the legendary history of the peninsula. These were Etruria, Latium, and Campana, to the west; Umbria, Picenum, and the Sabine territory to the east. Southern Italy contained four countries; Lucania, and Bruttium, on the west; Apulia and Iapygia, or Messapia, on the east.[2] The opposite shore of the Adriatic was peopled by tribes of Illyrians, kindred of the Macedonians.

The Phoenicians were, no doubt, familiar with the coast of Italy long before the Greeks dared venture upon the open seas. How early these daring merchants began trading along these shores, we have no means of ascertaining; but there is no doubt, that they found the whole peninsula teeming with a population ready to barter native products for their Oriental wares. We recognize two distinct races among these primitive inhabitants of Italy; and there is satisfactory evidence that both these races were but immigrants that had in earlier, pre-historic times, supplanted a more primitive race.[3] These two races were Aryan and Turanian. The traces that we find of that earlier people are so few and unsatisfactory, that we can only surmise that they were dark-skinned and extremely

[1] Such is the ordinary belief regarding the early inhabitants of Northern Italy. [See Rawlinson: "Manual.] But Dr. Freeman distinctly states that they were more likely Gauls than Etruscans in the center and in the valley of the Po. "Geography of Europe," Vol. I. p. 47 and note.

[2] Rawlinson, Op. cit. p. 323-333.

[3] Taylor: "Etruscan Researches," p. 11-12, London, 1874.

rude in their social life. In earlier times, we do not find the lines of separation between the races so strongly marked that we can assign to each a definite portion of Italian territory. On the other hand, we find here and there, throughout the length and breadth of the land, a confederacy of Turanians in almost an isolated position, surrounded by Aryan states. So, likewise, we find some Aryan confederacies similarly situated as regards Turanians. Then there appear other tribes bearing such evident marks of a mixed origin, that we can not assign them any definite racial place.

The question as to where the earliest historic inhabitants of Italy came from is an interesting one to us. The facts, that the Aryans were immigrants; that the Greek colonists found Sicily inhabited by Turanians, a part of whom had been driven down from the peninsula; that some of these Turanians were of Iberian origin and, probably, kindred of the Etruscans and Ligurians—all go to prove that the Aryan civilization of Italy was built upon a lower sub-stratum of Turanian life.[1] When the Aryans entered Italy, therefore, they found the land occupied by Turanians, just as they did every other portion of the continent. We are further convinced of this by existing proofs in the shape of monuments, inscriptions, and other remains. From these, we learn that Etruscan territory once extended much further south than when this people became known to Greek historians. There is evidence, that Capua was an Etruscan city, and that the Etruscans were the ruling power from the Alps on the north to the Gulf of Salerno on the south.[2]

No records extend back to the time when bands of

[1] See Ramsey's "Europe," p. 484, London, 1885.

[2] "Etruscan Researches," p. 15.

Aryans began to find their way into Italy. Tradition says, that the ancestors of the Iapygians followed the coast of the Adriatic around from Epirus into Italy.[1] There are other legends, according to which plundering bands of refugees from Troy found permanent homes in Italy.[2] We are told also, that the Latins came into Central Italy from the north along the western coast,[3] that they were later incomers than the Iapygians, and that they "pressed with great weight" upon the population of the southern regions. This all tends to confirm the statement, that there was, from time immemorial, a constant influx of Aryans, both by land and sea, to the Italian peninsula.

As we have seen, the first Grecian colony, the date of whose foundation can be relied upon, was established in Sicily in 735 B. C. But it is very evident, that bands of Greeks had long before this found their way across the Adriatic. Then, too, near the site of modern Naples, a Grecian colony had existed for a long time before vessels from Chalcis landed the first settlers at Naxos, which is the oldest Greek settlement, of which we have authentic history. When Campanian Cumæ was founded and where the colonists came from, even the ancients had forgotten. That they were Greeks was all that could be positively asserted of them. The first vessels known to have brought new colonists to Cumæ were said to be from Aeolic Cyme of Asia Minor. But still, in historical times, Chalcis was the metropolis of Cumae, just as it was of Naxos. Tradition places the date of the foundation of Cumæ way back in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. B. C.[4] On the

1 Rawlinson's "Manual," p. 336.

2 Virgil: "Aenaeid," Book i. 7-12; also Livy: "History of Rome," ch. i. 3 Rawlinson, Op. cit. p. 336. 4 The common date was 1050 B. C., but some authors carry it back to 1139 B.C. Grote: "History of Greece," Vol. III. p .356-360. Taylor: "The Alphabet," Vol. II. p. 131-3.

opposite side of the peninsula and a little farther to the north, was located the Greek colony of Ancona, but nothing definite is known of its foundation. It was there when history dawns on Italy.[1] By the close of the eight century B. C., we find Grecian adventurers pouring into Sicily and Southern Italy so rapidly that the shores were soon lined with villages. The country was given the name of Magna Grecia, and was for several centuries regarded as a portion of Greece proper, to whom the colonists looked for assistance in war and protection from oppressive foes.

The Celts were, doubtless, in possession of the Po valley as early as the Latins were of the hills of Latium.[2] As neither history nor tradition informs us to the contrary, we have no doubt that they occupied Cis-Alpine Gaul even before there were any such tribes as the Latins in Italy. They simply prepared the way for their kindred (the Italians) to enter the Italian peninsula. The legend is probably right in stating that the Iaypgians came from the north down the Adriatic coast. They were probably Pelasgians making their way down from the Aryan home-land.[3] The Celtic Latins followed them up pretty closely although they were probably later in point of time. The one descended along the eastern, and the other along the western coast of the peninsula. The Etruscans, between, were strong enough, perhaps, to keep them from over-running Tyrrhenian lands. The only Etruscan city, Populonia, near the coast would not be much of a barrier to the Celtic migration.[4] These two streams of migration in time met, and fused with the stream of Greeks that was colonizing Magna Grecia. Celtic Latins, Pelasgic Iapyg-

[1] Freeman: "Historical Geography," Vol. I. p. 47.
[2] Freeman: "Historical Geography," Vol. I. p. 47.
[3] Grote, Vol. III. p. 350.
[4] Mommsen: "History of Rome," Vol. I. p. 170.

ians, and Hellenic Thracians would probably include the Aryans of the Italian peninsula; and a mixture of these people would give us the peculiar ethnical result known as the Ancient Roman. This Aryan mixture soon succeeded in forcing the Etruscans to the north of the Tiber. There we find the latter in rather close quarters when authentic history of Italy begins.

Nor is language silent on this subject. There was formerly a school of historians who insisted upon deriving Latin from Greek.[1] When they were convinced that they were wrong, a hypothetical language was constituted. It was called "Pelasgic," and was made the common parent of the dialects of Greece and Italy. Being as indefinite as the race of people that furnished the name, it was found wholly unsatisfactory, and that theory was abandoned. Greek and Latin are Aryan tongues, and, of course, must have come from the same source, the primitive Aryan language. But, as Professor Sayce remarks, "it is no longer possible to believe that the relation between Greek and Latin is especially close. Latin gravitates rather toward the Celtic languages."[2] Speaking more plainly, then, Latin is nearer related to Celtic than to Greek.[3]

"Mountains repeat and rivers murmur the voices of nations denationalized or extirpated."[4] No people will pass through a country, stopping here and there to spend a winter or to raise a crop of corn, as tribes do on their migratory tours, without leaving names which will forever cling to the villages, mountains, and rivers along their

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[1] Keane in Ramsay's "Europe," p. 561.

[2] "Science of Language," Vol. II. p. 106.

[3] See also "Celtic Britain," London, 1884, p. 1, by J. Rhys, Professor of Celtic, University of Oxford; also consult Whitney: "Life and Growth of Language," p. 194.

[4] See Palgrave: "History of Normandy and England," Vol. I. p. 700.

routes. The river names are memorials of the very earliest inhabitants of a country. In studying the geographical names of Europe, we can detect the presence of Celts over the greater portion of Southwestern Europe before any other Aryan tribes had traversed this region. In Italy, "we find villages which bear Teutonic or Romance names, standing on the banks of streams which still retain their ancient Celtic appellations."[1] Thus have the locations of several ancient Celtic colonies been found in Central Italy.[2] All this tends to the conclusion, that while, and even before, the Greeks were finding their way across the Adriatic, and, pressing northward in their search for homes and plunder, the Celts were descending from their Trans-Alpine homes in search of better pasture lands upon the Italian hills.

When we consider the modern Italians and Latin speaking people in general, we will find that they have no ethnical unity.[3] Romance languages are spoken in portions of America as well as in various European countries. But in ancient times in Italy, we can understand how the Celts pressed downward and the Hellenic immigrants pressed upward, while the Turanians were either crushed between them or absorbed. Central Italy, then, must have been a common battle ground where races were fighting for bare existence. From the midst of this fighting mass, we at last catch a glimpse of a tribe of Ramnes slowly but surely rising into supremacy. The fabulous wolf had come down to the Tiber to drink, and the royal twins were nourished by the food that she brought them.

Among the Italian tribes, the Latins occupy the most

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[1] Taylor: "Words and Places," London, 1865, p. 195.
[2] Ibid. p. 41.
[3] Keane in Ramsay's "Europe," p. 565.

important position. They settled along the southern bank of the Tiber, occupying a rugged, hilly district, seven hundred square miles in area,[1] which would seem to have been poorly fitted for the development of the hardy Roman people. Across the Tiber to the north, were the Turanian Etruscans, with whom the Latins waged continual warfare. But in wars of races, the Aryans have always been pretty firmly united against a common foe. The Latins were surrounded by the Sabines, the Samnites, and the Campanians. Though forever involved in tribal warfare among themselves, they were often allied against the Etruscans. There were thirty tribes of Latins. Each tribe had well organized tribal headquarters, which are often mentioned by historians as the thirty Latin cities. The fact, that thirty tribes of shepherds occupied only seven hundred square miles of territory, and had room for new colonies to grow into tribes, is sufficient evidence that these headquarters were not cities in the modern sense of the word.

Capitoline Wolf.

These thirty Latin tribes, however, formed a confederacy, powerful enough to make the Etruscans fear them, and even to command respect from the more numerous Sabines on the east. The headquarters of this confederacy were at Alba Longa, the home of the Alban tribe. The supremacy of the Albans seems to have been undispu-

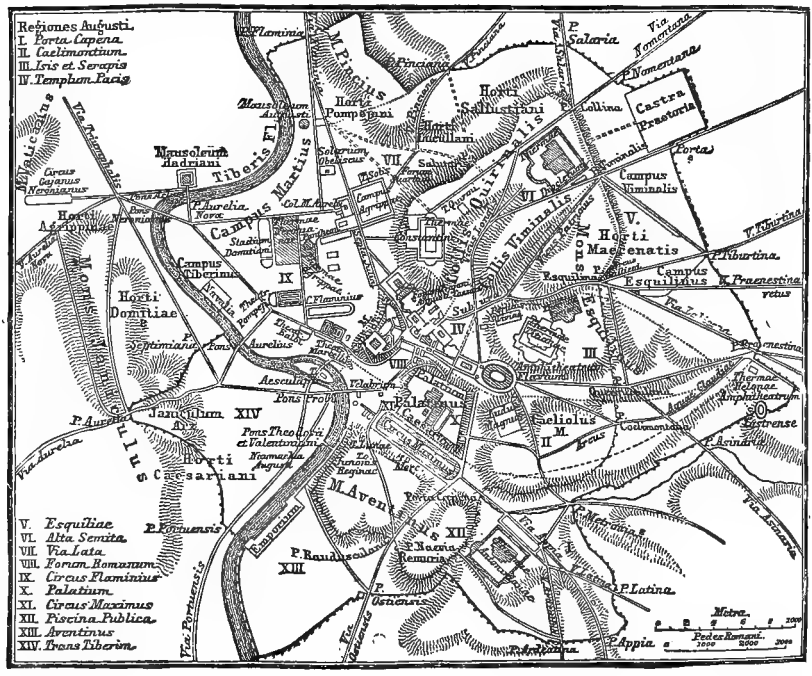
[1] Mommsen: "Rome," Vol. I. p. 60.

ted for a long time; and, as they grew and increased in power, the population, no doubt, became, from time to time, too great for the territory. Colonial bands would be encouraged to make for themselves homes in the adjacent country. The young tribes or colonies thus formed would receive the aid and protection of the mother tribe so long as they did not become rebellious.

The Tiber, that formed the northwestern boundary of Latium, was the most important river of the peninsula, and was, no doubt, the thoroughfare by which the trading vessels of the Phoenicians reached the interior tribes and the war ships of the Etruscans found their way into the open sea. About fourteen miles from the mouth of the Tiber and on its left bank, are located a group of seven hills (the Romans called them mountains), that have been rendered immortal by the many fables and legends that cling to their early history. As we ascend the river, we pass in order the Aventine, the Palatine, and, finally, the Capitoline hills. Here the river makes a great bend toward its right bank, thus forming a level plan that bears the name of Campus Martius. Before the great stone quay was constructed, this level plain was overflowed during high water. Bordering this plain to the east, is another of the seven hills which bears the name Quirinal. The other three—called Caelian, Esquiline, and Virinal—were ranged back of the first three mentioned. These last named were not located along the river bank. As will be seen from the map, this group of hills occupy a commanding position on the river. From their number they were called the "Septimontium."

These hills were of volcanic origin and remarkable for the sterility of the soil. Great natural basins had been formed in their midst, which, when full of water,

were beautiful lakes. But the heat of a southern sun very often transformed them into fever-breeding districts. So that the climate of Rome was not healthful and the water supply was insufficient. But the location was of enough importance to counteract all this. Were we to inquire, however, when these hills were first peopled, we would meet with a great mass of conflicting legends totally


Regiones Augusti.
I. Porta Capena.
II. Caelimontium.
III. Isis et Serapis
IV. Templum Pacis
V. Esquiliae
VI. Alta Semita.
VII. Via Lata.
VIII. Forum Romanum.
IX. Circus Flaminius
X. Palatium.
XI. Circus Maximus
XII. Piscina Publica.
XIII. Aventinus
XIV. Trans Tiberim.
Tiberis Fl.
Campus Martius
Horti Domitiae
Horti Caesariani
Horti Maecenatis
Campus Esquilinus
Campus Viminalis
Mons Aventinus
Mons Esquilinus
Mons Viminalis
Mons Quirinalis
Mons Capitolinus
Mons Palatinus
Mons Janiculum
Mausoleum Hadriani
Pons Aelius
Pons Aurelius
Pons Milvius
Pons Neronianus
Pons Triumphalis
Pons Sublicius
Pons Aemilius
Pons Fabricius
Pons Cestius
Pons Probi
Pons Theodosii et Valentiniani
Pons Agrippae
Pons Palatinus
Pons Senatorius
Pons Gratiani
Pons Valentiniani
Pons Vaticanus
Pons Janiculensis
Pons Antoninus
Pons Aurel

have given us a pretty accurate knowledge of the origin of the different people who early found their way into the Italian peninsula. It took the Aryan tribes a long while to Aryanize even the central and southern part of Italy. As we have stated, the whole peninsula was, no doubt, for some time prior to the arrival of the Aryans covered by a Turanian population. The legends of Rome tell us but very little of these earlier people. We must search in other records for their footprints, and shall, no doubt, find traces of their presence.

There is another source of information regarding ancient Rome that we must not overlook, for it furnishes us with interesting, valuable, and reliable knowledge. The discoveries of archaeologists are throwing light upon the pages of all ancient history, that enables us to see clearly many truths that were hidden from the visions of our predecessors. In 1883 the spade of the archaeologist unearthed under the Esquiline hill some very primitive tombs. Previous to this on the same hill, had been discovered a large necropolis. These ruins probably date from a much more remote period than the alleged foundation of Rome. They are of Etruscan origin, and scholars, on the whole, admit that they are relics of the pre-historic people whom the Aryans conquered. But one significant fact is, that the pottery found among these ruins bears such decorations as to prove that at least the designs were borrowed from Assyria and Babylonia.

Here, again, we run across the work of the Phoenicians, for they undoubtedly were instrumental in bringing these vessels, or a knowledge of this kind of work, to the shores of Italy.[1] The Etruscans were no mean foes for for the Romans to contend with. We have seen how the Turanian

[1] Middleton: "Ancient Rome," p. 42-3.

population of Asia arose to the summit of ancient civilization.[1] The Etruscans were Turanians, related to the Accadians, Elamites, Susians, and Proto-Medes;[2] and the indications are, that they had also attained a higher state of culture than any other European members of their race. They were known to the Greeks as *Tyrrhenians*, to the Latins as *Etruscans*, and they called themselves *Rasena*.[3] They were a great commercial people[4] before the legendary founding of Rome. Their war ships appeared on the coasts of Egypt before the time of Rameses III.[5]

Janus.

Though their history is built upon the ruins of a long forgotten power and opulence, we are surprised at the immensity and abundance of these remains. "The internal history of Etruria is written on the mighty walls of her cities. . . . It is to be read on graven rocks, and on painted walls of tombs."[6] But there are none to interpret her inscriptions. A Scipio might have preserved for us a clew to unravel these riddles of a lost people, but forgotten is the tongue that they spoke, and no one can now interpret to us these messages from their tombs.[7]

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1 This Series, Vol. II.

2 See Taylor: "Transactions of International Congress of Orientalists," 1874, p. 176.

3 "Etruscan Researches," p. 11., cf. the word Turanian.

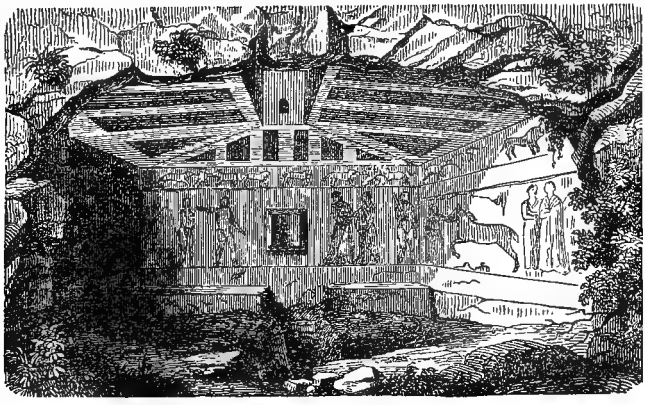
4 Mommsen's "Rome," Vol. I. p. 195.

5 This Series, Vol. II. p. 598.

6 Dennis: "Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria," Vol. I. p. xxiii.

7 All modern and ancient languages have been searched and studied in vain for a key by which to read Etruscan inscriptions. Dr. Taylor thinks that he has at last traced Etruscan to the Altai group of languages. See his works referred to in this chapter.

Judging from the remains of her cities and cemeteries, Etruria of old was densely populated. Her cities must have compared favorably with those of the ancient Orient. To support its population, the land must have been under a high state of cultivation. Though Dennis[1] may use too glowing colors when he paints his pictures of Etruscan life, we may with profit glance at his pen-sketch of a portion of that land restored. "What is now the fen or jungle, the haunt of the wild boar, the buffalo, the



Etruscan Graves.

fox, and the noxious reptile, where man often dreads to stay his steps, and hurries away as from a plague-stricken land, of old yielded rich harvests of corn, wine, and oil, and numerous cities, mighty and opulent, into whose laps commerce poured the treasures of the East, and the more precious products of Hellenic genius."

Etruria must have represented the culmination of European Turanian civilization. That she figured in the affairs of the Pharaohs proves the high antiquity of her power, and reveals to us the origin of that Egyptian influence, a trace of which is detected in her art and

1 Op. cit. xxix. xxx.

architecture. The life of Etruria must have been of long duration. Dr. Taylor[1] allows her a thousand years for her development. When, however, we realize that Etruria permitted bands of Aryan immigrants to seize one of her most important posts, and station themselves upon the Septimontium, commanding the Tiber, we can but conclude that her power was even then on the wane. Otherwise we must admit that she had sunken into the wantonness of effeminacy, or perhaps debauchery. As we are only concerned with Etruscan influence upon the Aryans of Rome, we will not enter further upon her history.

Turning then to the first Aryan settlers on the seven hills, we find ourselves in a labyrinth of legend, myth, and fable. The thread which might have led us out was irrecoverably lost before the first Roman historian was born. If we accept a single legendary statement, we must accept them all for they are all alike improbable.[2] It is not strange that the Aryans, building as they did upon a substratum of Etruscan population, should retain some of the old Turanian legends, such as the wolf story and perhaps the rape of the Sabine woman.[3] Still, the entire fabric of Roman history, for about five centuries from the alleged date of the foundation of Rome, is woven out of just such material. We can not use it and shall therefore pass over this period in utter silence, drawing only a few conclusions

1 "Etruscan Researches," p. 15.

2 The whole matter of the legendary history of Rome is discussed by Ihne: "History of Rome," Vol. I. Sir George Lewis "Early Roman History," Vol. I. Schwegeler "Romische Geschichte," Band I. Dyer: "History of the Kings of Rome," gives the fables in full.

3 Dr. Taylor "Etruscan Researches," p. 369 372, classes the Romans with the Turanian, "wolf people" to whom that legend is common. The rape of the Sabine women is, perhaps, an aetiological myth to explain the intermarriage of two tribes, as contrary to primitive tribal usage.

from the condition in which we find Roman life when the light of authentic history first dawns upon the Septimontium.

Brutus Condemning his Son to Death.
*Mythological Period*

It matters little whether we have the details of Rome's early struggle with the Turanians or not. The first five centuries of her history are utterly insignificant even from the stand-point of the legendary historian. Though the

legendary chronology places the foundation of Rome in the year 753 B. C., it was not until 423 B. C. that the Etruscan village of Fidenae was conquered,[1] though it was only five miles up the river. The Etruscan village of Veii was only ten miles from Rome. Many are the legendary wars and battles fought between these two cities. The legends say,

Cornelia and Her Sons. [The Gracchi.]

however, that, while the Gauls were fighting Etruria on the north, the Roman army slipped over there and, after ten years constant siege, succeeded in reducing the Veienites to subjection. This great conquest is recorded for 392 B. C., over three hundred and sixty years after the founda-

[1] Rawlinson's "Manual," p. 363.

tion of Rome. As a remarkable climax to the martial prowess of Rome, it is record that four hundred and eighteen years after her foundation she had conquered the whole of Latium—a district seven hundred square miles in area, less than an average county in a western state. In 280 B.C., Rome did, however, become known to the outside world, because her armies then for the first time met foreign troops even on Italian soil. Authentic Roman history may be said to commence with that date.

We shall, however, be compelled to adopt the periods into which historians divide Roman history in order to make our further remarks intelligible to the reader. Thus it is convenient to consider three periods in the life of the Roman people—the Regal period,[1] the Republic or Commonwealth,[2] and the Imperial period or the Empire.[3] The first division rests upon a legendary foundation, the second is more authentic, and the last[4] is the date of the dissolution of the Western Empire. Our knowledge of tribal confederacies and of the origin of government would lead us to expect a regal period in the life of the Roman people; but this whole period has been sufficiently treated in another place; and we will refer the reader to that place for a knowledge of the constitution and government of Regal Rome and the origin and nature of the two great divisions of its people; the Patricians and the Plebeians.[5]

There is one event in early Roman history that stares us in the face at every point, forces its reality upon us, and thus serves as a starting point in her history. This is the first recorded invasion by the Gauls after Roman history begins. All authorities agree in fixing the date at 390 B. C. It is not strange that the Aryan tribes had, as

[1] 753-509 B. C. [2] 509-31 B. C. [3] 31 B. C.-476 A. D. [4] A. D. 476.
[5] See Vol. II. p. 195-204.

early as that, at least, begun to press down over the Alps. At last, they crossed the Apennines in large numbers. The Etruscans were forced to shut themselves up in their towns, and to buy off the invaders with gold and plunder. At last they reached Rome, defeated her armies, and entered and plundered the city. The capitol is said to have been saved by Roman gold. If Rome had any system of keeping records, from which her early history could

The Gauls in Rome.

have been ascertained, such records were all distroyed at this time.[1] Though writing was, no doubt, in vogue in Italy at an early period, we can thus understand why we have no authentic history of early Rome. These Gauls finally departed from Rome, and tradition follows them through Thrace across the Hellespont, and into Western Asia.[2]

1 Dyer "Kings of Rome," p. 28, argues that the records known as "Annales Maximi," were not wholly destroyed. 2 Above page 36.

The light of authentic history, which at last breaks over the Appennines, thus reveals to us Rome, risen from the ashes of a Gallic invasion and taking her place among the powers of the infant Aryan World. As to the beginning of this period, Sir George Lewis has so satisfactorily calculated the date, that we quote from him.[1] He fixes the termination of the Republican period at the death of Pompey in 48 B.C. "If we take our departure from this point, and ascend the stream of Roman history, we shall find that we are accompanied by native contemporary authors, in the strictest sense of the word, for 177 years, up to the commencement of the Gallic war, in the 529th year of the city, or 225 B. C.; that, with an allowable latitude of construction, this period may be extended to 216 years, up to the commencement of the first Punic War, in the 490th year of the city, or 264 B.C.; and that, if we call in the assistance of contemporary Greek writers, we may mount as far back as 233 years, to the 473rd year of the city, or 281 B. C., when Pyrrhus landed in Italy, and the Romans came for the first time into conflict with an army of Greeks."

Back of the above date, then, we have to rely on the archaeologist for information as to ancient Rome. But considerable has now been made out as to their knowledge of art and practical sciences. The Romans were neither artisans nor architects. They looked to Etruria for everything in this line, until Hellenic culture, in its spread, reached the banks of the Tiber. So marked are these indications that what remains of Roman architecture is grouped under three stages of development: Etruscan, Hellenic, and Roman.[1] The same

1 "Early Roman History," p. 19-20.
2 "Ancient Rome," p. 20.

tomb has been found to contain wall paintings of Homeric scenes, doors and cornices of Egyptian type, and painted vases of Assyrian and Babylonian styles[1] The "Wall of Romulus" was built after Etruscan models, and probably by Etruscan workmen.[2] We are told that the Etruscans were the metal workers for all Europe. The iron founderies at Elba supplied nearly the whole world, and the remains about their work-shops prove that they had an enormous trade in copper and bronze implements.[3] Many of the Latin building words are probably of Etruscan origin.[4] The earliest blocks of stone used in building were worked with metallic tools.[5] Etruscan workmen were the architects of the great temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline. Their knowledge of drainage was brought into use when the great sewer, called Cloaca Maxima, was constructed. Whenever Rome would raise any public building, she employed Etruscan artificers.[6]

The catalogue of Etruscan works at Rome could be enlarged indefinitely, but enough has been mentioned to show how extensive was this foreign influence. To Etruscan knowledge and culture, Rome added "her virtues, her thirst of conquest, and her indomitable courage,"[7] all of which were to a great degree lacking in her almost effeminate neighbors. Etruscan scholars, however, do not hesitate to claim for that people everything that is cultivating and refining in not only Roman, but even in modern Italian life. Prince Bonapart[8] calls standard Italian "the Tuscan

[1] Ibid.

[2] Conquered Etruscans were Roman slaves. It is more probable that they were forced to do this work for their masters than that hired workmen were imported. We, however, follow authoritiss on this point.

[3] Taylor: "Transactions I. C. O. 1874, p. 176.

[4] Ibid. p. 174. [5] "Ancient Rome," p. 25.

[6] "Etruria," Vol. I. p. lxi. [7] "Etruria," p. xxii.

[8] "Transactions of Philological Society," 1882-4, p. 179-80.

ALPHONSE DE NEUVILLE.

GERMAN WOMEN DEFENDING THEIR WAGON CASTLES AGAINST

dialect," and mentions Dante, Petrarch, and Boccacio as "Tuscan luminaries" while Dr. Taylor[1] even claims that the leading schools of art are in cities once belonging to the old Etruscan dominion; and that "Giotto, Fra Angelico, Ghirlandajo, Masacio, Perugino, Fra Bartolemmeo, Leonardo, Coreggio, Garofalo, Michael Angelo, Raphael, Francia, Guido Reni, Domenichino, and the Caracci," were not only Tuscans but probably of Etruscan origin. But it required in Etruria, as in other parts of the world, Aryan blood, energy, and mental and physical strength to carry this knowledge of the arts and sciences to the pitch of development that they have attained. To the Aryan, is due the credit of entering upon the labors of such Turanian civilizations; and, when they are tottering and about to fall under the weight of racial weakness, to carry them forward to a more perfect stage of healthfulness, vigor and grandeur.

After all, Rome had attained no great celebrity for her architecture and buildings until near the close of the Republican period. The Etruscan ceremony of encircling the headquarters of a newly established tribe with a furrow made by a plow drawn by a cow and a bull, was probably early celebrated in the case of Rome.[2] The so-called "Wall of Romulus" followed the direction of this furrow,[3] inclosing a portion or the whole of the Palatine hill; and this enclosure has since been called Roma Quadrata, from the rectangular shape of the building blocks used. These central grounds were afterwards enlarged by a wall, attributed to Servius, so as to include the whole "Septimontium," and considerable space beyond and between the

[1] "Etruscan Researches."
[2] See Coulanges: "Ancient City."
[3] "Ancient Rome," p. 44, note.

seven hills.[1] The Forum Magnum was a large open space between the Palatine and Capitoline hills, where assemblies of people were wont to be held. It was rectangular in shape and was, in later times, surrounded by spacious halls where courts of justice might sit. It was here, at a later day, that gladiatorial fights were witnessed which will

Entrance to the Capitol.

forever tarnish the glories of Rome. Between the Palatine and the Aventine hills, was a long, rectangular valley, called the Circus Maximus, or great Circus. Here were celebrated the great games for which Rome was noted.

[1] Rawlinson: "Manual," p. 348.

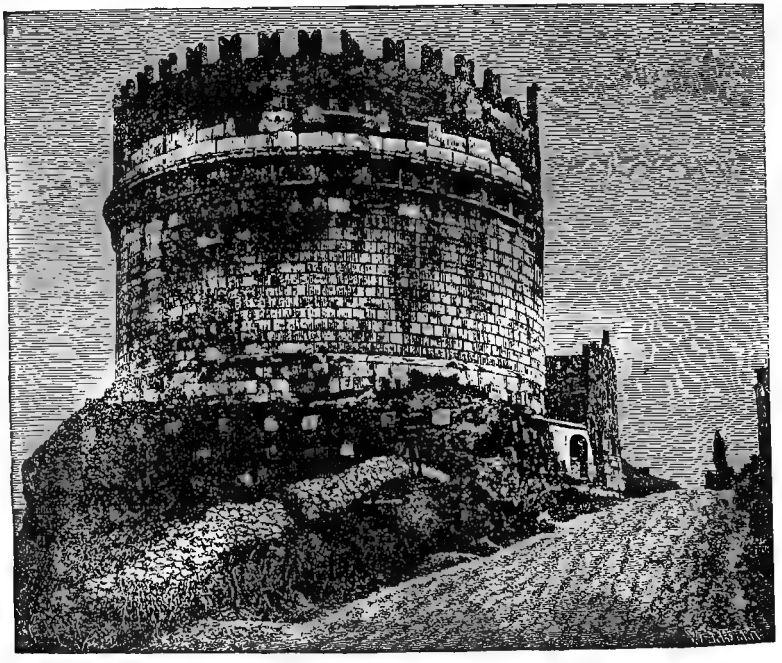
As has been said, the Campus Martius was a great plain without the walls of the city, though above it and near the river's bank. Here the Roman youth engaged in martial sports and the largest assemblies of the people were held. Here, also, the army was wont to assemble at the sound of the horn and listen to commands. A stone wall, bearing many marks of Etruscan workmanship, was early begun and, in time, run along both sides of the Tiber the entire length of the city front.[1] Previous to 142 B. C., the only bridge across the Tiber was constructed of wood, so as to be easily cut down in case of danger from an invasion.

The whole of Etruria was noted for its system of sewerage. It is not surprising, then, that Rome, whose hills were interspersed with marshy, malarial districts, should have looked to matters of health. When the great sewer, called Cloaca Maxima, was constructed, it would be hard to tell, but it is attributed to Tarquin II. It was a wonderful piece of workmanship, and finally developed into a perfect system of drainage. Though the water supply was always poor at Rome, it was not until near the middle of the Republican period that a known system of water works was introduced. It was in the Censorship of Appius Claudius, that the first acqueduct was constructed. It brought the water from a distance of seven or eight miles. In the first century of our era, the city had so increased in size as to require nine of these great water courses to furnish it with a necessary supply.[2] The same year,[3] the first of those great highways, which, in Imperial times, connected Rome with the ends of the

1 At one place, not far from the mouth of the Cloaca Maxima, a piece of the original wall exists, with projecting lion heads, sculptured in bold and effective Etruscan style. "Ancient Rome," p. 78.

2 "Ancient Rome," p. 466. 3 Probably 313 B. C.

world, was built. This was the Via Appia, or Appian road, and extended from Rome to Capua.[1] These roads were master-pieces of engineering, and constructed regardless of the amount of human labor required. Valleys were bridged over by massive stone viaducts, and mountains of solid rock were cut through, in order to make the road level and straight.

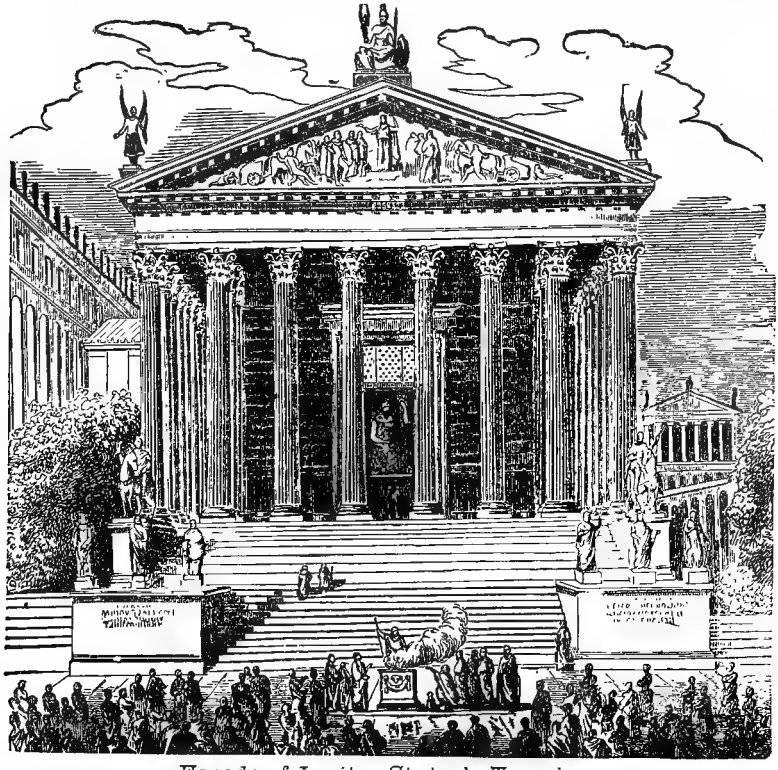


Appian Way.

The principal architectural remains of the Regal and early Republican periods are altars and temples. There were the altars of Saturn and Vulcan; and, at a later date, though built on the site of an older altar, there was in Rome also an "altar to the unknown god." The temple of Vesta, of Janus, and of Castor were among the oldest

[1] Ibid. p. 477-8.

buildings at Rome. But the earliest, as well as the most celebrated of these ancient buildings, was the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus on the Capitoline hill. The legend says, that Romulus vowed a temple to Jupiter; but it is a well known historical fact, that the Etruscans were wont to erect in every new settlement a temple to their triad of



Facade of Jupitor Stator's Temple.

gods, Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. The triple nature of this temple was undoubted; and, as its architecture is of Etruscan style, it probably belongs to pre-Roman times, though its foundation was attributed to Tarquin I. The statue of Jupiter, also, was modeled by an Etruscan sculptor. This ancient building was "numbered among the seven sacred relics, on the preservation of which the wel-

fare of Rome depended."[1] It was burned in 83 B. C., though subsequently rebuilt on a much grander scale.

Resuming the thread of history once more, we will commence with the invasion of Italy by Pyrrhus, which as we have seen, Sir George Lewis thinks is about as far back as we have historical light to guide us. With each conflict of Rome with her neighbors, we shall see her emerge with increased power and influence. This was long after the termination of the so-called Regal period, about the middle of the period of the Commonwealth. In 281 B. C., Rome violated her treaty with the Greek city of Tarentum by stationing a fleet in the forbidden waters of their bay. The Tarentines resented this act by attacking the fleet and sinking a number of vessels. War was declared. The Tarentines appealed to Greece for aid. Epirus sent an army of twenty-five thousand Greek troops under Pyrrhus, to their assistance.

The Romans, however, had already attained such power, that the combined Grecian forces could not cope with them. The army that Pyrrhus brought with him was at last destroyed, and the colonies were, one by one, subjugated. The Grecian general is said to have quitted Italy in 276 B. C., and all opposition in the southern part of the peninsula was met and subdued by 266 B. C.. Roman arms were at the same time carried north, and when, at the close of the year 265 B. C., Volsinii, chief of Etruscan strongholds, was taken and razed to the ground, "Rome reigned supreme over the length and breadth of Italy."[2]

Rome next interferred in a quarrel between some pi-

[1] "The other six are said to have been the needle of Cybele; the ashes of Orestes; the veil of Ilione; the scepter of Priam; the ancilia of Mars, and [chief of all] the Palladium."

[2] Rawlinson: "Manual" p. 378-9.

rates at Messina, a town at the extreme north end of Sicily, and Carthage. A war with Carthage was the result. It lasted twenty-three years,[1] and resulted in favor of Rome. This war is known in history as the First Punic War. Sicily was made an independent ally of Rome. During this war, the naval power of Rome was greatly increased, and her arms were carried into Africa for the first time. The Cis-Alpine Gauls were, no doubt, continually encroaching upon Roman territory, as they were pressed forward by the restless tribes continually crossing the Alps. Rome was even compelled to act on the defensive against their inroads. She, determining at last to conquer them, became an aggressor in 232 B. C. by planting colonies in Gallic territory. Seven years later,[2] the Gauls crossed the Apennines and advanced upon Rome, but were driven back. The Roman army followed them into the valley of the Po, and, in 222 B. C., extended the dominion of Rome to the Alps, making Cis-Alpine Gaul a province. But in the meantime,[3] a Roman fleet, under the plea of driving the Illyrian pirates from the Adriatic crossed over and established the authority of Rome in Illyria, Dalmatia, and the adjoining islands. Thus the Greeks established those fatal bonds of friendship with Rome which, not only in their case but in all other cases, soon became the bonds of servitude.

Though the armies of Carthage had been conquered, her spirit had not been subdued. We all call to mind how the infant Hannibal swore at the altar of Baal eternal enmity toward the Romans. The young Hannibal had now grown into manhood. Reared in the camps of the Carthagenian army engaged in the conquest of Spain, he succeeded in 220 B. C., to the command of the forces, and

[1] 264-241 B. C. [2] 225 B. C. [3] 230 B. C.

at once began preparations to invade Italy. He chose a route by land across the Alps, and, in 218 B. C., started on his journey with an enormous army and great stores of munitions of war. Two years of Carthagenian conquests followed; but then, Hannibal found himself in the heart of Italy, surrounded by Roman forces, and unable to get reinforcements from Carthage. Now came the time for

Hannibal Swearing Vengeance on Rome.

Rome to revenge the slaughter of the flower of her youth on the field of Caunae.[1] Still for fourteen years longer, Hannibal remained in Italy defying Roman power. At length, Rome carried the war into Carthagenian territory, and Hannibal was recalled to defend his native city, only, however, to be defeated at the battle of Zama by Scipio Africanus, which led to the submission of Carthage.[2] As

1 The story is told that after the battle, 216 B. C,., Hannibal gathered a bushel of gold rings from the fingers of the wealthy Romans that lay slaughtered on the field, and sent them to Carthage to prove the fatality of the day to the Romans.

2 201 B. C.

a result of this war, Rome not only maintained her authority, but again established her supremacy. The terms of her treaty with Carthage, though probably no more severe than might be expected, was such as to forever cripple a maritime power. Carthage could no longer hold possessions outside of the African continent; she could not engage in foreign war without the consent of Rome; she was forced to surrender all her ships, except ten; and, finally, she was forced to pay tribute to Rome. Still Carthage flourished though crestfallen and robbed of her riches and power.[1]

Hannibal.

Hannibal, the greatest of Carthagenian generals, was finally driven from the city by enemies. He fled to the Syrian court, and was instrumental in stirring up a war between that country and Rome, disastrous to the former. Pursued by the Romans into Bithynia, he put an end to his own life rather than fall into the hands of his life-long enemies.

By the terms of peace, Rome gained two provinces in Spain. She also had the best of excuses for the complete subjugation of all the unfriendly portions of Italy.

[1] Rawlinson's "Manual," p. 390-5.

This she effectively accomplished. In the meantime she had entered into alliance with Egypt, Rhodes, and other eastern people. The Macedonians had at first openly assisted Carthage, but a Roman army soon compelled them to make peace. But even after this, Macedonia

Proclaiming Liberty to the Greeks.

secretly befriended Carthage, as well as carried on war with Egypt and Rhodes; so that, as soon as opportunity offered, a Roman army was again sent into Macedonia. Now Rome's military tactics were of a two-fold nature. No power had yet been able to successfully defeat her

armies; but, in almost all cases, she prepared the way to success by stirring up strife among the allied tribes of people, with whom she was at war. This, we will see, was her course against the powerful Gauls and Teutons in the times of the empire. Such was her policy at this time with the Greeks and Macedonians. The Roman consul, Flaminius, entered Greece with an army and proclaimed Grecian independence to all the tribes that would join his cause. The battle of Cynocephalae ended the war, and at the same time the Macedonian empire.[1] Each Grecian state was made separate and independent, except in the case of leagues among themselves, such as those of Achaia, Aetolia, or Bœotia.

When Antiochus received Hannibal at his Syrian court, Rome regarded the act as a challenge for war, and was not long in accepting it. Antiochus was really the aggressor. He formed an alliance with Grecian Aetolians, and even entered Greece with an army. The Roman army finally entered Thessaly, defeated the Syrians at Thermopylae, and drove them out of Greece. The Roman fleet defeated the Syrians near Cyprus, landed in Asia, and compelled Antiochus to withdraw from that part of Asia Minor north of the Taurus and confine himself to the district south of that range.[2] Again[3] the Macedonians, under Philip's successor, Perseus, became rebellious. The battle of Pydna was fought in 168 B.C., and, as usual, the Romans were successful. Macedonia was broken up into four states. The leagues of Greece, except Achaia, were dissolved and many of the separate states again declared independent.

There had always been a party at Rome that considered their own state unsafe as long as Carthage flourished.

[1] 197 B. C. [2] 190 B. C. [3] 171 B. C.

The head of this party was Cato, the Censor. It is said, that he closed every speech to the Senate, or people of Rome with these words, "Carthage must be destroyd."[1]

Return of Regulus.[2]

1 "Delenda est Carthago.

2 During this war occurred the memorable incident of Regulus and his return to Carthage. Captured by the Carthagenians he was paroled and sent to Rome on condition that he return to Carthage if Rome refused to make a certain treaty. Regulus refused to enter Rome, strongly advised the Romans not to make the treaty, and then bidding farewell to his family he returned to Carthage to die.

Resolved therefore upon the ruin of Carthage, a Roman army finally appeared before her walls and demanded the destruction of the city as the only condition of peace. With almost superhuman energy, born of despair, the inhabitants withstood the siege for four years.[1] Finally Carthage surrendered, was utterly destroyed, and the territory made into a province. Another quarrel with Macedonia followed. Corinth was plundered and destroyed.[2] The former became a province at once, and the latter finally assumed a similar relation toward Rome. A Roman army was employed in Spain from 149 to 133 B. C., when two provinces were added to Roman possessions. Pergamus about this time[3] came under Roman power by will of their late ruler, Attalus III.

We have now reached a time in the history of the Roman Commonwealth when her internal troubles had assumed frightful proportions.[4] The Plebeian population of Rome was no longer Latin. It was a mixture of all free people whom the fortunes of war had driven to that city. The public land of Rome or Italy was in the possession of the Patricians, who worked their large estates with slave labor. The great mass of people, the Plebeians, were landless, and there was little chance of their finding employment except as soldiers. This subject class had to be fed; and it, in time, came to be an instrument of every ambitious demagogue, by which he could raise himself into power.[5] The one who could best feed them was their hero for the time being. At times, there arose champions of the Plebeians who deserve great praise for their attempts

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[1] 149-146 B. C. [2] 146 B. C.

[3] 133 B. C. [4] Vol. II. p. 201 *et seq.*

[5] We have referred to the workings of the same state of affairs in Greece, resulting in the formation of Tyrannies.

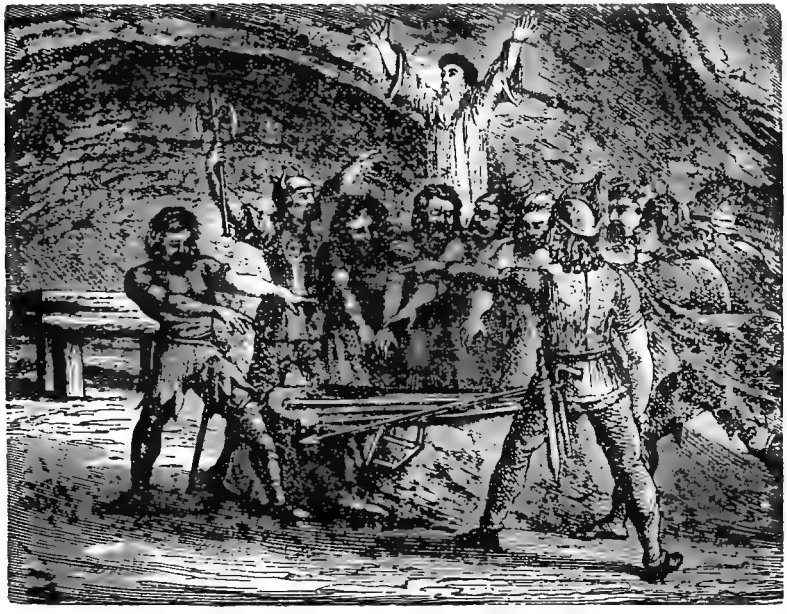
to better the condition of these people by legislation. Such were, no doubt, the Gracchi.[1] But every such noble minded legislator came to an untimely death through the enmity of the Patricians.

The war with Jugurtha, who had usurped the Numidian throne,[2] both proves the corruption of the leading Romans of the time and brings into public notice the two party leaders, Marius and Sulla. For nine years, Jugurtha succeeded in saving his throne by bribing Roman consuls and senators. The inevitable end, absorption by Rome, came at last. Heretofore the Romans, when fighting the ruder people on their northern and western borders, had met only Gauls and Iberians. About this time, they were first called upon to defend themselves from invading tribes of Teutons, whom they found by no means as easily conquered as the former two peoples. In 113 B. C., bands of Cimbri and Teutones (Germans) crossed the Alps and invaded Italy. Contrary to law, Marius was appointed and re-appointed several times to the consulship. He was the ablest commander in Rome, but it took him twelve long years to conquer these Teutonic tribes even on his own Italian soil.

Even before this time, it was no uncommon occurrence for a conspicuous party leader at Rome to meet his death by assassination. In 91 B. C., M. Livius Drusus proposed a "set of measures which had for their object the reconcilement, at Rome, of the Senatorian with the Equestrian orders."[3] Drusus was murdered, which so enraged the popular party, who regarded him as their champion, that the tribes of Central and Southern Italy took up arms, deter-

1 Tiberius in 133 B. C.; Caius in 121 B. C.
2 Rawlinson: "Manual," p. 423.
3 118-106 B. C.

mined to form an independent state. As a source of protection against desertion by the northern tribes, Rome conferred full citizenship upon all Italians who had not taken part in the war or would at once return to their allegiance. In this way, Rome retained her supremacy. The Patricians were compelled, from time to time, to make just such concessions. This policy was, in Imperial times, extended



Celtic Warrors Devoting Themselves to War against the Romans.

to all the provinces, though in a modified from. The influential chieftains and the promising young men were selected as candidates for Roman citizenship, and were duly vested with that title and its privileges. They came to regard it as a mark of honor, as well as a safeguard against punishment from local governments.[1] So great a change was made, that "the grandsons of the Gauls, who besieged Julius Caesar in Alecia, commanded legions,

[1] Vide Paul's answer to the provincial magistrate, Acts, xvi. 37-39.

governed provinces, and were admitted into the Senate of Rome" in the time of the Antonines.[1]

Marius had secretly favored the popular party, while Sulla had remained a firm and powerful support to the city. About this time,[2] Mithridates, ruler in Pontus, was defying Roman arms by carrying war into Asia Minor, even massacreing thousands of Italians and Romans. Sulla was given the command of the resulting war against the Pontic chieftain. Marius, at once championed the popular cause at Rome. In this way, he caused the Comitia Tributa[3] to recall Sulla and give the command to himself. Then for the first time, we see what a dangerous power the command of those fearless Roman legions gave an ambitious leader. Sulla appealed to the legions that had followed him in many a battle. They agreed to support him, so he led them at once against the capital. Marius, not being prepared for such a step, found the mob at his command an illy constituted force, with which to oppose the trained legions. He was at last forced into exile, and many of his supporters, being proscribed, were put to death.

Sulla now led his army into the East, and began war against Mithridates. He succeeded, during the next four years,[4] in compelling that prince to accept his terms of peace. In the mean time, the Marian party had gained the ascendency at Rome, and had invited Marius back to the city, but he died in 86 B. C. Sulla's friends had been proscribed and thousands of them murdered. Sulla, after settling affairs at the East, again turned his forces toward Rome. Carbo and young Marius were then the legally elected consuls. Sulla, however, was sure of the cooperation of the Patricians. When he reached Italy, he was met by

[1] Gibbon, Vol. I. p. 42.
[2] 88 B. C. [3] See This Series, Vol. II. p. 203, [4] 88-84 B. C.

Roman legions. For the first time legion was opposed to legion. At last, Sulla put down all opposition. His first step was to proscribe and murder thousands of people, both in Rome and elsewhere, for no other crime than that they had favored the popular party.[1] He made himself Dictator; and, as such, suceeded in re-establishing the Senate and

In the Arena.

the Patrician order in power and glory. In 79 B. C., he abdicated his office and died in the following year. From this time forward, the political history of Rome is little

[1] It is hard even for the most careless to realize the small value placed upon human life in those times. Three thousand friends of the popular party at Rome and twelve thousand at Praeneste were butchered in cold blood at the nod of Sulla, or his tools. See Rawlinson's "Manual," p. 428.

more than a history of individuals, who, in various ways, arose to power.

The wealthy or ambitious leaders prepared for the amusement of the idle mob inhuman, revolting, and bloody spectacles, known as gladiatorial contests. It is blood curdling, even at the present day, to read the accounts of these scenes. The youth and strength of conquered peoples were brought to Italian cities and skillfully trained in order to make the fight more exciting. The contestants met in the arena to fight for their lives, using all the skill that training could give them. Sometimes man was pitted against man, and sometimes against the fiercest of wild beasts. Nor would the flowing life-blood and the mortal groans of a single score of dying men quench their thirst for human blood; the great Caesar himself, when aedile, gained popular favor by glutting the eyes of Rome with the blood of thousands of gladiators, fighting in a single arena.[2] Not the mob alone were pleased to witness these games, but consuls, senators, knights, the youth and the aged, fair maidens and worthy dames—all seemed to regard such a scene as did the immortal Cicero, who said, that it was the greatest pleasure in life to see a brave enemy led off to torture and death.[1] Even the eloquent pen of Tacitus could not wholly escape contamination from the spirit of the times, for we find him writing in regard to some prisoners, that more than sixty thousand fell, not by Roman arms, but "grander far for our delighted eyes."[3]

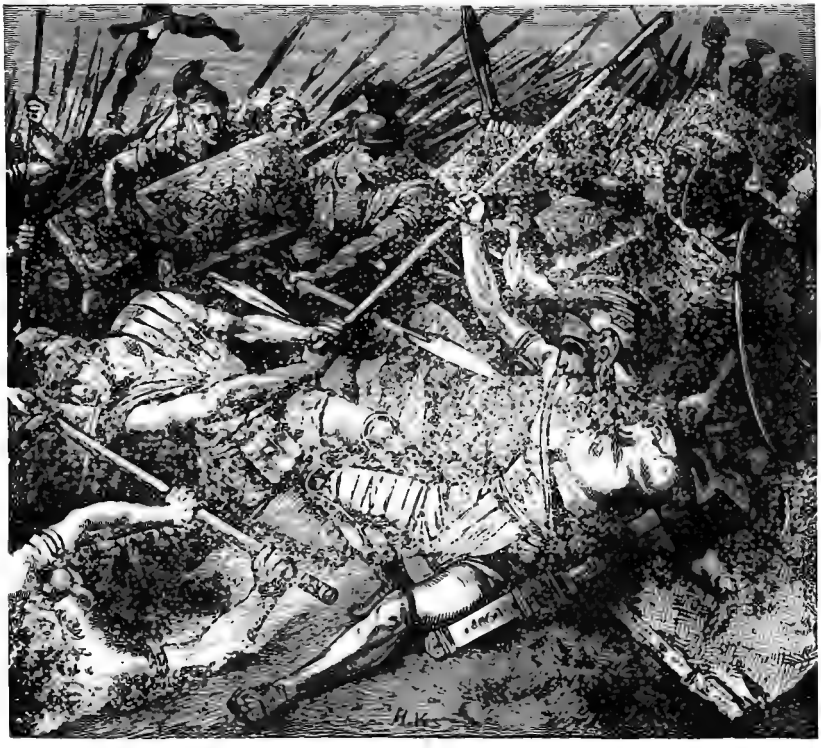
All have heard of the gladiator, Spartacus, who, when a body of five thousand gladiators escaped from Capua, placed himself at their head. This band was soon joined by

1 After Trajan's triumph over the Dacians [A. D. 106.], there were more than 10000 exhibited." Smith: "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities." 2 Elton: "Origins of English History," p. 310.

3 Germania Chapter xxxiii.

slaves and malcontents enough to swell its ranks to one hundred thousand men. For two years, they ravaged the fields and cities of Italy, before they were finally conquered by a Roman army.

After the death of Sulla, a number of prominent men came to the front in Roman affairs. Amongst these, we



Death of Spartacus.

must mention Cn. Pompeius, or Pompey. He belonged to a new family, but had gained the friendship of Sulla. Another was Crassus, a shrewd but indolent man, who maintained his power by his great wealth.

Greatest among the rising men, was Caius Julius Caesar. We need only mention, in passing, Cato the younger and the great orator and statesman, Cicero. It is not strange

that we should detect a rivalry for supremacy among these influential men. Our interest chiefly centers on Caesar. He passed from one office to another; finally, assuming the government of Spain, he there began to organize that army that was destined to make Rome an Empire. The Senate had become fearful of Pompey's power. He had been made consul, had driven the pirates from the Mediterranean, and was solidifying Roman power in Asia.

Conquest of Gaul.

He returned to Rome to be slighted by the Senate, for they did not even ratify his acts in Asia, nor pay his troops. Thus offended, he was ready, when Caesar proposed it, to unite with Crassus and form a secret league, known as the First Triumvirate. Caesar was made Consul,[1] and popular measures were adopted; Pompey's soldiers were provided for; Cato was given an unimportant foreign office;

[1] 59 B. C.

H. VOGEL.

MOHAMMED II. CROSSES THE DARDANELLES.

while Cicero, the patriot and orator, was banished. The Triumvirate then ruled at Rome. At the close of Caesar's consulate, he obtained the government of the two Gauls and of Illyricum for a term of five years. Then were begun the wars against the Gauls and Germans, which tended to Romanize a great part of Western Europe.

Now Caesar was at liberty to plan for the future. He began at once to raise, equip, and discipline an army that would support him in his ambitious designs. Nor did he fail in the essential point of endearing himself to the soldiers that he led in battle. They were not only ready to obey his commands, but willing to live or die with him. He was not in a hurry, however, feeling that the time for action had not yet come. In 55 B. C., he was re-appointed to the government of the Gauls for another period of five years. Crassus was slain in an expedition against the Parthians.[1] Pompey began to fear the power of Caesar, and induced the Senate to demand,[2] that Caesar should disband his army before coming to Rome to stand for the consulship. Had Caesar complied, he would have abandoned the only means by which he could hold his power, and, perhaps, he would have forfeited his life. He saw that the time had come when he was to abandon all hope of future power, or else strike boldly for the only position of honor left for him. So at the head of his devoted legions, Caesar made the historical "crossing of the Rubicon,"[3] and marched against Rome.

Now Pompey realized the advantage that his opponent had. He, therefore, determined to fall back upon the East, where he had gained so many victories in the past. There he would raise an army with which he might hope to cope with the mighty Caesar. By this step, Caesar was

[1] 53. B. C. [2] 50. B. C. [3] 49. B. C.

enabled to enter Rome with little or no opposition. Stationed at the seat of government, Caesar was master of all Italy. He did not, however, wait for Pompey to bring his army into Italy, neither did he allow time for his enemies to unite their forces. Caesar's army was first successful in Spain, next on the battle-field of Pharsalia, then the Pompeians were defeated in Africa, and finally crushed

Caesar Crossing the Rubicon.

in Spain. Pompey was, at last, murdered in Egypt.[1]

In the meantime, the legislation of Caesar was the best possible for Rome. He was made perpetual Dictator and assumed the reins of government. The Senate was enlarged to the number of nine hundred, the new mem-

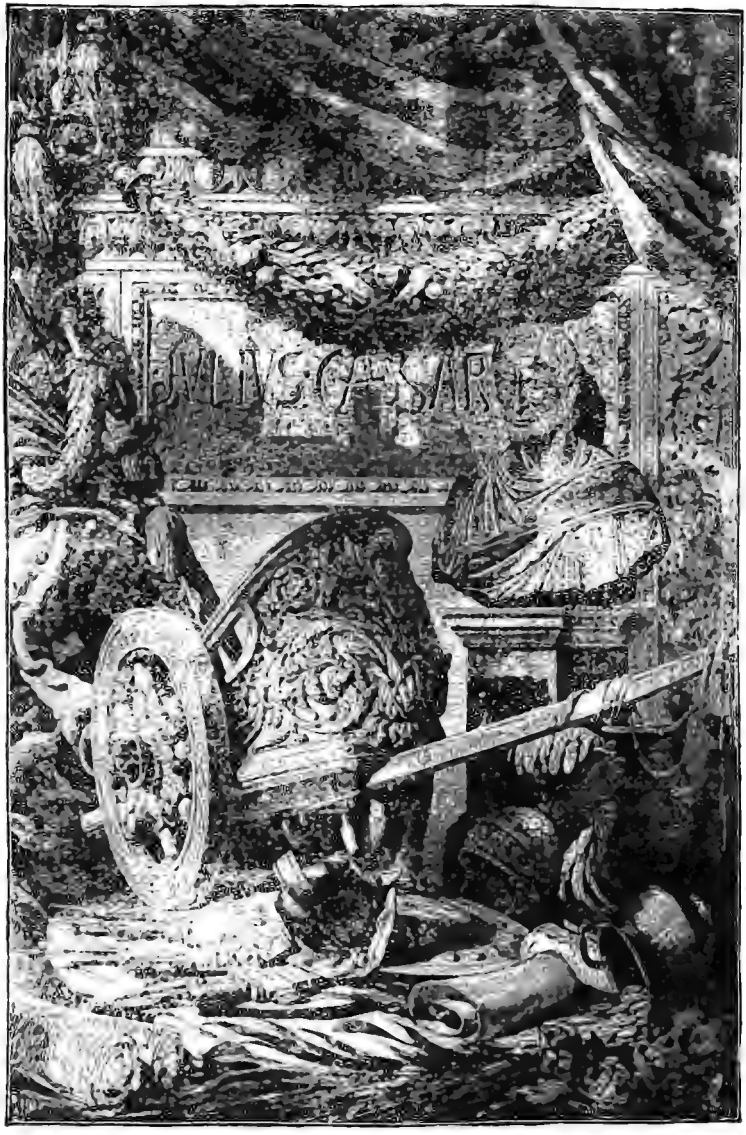
[1] 49-45.

bers being chosen from provincials, as well as from the old class of Roman citizens. The population of a number of Gallic communities was raised to the rank of citizens. The arts and sciences were encouraged. Such cities as Carthage and Corinth were rebuilt; wise laws, arranging satisfactorily and equitably the matters between debtors and creditors, were enacted. Those who held large estates were required to employ free labor. The laws were codified; the Empire surveyed; and the calendar reformed. Thus did Caesar find time for the administration of the civil government while he was, at the same time, busy with his wars.

But the ambition of Caesar led him to extremes. The people of Rome were jealous of their rights. They would endure all manner of oppression so long as the government was in name a Republic, and they had the officers that they were accustomed to. But, when the friends of Caesar hailed him as king, when the crown was offered to him by his tool, Mark Antony, the Roman people began to murmur. A conspiracy was formed, and Caesar was murdered on the Ides of March[1] 44 B. C. Chief among these conspirators were his own friends, Brutus and Cassius. In his will, he left the sum of ten dollars to every citizen, and his magnificent garden across the Tiber was thrown open as a public park. When Mark Antony made this known to the people; when they heard his eloquent words of praise, and saw the dead Caesar lying before them; when Antony held up the torn and bloody toga, which Caesar had thrown over his face to meet his death, their rage knew no bounds. They seized torches from the funeral pyre of their dead hero; and, applying flames

[1] 15th day.

to the houses of Brutus and Cassius, burned them to the



Tomb of Cæsar.

ground. The two arch-murderers fled for their lives.

Antony, the sole surviving consul, now thought that

his way to supreme power was clear, especially as the new consul, Dollabella, was his tool. But the young Octavius appeared upon the scene. He was a great nephew of Cæsar, and had been named in his will as his heir and son by adoption. Though absent from Rome when Cæsar was murdered, he hastened to the Capital. Then, by his

Suicide of Brutus.

liberality to the populace, by paying Cæsar's legacy to the soldiers, by politic action toward his enemies, he soon came to be looked upon as the real successor to Cæsar. Cicero again entered earnestly into public life, and his burning "Philippics" against Antony were as effective as those, in former times, against the great conspirator, Cata-

line. Octavius collected an army, which he paid out of his own income, and pitched his camp near Rome. Antony retired to Cis-Alpine Gaul, and began an attack upon the governor of that province. The consuls, Hirtius and Pausa, were sent against him, while Octavius accompanied them as prætor. The consuls were slain though the army was victorious. In this way, Octavius became sole commander of a victorious army. He was made consul. In 43 B. C., there was formed the second Triumvirate—Antony, Octavius, and Lepidus, a commander of horse when Antony and Caesar were consuls. The last named received Spain for his province; Antony, the two Gauls; and Octavius, Sicily, Sardinia, and Africa.[1]

The combined forces of the three, however, were at once needed to engage the army that the assassins of Caesar had collected in Thrace. The battle of Philippi decided the fate of the Republic. The Triumvirs were successful. Brutus and Cassius were forced to fall upon their swords and thus end their lives. Then Antony was given the government of the East; Octavius, that of Italy and Spain; Lepidus, Africa. Then began the fatal friendship of Antony and Cleopatra. While Octavius grew in power and extended the territory of Rome, Antony was spending his time in voluptous living at the Egyptian court. Lepidus and all other competitors in the West were put down. At last, in 31 B. C., an open breach occurred between Octavius and Antony. The battle of Actium, and later the deaths of Antony and Cleopatra, left Octavius the sole ruler of Rome. He did not, however,

1 As one of the terms of agreement between these three men, a few thousand men were proscribed, and Cicero's name headed the list. He was murdered in a short time and his head and hands were nailed up in the Forum, where he had so often defended the rights of the Commonwealth against such conspirators as Cataline and Antony. *Vide* Steele: "Brief History of Rome," p. 204.

attempt to assume the title of king, but contented himself with such titles as were familiar and not offensive to the people. In every case, he secured his appointment in the usual legal manner, though, no doubt, the Senate and people saw that it was useless to oppose him. He was made, at different times during the first twenty years,

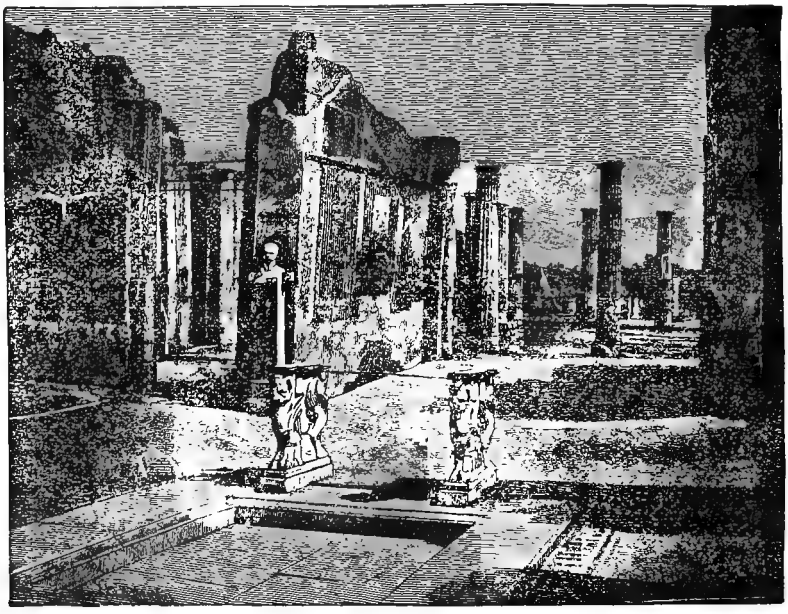
Court of Augustus.

commander-in-chief of the army, leader of the Senate, perpetual tribune, perpetual consul, perpetual censor, pontifex maximus, and was given the title of Augustus.[1]

Rome now enters upon her Augustinian age. The Re-

[1] For the Authorities on this period of Roman history, see Rawlinson: "Manual," p. 377-455; Steele: "Brief History of Rome," p. 34-65; Mommsen's "Rome," Vol II.: Caesar's "Commentaries," and "Gallic War."

public was never re-established. The reign of Augustus lasted until 15 A. D. It was a mild and popular reign. The rights of all people were regarded. Though the Empire maintained its authority and extended its borders, there was almost universal peace. This season of peace and prosperity, in the case of Rome as in that of other nations, was the season of her greatest growth. It was



Street in Pompeii.

during the reign of Augustus and in the Roman province of Judea, that Jesus Christ was born. One important step taken by the emperor was the establishment of an imperial guard which was known as the Prætorian guard. It consisted of ten legions.[1] Three legions were stationed in the city and seven in the various provinces. It was during his reign, that the Germans, under Arminius, by the complete annihilation of Varus and his three legions,

[1] 10,000 men.

forever freed themselves from fear of Roman conquest.[1] Virgil, Livy, Horace, and Ovid were the bright lights of literature during this age.

Upon the death of Augustus, a line of ten Caesars[2] occupied in succession the throne of the Roman Empire. With Nero, however, the Julian family became extinct.[3] The empire soon became the stake for which all ambitious men might play. When Nero's slave pierced the emperor's heart and deprived Rome of a ruler, there appeared no less than six pretenders to the throne, each backed by the authority of a number of legions of soldiers. The history of the next few months is but a tale of the succession and deaths of three emperors. Finally, Vespasian, commander in Judea, was elevated to the throne by his legions. It was during the reign of Vespasian, that the great eruption of Vesuvius occurred, which buried the extensive cities, Pompeii and Herculaneum.[4] The reign of Vespasian was distinguished for its strength and vigor. The authority of the empire was maintained throughout all her vast territory; education and literature were encouraged; and general prosperity was enjoyed.

Upon the death of Domitian,[5] succession by appointment was instituted, and there followed a line of emperors whose reigns were, on the whole, creditable, not only to the wearers of the purple, but to the Roman people as well. Says Gibbon,[6] "If a man were called to fix the period in the history of the world, during which the condition of the human race was most happy and prosperous, he would, without hesitation, name that which elapsed from the death of Domitian to the accession of Commodus.

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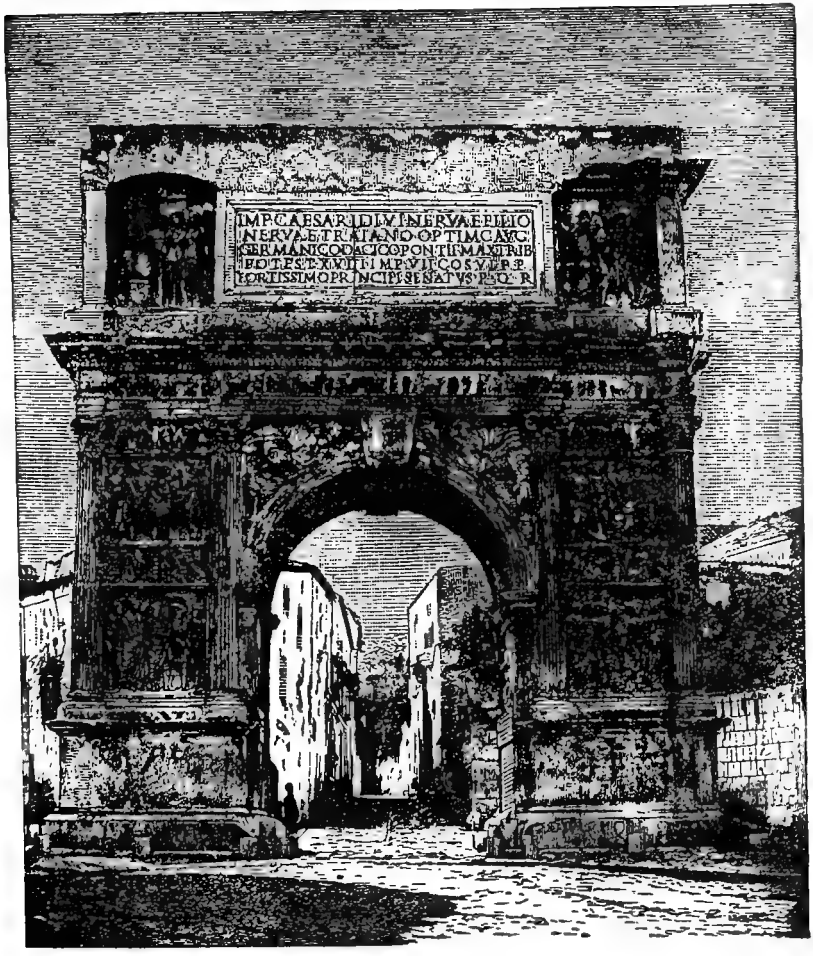
[1] A. D. 9. [2] Many of them Caesars by adoption. [3] 68 A. D.
[4] A. D. 79. [5] A. D. 96.
[6] "Decline and Fall," Vol. I. p. 95.

The vast extent of the Roman empire was governed by absolute power, under the guidance of virtue and wisdom." This was from A. D. 96 to 180. It has been called the "Golden Age" of Rome. Among the five emperors who reigned during this period, Trajan was the most energetic in extending Roman territory. He "was a great builder. Rome grew larger and more beautiful under his hand; and throughout the provinces, innumerable bridges, aqueducts, and temples long served as monuments of the splendor and vigor of his reign." Hadrian followed in his footsteps, continually traveling over the empire and superintending the construction of roads, walls, and buildings.[1] Antonius and Marcus Aurelius, or the "two Antonines," reigned in harmony until the former died, when Aurelius reigned alone. Both seemed to rule with the sole object of making their subjects happy.

Almost every land could now count many Roman citizens among its native inhabitants. It was the policy of the government to gain the lasting loyalty of the rising and influential young men in all her provinces by conferring the honor of citizenship upon them. So that there was a chance for every young provincial chieftain to rise to the loftiest degree of power. Many aspired to the throne, and some reached this pinnacle of their ambitious dreams. The strength of the legions was no longer composed of the old Italian stock of soldiers, but the youth of the provinces were the flower of the army. This army knew its strength. It no longer respected the dignity and authority of the Senate. Anyone who would furnish them with the greatest allowance of money was deemed worthy of the purple. So we find the army in 193 A. D. selling the throne to the highest bidder. From that time, the fate

[1] "Landmarks of History," p 26

ofthe empire was written. There was a steady downward course. Occasionally the army would clothe with the toga of power a spirit stronger than their own united, or rather


IMP CAESARI DIVI NERVAE FILIO
NERVAE TRAIANO OPTIMO AVG
GERMANICO DACICO PONTIFICI MAXIMO TRIB
POTESTATE XVIII IMP VI COS V P P
FORTISSIMO PRINCIPI SENATVS P Q R

Trajan's Arch.

divided strength. Such an one was Severus (Septimus) Maximin,[1] who, from a Thracian peasant, rose to be emperor of the world. Then there came a time when a large

[1] 235-238 A. D.

number of independent kingdoms were organized throughout the empire. This was in the time of the "thirty tyrants." At last,[1] there arose a succession of emperors who were able to control the army and restore the empire to its former size and a shadow of its former glory. These were Aurelian,[2] Probus,[3] Diocletian,[4] and Constantine.[5]

Diocletian established a new order of things. He appointed Maximian as his full colleague in office, with equal power and also with the title of Augustus. Then each chose, as son and successor, a young officer, each of whom received the title of Caesar. These were Galerius and Constantius. Diocletian retained for himself the government of Thrace, Macedon, Egypt, and the East. Maximian was given Italy and Africa. Constantius received Gaul, Spain and Britain. Galerius ruled the Danubian provinces. Thus was the authority of the empire enforced throughout the extent of her territory. In 305, both "Augusti" abdicated, and Galerius took upon himself the right to choose two new Caesars. Constantius died the following year, and his legions immediately appointed his son Constantine to succeed him. In 312, Constantine became engaged in war with his associates in the imperial office. In 324, the last one was defeated and put to death. Constantine was sole emperor of the Roman world.

As sole emperor, Constantine ruled with strength and wisdom. He has made his name immortal in two ways. First, though perhaps in a less degree, he is known in history as the founder and builder of Constantinople, which he made the capital of his empire. The walls of magnificent buildings arose on the "Golden Horn" of the

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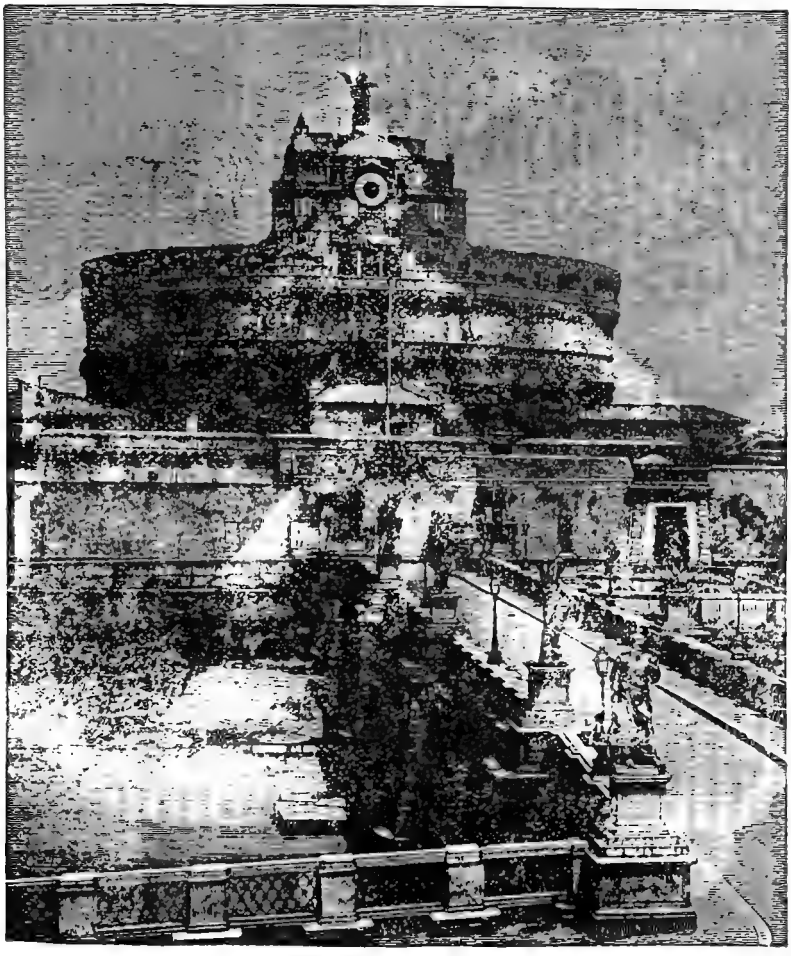
1 268-283 A. D. 2 270-275 A. D.
3 276-282 A. D. 4 284-308 A. D. 5 306-337 A. D.

Bosporus, as the imperial city "appeared resplendent in white marble." It remained the capital city of the Eastern Empire until long after the Saracens made their appear-



Mausoleum of Hadrian.

ance in Europe. But the one act in his life that has given Constantine more than ordinary historical prominence was the course that he took in religious matters. He was the first emperor that adopted and championed the

Christian religion. He early became converted to that faith, and made it the state religion.

It had always been the policy of Rome to leave the inhabitants of her provinces free to retain their native religions.[1] They could worship their gods unmolested. We recall how, in the case of the Jews at the trial of Christ, the Roman governor declined to give judgment because it was a religious trial. Christ had not offended against the Roman law.[2] It is true, that many of the emperors were jealous of any man, or company of men, who appeared to be rising into power. So it is not strange that their imagination, poisoned by fear of assassination, saw political enemies in the leaders and secret assemblies of this newly established church. To suspect a man or a company of men of a desire for power, was a sure death warrant in those days. Neither rank nor sex was any protection. Political enemies were put to death in all manner of cruel ways. Some of the so-called religious persecutions may have been instigated through fear of political uprisings on the part of the Christians.[3]

When the emperor adopted the Christian religion, the opportunity was offered for religious fanatics to try to suppress other religions. Constantine was their tool. Though a good emperor, and, no doubt, an earnest man, "he was strangely superstitious, and his religion, so far as it can be gathered from his public acts, his coins, his medals, and his recorded speeches, was a curious medley of Christianity and Paganism."[4] Constantine also established throughout the empire a system of "graduated nobility, the archetype of the modern system."[5]

[1] Gibbon, Vol. I. p. 33-37. [2] John xviii. 28-31.

[3] When we come to treat of the history of Christianity, we will review this period once more.

[4] Rawlinson: "Manual," p. 529. [5] Ibid. 527.

We must recall also[1] the almost continual war of the Roman Empire with Oriental Empires over the eastern boundary of the one, and the western boundary of the other. Upon the ruins of the Empire of Alexander the Great, had arisen first the Parthian empire, which occupied nearly all of Central Asia. The Euphrates river was, as a general thing, the acknowledged western boundary of that empire. When the Neo-Persian empire succeeded the

Imperial Rome.

Parthian, it inherited also this perpetual warfare with Rome. Successes were about equal on both sides. While, however, neither Parthian nor Persian emperors ever adorned the triumph of a Roman consul, Cassius fell in battle against the Parthians, and the emperor Valerian eked out a disgraceful life as royal prisoner to emperor Sapor. While Trajan, during his reign,[2] seized some territory east of the Tigris and Euphrates, his successor, Hadrian, aban-

[1] Above p. 136. [2] 98-117, A. D.

doned it to the Parthians. Generally speaking, in the time of its greatest extent, the eastern boundary of the Roman empire was the Euphrates river.[1]

In following the political history of Rome through the first three hundred and seventy years[2] of the empire, we have omitted to follow carefully its growth in extent of territory. Let us take a hurried glance over this same period, noting the principal accessions that the empire received from the ruder tribes of the West, as well as from the civilized people of the East. Sicily was the first province to be added to the possessions of Rome. Previous to this time,[3] the territory of Rome was confined to Central and Southern Italy. Though early acquired, Corsica and Sardinia never amounted to much, owing, probably, to a lack of Aryan settlers. The boundary of Italy was extended to the Alps by the conquest of Cis-Alpine Gaul,[4] Liguria, and Venetia.[5] The first of the three was not incorporated with Italy until 43 B. C. "We thus see that not only Venice, but Milan, Pavia, Verona, Ravenna, and Genoa—cities which played so great a part in the after history of Italy —arose in lands which were not Italian."[6]

Hannibal began his war against Rome by the capture of Saguntum, a Spanish ally of that city. So when the second Punic war closed, Spain became a province of Rome, though it was not completely subdued until 19 B. C. The southeastern part of Trans-Alpine Gaul was united to Rome under the name of Provence about 105 B. C. The Cimbri and the Teutons, for half a century, held the Roman army in check in that direction. Finally, Caesar appeared

[1] Among the authorities on Imperial Rome, consult Gibbon: "Decline and Fall." Rawlinson: "Manual;" Dawes: "Land Marks of History;" Tacitus: "Annals;" Clintons: "Chronology of Rome."

[2] 31 B. C., A. D. 339. [3] 212 B. C. [4] 191 B. C. [5] 183 B. C.

[6] Freeman: "Historical Geography," Vol. I. p. 55.

in Gaul with his well trained legions. "Before Caesar's Gallic war, the rule of the Romans extended approximately as far as Toulouse, Vienne and Geneva; after it, as far as

Romans Warring with the Germans.

the Rhine throughout its course, and the coasts of the Atlantic on the north, as on the west."[1]

[1] Vide Mommsen: "Provinces of the Roman Empire," Vol. I p. 86, New York, 1887.

Grecian and Roman influence early began to spread among the Gauls — the one from the Grecian colony of Masilla, and the other from Italy and Spain. The Provence already referred to was said to have furnished many Roman merchants, farmers and grazers for Gaul.[1] They were the business men of the land. While the Gauls practiced agriculture, they paid more attention to grazing.[2] To their own native productions, they added others that were brought to them by their fleets, that were constantly navigating the streams and plying between Britain and their own land. Thus were procured wool for their manufactures, cattle for their herds. Copper, silver, and gold were obtained from some convenient source, and tin from Cornwall. The Italian merchant found a ready sale for his wine and horses in Gaul. It is said, that a single cask of wine might, in those days, be exchanged for a Gallic slave. The Latin language was not unknown there even before Caesar's time. It had spread through commercial intercourse through Roman merchants. Similarly Greek culture had spread northward from Messalia, which furnished Gaul with physicians and philosophers.[3] "Thus trade and commerce paved the way to conquest."[4]

The great stream of Teutonic migration, that was at this time setting toward the west, was not checked by the Rhine or the fear of Roman arms. As they began to encroach more and more upon Gallic territory, rumors of their movements reached the Roman capital. Caesar came with his legions to force the Germans back across the Rhine, and compel them to remain there. It was

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[1] Mommsen: "Rome," Vol. IV. p. 261. [2] Ibid. 264.

[3] Ibid. 261.

[4] In some places [as at Vaison] inscriptions have been found in the Celtic language, using however ordinary Greek letters.

only a temporary check, however, for the pent up forces, in after times, burst through the barriers in all directions; baptising the Western Empire with Teutonic blood, eventually snatching it from the Romans. It took Caesar seven years to subdue Gaul and make of it a Roman province. The Celtic population was conquered, but the Turanian Iberians, disdaining submission, sought refuge in the rocky gorges of the Pyrenees. There they have since lived, and their language has been preserved to tell us of an otherwise lost people.[1] Though Caesar crossed into Britain, he made no conquest of that island. The result of his campaigns was the formation of the province of Trans-Alpine Gaul.[2]

Upon the conquest of Carthage, Africa became a province; but Carthage was not rebuilt until 49 B. C., and, after that, became, next to Rome, the "chief of the Latin-speaking cities of the empire." As Roman territory was extended toward the East, Roman influence found something stronger to contend with than Celtic influence of Western Europe, and Semitic influence of Northern Africa. The Celts were so nearly allied to the Romans that they accepted without dissent, not only Roman customs but also the Roman language. This was not the case with the Germans along the Rhine, nor of Caesar's Belgic Gauls, who were more Teuton than Celt. From the eastern shore of the Adriatic to the Halys river in Asia Minor, the Grecian language was the literary tongue as well as the most cultivated form of speech. Alexandria in Africa and Antioch in Asia were seats of Grecian culture. Now the Greeks were much more Teutonic in

[1] Ethnologically they are said to differ but little from the Celtiberians of Spain, and the Ibero-Celts of France. *Vide* Keane in Ramsay's "Europe," p. 579.

[2] "Historical Geography," p. 58.

ethnology than the Celts; and, besides, we have seen how, from the earliest times, they were strengthened by a continual renewal of Teutonic blood from the north. Although Constantinople was in the center of this Hellenized district, and Latin was the court language of the empire, neither Roman language nor culture had a lasting influence on the habits of this portion of the empire. In later times the Eastern Empire became in reality a Greek state.[1]

The complicated state of Grecian affairs early led to Roman interference. As early as 188 B. C., Rome had, according to her usual line of policy, placed the whole of Asia Minor under the rule of those friendly to her own government. This was sufficient until the time for conquest came. There was a strip of territory bordering the eastern coast of the Adriatic, north of Macedonia, that, in 34 B. C., became the province of Dalmatia. There was a larger district surrounding Dalmatia, however, that became a Roman possession in 168 B. C. and was subsequently known as the province of Illyricum. In 129 B. C., the province of Asia was formed out of her allies across the Aegaean. Bithynia was annexed in 74, Crete in 67, Syria in 64, Cyprus in 58, Egypt in 31 before the beginning of the Christian Era. The lands between the Alps and the Danube were added during the reign of Augustus.[2] Macedonia became a province in 149 B. C. Greece proper for a long time held the anomalous position of an independent dependency of Rome. It finally became the province of Achaia.

The Roman consuls, Caesar, Claudius, and Agricola, were met by a Celtic population when they landed in

[1] Freeman: "Historical Course," p. 162.

[2] These were the provinces of Raetia, Vindelicia, Noricum, Pannonia, and Moesia. They were known as the Danubian provinces.

Britain.[1] The Teutonic wave of migration that brought our forefathers to the shores of the ocean had not yet reached the land of the Britons. Although Cæesar invaded the island in 55 B. C., Agricola[2] succeeded in carrying the conquest only to the wall of Hadrian. So far north only, did the province of Britain extend. It was

Landing of Caesar in Britain.

one of the first provinces to be thrown off by the empire. A few remains only record the presence of the Romans in this now Teutonic Island. Turning again to the East, we find that the northern part of Arabia became a province in A. D. 106, as did Dacia, the only territory north of

1 "Historical Geography," p. 69; also Rhys; "Celtic Britain," p. 23-4.
2 A. D. 84.

the Danube that ever fell under Roman sway. This, the last of the provinces to be annexed, was the first to be given up. Aurelian withdrew from it in 270 and transferred its name to Moesia.[1]

When the Roman empire had at last reached its growth, we can give as its northern and eastern boundaries three great rivers, the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates. In Africa, it included the strip of fertile country north of the Great Desert and Egypt as far south as the Tropic of Cancer. The only provinces lying beyond these boundaries were Britain and Dacia, the last to be added and the first to fall away from the Roman possessions. "In every part of that dominion, the process of conquest was gradual. The lands which became Roman provinces passed through various stages of alliance and dependency before they were fully incorporated. But, in the end, all the civilized world of those times became Roman."[2] We must now remember that Rome carried her own language with her into all countries. The Latin language, however, had no lasting effect upon the Greeks of either Europe or Asia. In some places, it has been since swept away by Teutonic, Slavic, or Turkish conquests, so that it may be said that the Romance world of to-day is built upon a Celtic or Turanian foundation. The occasional attempts to conquer Germany were failures.

Constantine divided the empire into four "Praetorian Prefectures—the East, Illyricum, Italy, and Gaul.[3] These were divided into first Dioceses, and these sub-divided into Provinces. The last emperor of the house of Constantine was Julian, the apostate. He is chiefly known for his attempts to root out Christianity and re-establish Pagan-

1 *Vide* "Historical Geography," p. 70.
2 "Historical Geography," p. 71-2. 3 Ibid. 75.

ism. After his death,[1] Jovian ruled about eight months. He was succeeded by Valentinian who shared the empire with his brother, Valens. The empire was re-united by Theodosius ; but the sons of Theodosius[2] divided it into two empires, Arcadius taking nearly the same territory that was included in the first two prefectures of Constantine, while Honorius took the western two. Thus were formed two lines of emperors who ruled during the greater part of the fifth century—the one having its capital at Constantinople, the other usually at Ravenna or Milan.

We have now traced the history of the Romans from the first arrival of Aryans in the Italian peninsula until the great empire was finally divided into two nearly equal parts. We have seen how the Turanians first gave way before the pressure of the Celts from the north. The latter were met by the Helleno-Teutonic colonists crowding their way toward the north. The resulting Italians were a hardy race (if we may be permitted to use that word) of Celto-Teutonic Aryans. For a long time the Roman people retained their strong and hardy character, capable of ruling the three continents known to the Medieval World. But in the times of the empire, the effeminate Oriental became a Roman citizen. The riches of the East lured the Triumvir Crassus to his death. The great Caesar could not wholly resist the dazzling beauty and the intoxicating charms of Egypt's fair queen, Cleopatra, in the delirium of which the weaker Antony revelled himself to death. The emperor Elagabulus himself was a priest of the Syrian sun-god, and brought his ideas of Oriental court life to Rome.[3] Luxurious baths followed the Roman

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[1] 263 A. D. [2] A. D. 395. [3] See Gibbon, Vol. I. p. 167-8.

legions to their winter quarters, when formerly the soldiers were hardened by severe and vigorous discipline. The court, which once gloried in the death of the chaste Lucretia, now applauded the shameful lives of the licentious Julia and the voluptuous Faustina.[1] The streams of crimson blood that flowed from the veins of the dying gladiators poisoned the sympathetic hearts of even the gentler sex, and more than one empress prepared the poisoned food for her fated lord. The army had come to know its power, and usually decided the title of the one who aspired to the throne. "Of the sixty-two emperors from Caesar to Constantine, forty-two were murdered, three committed suicide, two abdicated or were forced to abdicate, one was killed in a rebellion, one was drowned, one died in war, one died it is not known how, and no more than eleven died in the way of nature."[2] The imperial life averaged only five years. When we reflect upon this condition of affairs, we see the doom of the Roman empire written so plainly that "he who runs may read."

Still the empire did not fall with its division into two parts. The Eastern Empire continued to exist and exert a great influence until the fanatic tribes of Islam appeared before the gates of Constantinople. The breaking up of the Western Empire is so intimately connected with the "Rise of Modern Nations" that we will consider it in that chapter. We have seen how the Roman legions fixed the boundaries of the powerful German tribes and so limited the primitive Aryan domain. But the destiny of races can not be directed by mortal man. The pent up Aryan forces must come forth. Long since we have seen these same Teutonic tribes climbing the Alps, and fording

1 See Gibbon, Vol. I. p. 151.

2 Steele: "History of Rome," p. 68.

the Danube and the Rhine. We now hear the ominous tread of the advancing Goths and Franks, and the resulting baptism of Teutonic blood was destined to vitalize the modern world.

Bas Relief, Island of Java.

# CHAPTER V.

## THE RISE OF MODERN NATIONS.

INTRODUCTION—The First Appearance of the Huns—The Migration of the Goths—Invasion of the Western Empire by the Teutons—Fall of Gaul—Atilla—Gothic Conquest of the Western Empire—Rise of the Franks — The Saracens — Charles Martel—Charlemagne—The Final Separation of the Two Empires—The Basilian Dynasty in the East—Fall of the Eastern Empire—The Triple Division of Charlemagne's Empire—Italy under the Karlings—Change of the Western Empire to the German Empire—Rise of the Italian Cities—Outline Sketch of Germany—The Hohenstaufen Dynasty—Frederic Barbarossa—Rise of Austria—Outline Sketch of France—The Norsemen—Rise of Normandy—The Capets—Appearance of Modern France—Sketch of Spanish History—Castile and Aragon—Charles V.—The Small States of Switzerland, Belgium, and Holland Explained—Sketch of Russian History — The Muscovites—Peter the Great—Hungary, Lithuania, and Poland—Sweden and Norway—Denmark—Outline of English History—Aelfred—The Norman Conquest—The Plantagenets—The Magna Charta—Henry VIII.—General Conclusions

AN ERA of time recedes in the gloom of antiquity, its history seems to cluster around certain master spirits, who, for the time being, virtually swayed the world. During the greater portion of the time, when the boundaries of the Roman Empire circumscribed the historical world, the leading figure of each generation was the Emperor. When the right of succession to the imperial throne came to rest upon the will and power of the strongest organized army, and when the choice of such an authority fell to the one

who could shower the richest gifts upon them, there arose many an emperor whose whole career may be written: "He was emperor of Rome."

An empire that a Caesar could organize and rule was too vast for the playhouse of a childish Commodus. The territory which Trajan added to the empire was lost by his successor, Hadrian. Diocletian (286 A. D.) recognized the fact that the empire was too extensive to be ruled by one man of ordinary ability, so we find him appointing a colleague. Constantine the Great found it to be an advantage to have the empire divided into four prefectures. Later, Valentinian shared the empire with his brother, Valens. And, as previously shown, upon the death of Theodosius (A. D. 395), the empire was divided into two nearly equal parts—one to each of his sons—ruling with nearly equal independent powers. Honorius received the western half and Arcadius the eastern. The empire was re-united again, for a moment only, in the time of Zeno, (474-491) and of Justinian (527-565), though many of the more remote western provinces were never again brought under the rule of one emperor.[1]

This partition of the Roman Empire marks a period when a new element appears in the history of Europe. The history of the continent no longer centers around the emperors of Rome. In fact, individuals are now, for a time, almost lost from history, while the names of tribes and confederacies from the central part of Europe are taking the place of those of individuals. The German people now appear as a great or controlling factor in shaping European events. This is especially the case in the Western Empire. The Eastern Empire, however, was not particularly troubled by the movements of the

[1] *Vide* Freeman: "Historical Course," New York, 1876, p. 103, 114.

Germanic tribes. The most that they asked of it was a passage through its territory and such plunder as they could hurriedly gather on the march.[1]

Europe had become pretty thoroughly Aryanized before this time. The Etruscans were swallowed up by the Celto-Italians. The Iberians, then as now, were, probably,

Arrival of the Huns in Europe.

Turanian merely in speech.[2] The Huns and Magyars had not yet appeared upon the scene of European life. Their place was probably filled by more or less pure Germanic tribes. The Finns and Lapps that had not already yielded

[1] Freeman: "Historical Geography," The Goths, however, occupied Constantinople in 400 A. D. *Vide* Stokes: "Medieval History," Philadelphia, 1887, p. 26.

[2] Keane in Ramsay's, "Europe," p. 579.

to Aryan influences were but a fringe along the icy shores of the northern seas. To the east, the way was still open to Teuto-Aryan migration; and, during the long centuries that the Roman legions guarded the fords of the Rhine and the Danube against the westward passage of the Germans, the great surplus of Teutonic life must have flooded the steppes and plains of Russia.

But in the fourth century, a new people of Turanian origin appeared upon the eastern horizon, who became known in history as the Huns. Their ancestors were, perhaps, the people who had, before the dawn of history, cut off the Sarmatians from farther migration into the Trans-Caspian region, and who had been gradually filling up the steppes of Southern Russia. The vanguard of the invaders was now pressing hard upon the eastern border of the Slavic possessions. They were in possession of the basin of the Volga long before they were known to the Romans[1]; and, for an unknown time, there had been a steady advance toward the West. They gradually re-claimed the plains of Russia from the Aryans, who had come to consider them as their home.

Dacia was the only province that Rome ever held north of the Danube river, and Aurelian withdrew from this province as early as 270 A. D. It then became the home of powerful German tribes known as Goths. There were two confederacies, known afterwards as the West-Goths (Visi-Goths) and the East-Goths (Ostra-Goths.) Here they formed a state of considerable power. The Arian Bishop Ulfilas dwelt among them (about 375)[2] and by his preaching,[3] converted them to Christianity. For the

[1] Millman's Gibbon: "Rome," Vol. II. p. 125 *et seq.*

[2] This word is not derived from Aryan, but is the name of a religious sect. [3] His translation of the Scriptures is about the only specimen of Gothic writing that we have.

next century, there was much fighting between the Goths and the Romans along the Danube, which was the border line between the two. At last[1] the West-Gothic tribes, forced by the pressure of the Huns at their backs,[2] were allowed by Emperor Valens to cross the river, and were given a large tract of land upon which to settle.

Finally, the flood-gates of the Turanian home-land seem to have been burst asunder, and an irresistible deluge of Hunnish warriors swept over the whole of Eastern Europe and crowded hard upon the Goths. Even these stalwart Teutons were not able to stand against them. "Then the Danube, for many days and nights, was covered with a large fleet of boats and canoes, each sunk to the water's edge by its crowded freight of fugitives."[3] Some of these were induced by Bishop Ulfilas to adopt a settled mode of life in Moesia. But the most of them remained warriors, and their vast army of two hundred thousand fighting men was, for a moment, a barrier between Rome and the Huns.

If we turn now to Gaul, we perceive that the Rhine was no longer a barrier between the Empire and Germany. In the third and fourth centuries, we begin to hear the names of the Franks and the Burgundians, who were crossing the Rhine into the imperial territory.[4] At this time, Rome was steadily growing weaker. The Germans were pressing into her territory in every conceivable manner—they crowded into the Roman army; their chiefs conquered and held lands, as Roman officials, within her boundaries.[5] The time at length came when Rome could no longer defend her vast possessions. The Franks began to

[1] 376. [2] Freeman: "Historical Course," p. 88-9. p. 22, *et seq.*
[3] "Land Marks of History," p. 106.
[4] Freeman: "Historical Geography," p. 85. [5] Ibid.

migrate in bands and occupy Northern Gaul, while the Burgundians took like possession of Southeastern Gaul. At the same time, many of the German youths, attracted by the luxury and life of ease of the Roman citizen, were

Incoming of the Barbarians.

willing to sell their birthrights, and change their plainer dress and harsher names for Roman luxuries and the honors of Roman life. All stations in public life were opened

to them, we find that some of the emperors even of this period,[1] who were raised to the purple by the border legions, could not conceal their Teutonic origin.[2]

By the close of the fourth century, Rome began to lose territory on all sides. She had reached the pinnacle of her fame, and the sad period of decline and ever lessening influence was now before her. She could no longer be called the world. Her doom was written. Luxury and profligacy reigned where once discipline and virtue held sway. The land, from which, in ages past, the pure streams of sturdy Romans had poured to subdue the world, had become defiled by Celtic, Egyptian, and Asiatic influence, and could produce nothing but a weak and effeminate race. It needed a powerful mixture of pure Aryan blood to reinvigorate this declining people. Such was to come from the baptism of the Old Empire with Teutonic blood, and was heralded by the Goths crossing the Danube, and the Franks and Burgundians, the Rhine. Such a flood was to cause much destruction, to cost many lives, and to entail much suffering. But from this, there was destined to emerge new nations and new Romes, far excelling the old in grandeur, power, and culture.

As soon as the West-Goths had become settled south of the Danube, they had a chance to test the strength of the imperial armies. Ill-treatment from Roman officials caused dissatisfaction, which led within two years to open rebellion. Emperor Valens, marching against them, was

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[1] 200-400. A. D.

[2] Septimus Severus [193-211], Aurelian [270-275], and Maximian [286-305] were made emperors by the proclamation of the Pannonian legions. Claudius II. [269-270], Probus [276-282], and Valentinian I. [364-375] were of Pannonian origin. Vide Vambery, "Story of Hungary," New York, 1886, p. 22. Justinian was of "Gothic parentage." Vide Stokes: "Medieval History," p. 67.

defeated and slain (378.)[1] Henceforth it was continual warfare between the ruler of the Western Empire, and the Goths and other German tribes. Theodosius, the last real

Stilicho and the Goths.

emperor (379-395) of the united empire, was able by justice and good government to hold the Goths in check. Then

[1] **Freeman: "Historical Course," p. 100-1.**

succeeded Honorius (395-423) in the West and Arcadius (395-408) in the East. The empire was rent asunder, and Honorius, said to have been "cowardly and incapable,"[1] had not the power to defend his territories.

Honorius had one general, Stilicho, who was able to manage the Goths; but, on the whole, they roamed and plundered as they pleased. Stilicho was put to death, and then no one could check their ravages. Under their leader, Alaric, they took and sacked the Imperial city itself (410), and kept the Emperor penned up in his capital, which had been changed from Rome to Ravenna.[2] The same year, the Emperor withdrew from Britain, which was ever after independent of Rome. Alaric soon died; and Honorius entered into a treaty with his successor, Athaulf, whereby the latter became Roman governor of Spain, whither he led the West-Goths and drove the Vandals into Africa. Henceforth Southwestern Europe became a powerful West-Gothic kingdom. These Vandals, a Teuto-Slavic[3] people, who had early passed from Germany into Spain, took possession of Carthage (439), and soon grew in power so as to become formidable to Rome. Genseric, their chief, led his forces against that city which was captured (455), though, by the intercession of Pope Leo I., it was saved from universal pillage.

Pope Leo was the leading man at Rome at this time. The emperors were, as a class, without power, ability or ambition, as we shall see in their dealings with the Huns. This powerful people had now reached the Western Empire (433-454.)[4] The Roman general Aetius commanded the

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[1] Stokes: "Medieval History," p. 19. [2] Freeman: "Historical Course," p. 101.

[3] Quatrefages: "The Prussian Race," p. 12, note by Maury.

[4] If these people were on the Volga in A. D. 100, forced the Goths out of Dacia in 376, and invaded the Western Empire in 433-454, we fail

imperial forces. Atilla, "the Scourge of God," led the Hunnish horde, and first pushed forward into Gaul, sweeping everything before him. Theodoric, the West-Goth, rallied his forces and went to the aid of Aetius. At the battle of Chalons (451), the Huns were completely defeated, though it cost the life of Theodoric. This is one of the great battles of the world. Christianity, Aryan civilization, and all that distinguished Europe from Asia were at stake.[1] It was a struggle between Irân and Turan. The former were successful; and, although Atilla appeared before Rome (452), which was saved from plunder only by intercession of Pope Leo and by the power of Roman gold, the Turanians ultimately fell back beyond the Danube.

The Western Empire was now rapidly falling to pieces. There ruled a succession of weak emperors until 476 when the Senate voted that one emperor was enough, and that the eastern emperor, Zeno, should rule the whole empire. Zeno assumed the government, but never visited Rome. He appointed Odoacer, commander of the German mercenary troops, to rule as Patriarch at Ravenna as his representative. At the command of Odoacer Romulus, the claimant of the western crown, was forced to yield it up. But the triumph of Odoacer was short. The East-Goths were moving toward the west. Their king, Theodoric, conquered Odoacer, and, though in reality king, he "reigned (493-526) by an imperial commission" as Patrician.[2] "Italy under Theodoric was the most peaceful and flourishing

to understood the "lightening like speed "with which they crossed Europe, mentioned by some writers. We look upon their western advances as that of a powerful people in search of homes or plunder. They were probably no more hideous, blood-thirsty, and cruel than the more ordinary run of invaders of those troublous times.

[1] Freeman: "Historical Course," p. 102.

[2] Freeman: "Historical Course," p. 102-3. "Historical Geography," p. 94-5.

country in the world, more peaceful and flourishing than it had been for a long time before or than it has ever been since till quite lately."[1]

In the meantime, the Eastern Empire was full of trouble. Though the religious history of this period will

Atilla at the Battle of Chalons.

be fully treated in the proper place, it is necessary to remark that already the Christian church was rent with dissensions. Arianism had arisen at Alexandria; Nestorian-

[1] Freeman: "Historical Course," p. 105.

ism, at Constantinople; and both had been condemned by the councils of the Catholic church, while the emperors were continually trying to mediate between these and other factions. The patriarchs at Constantinople, though

Odoacer Compels Romulus to Abdicate.

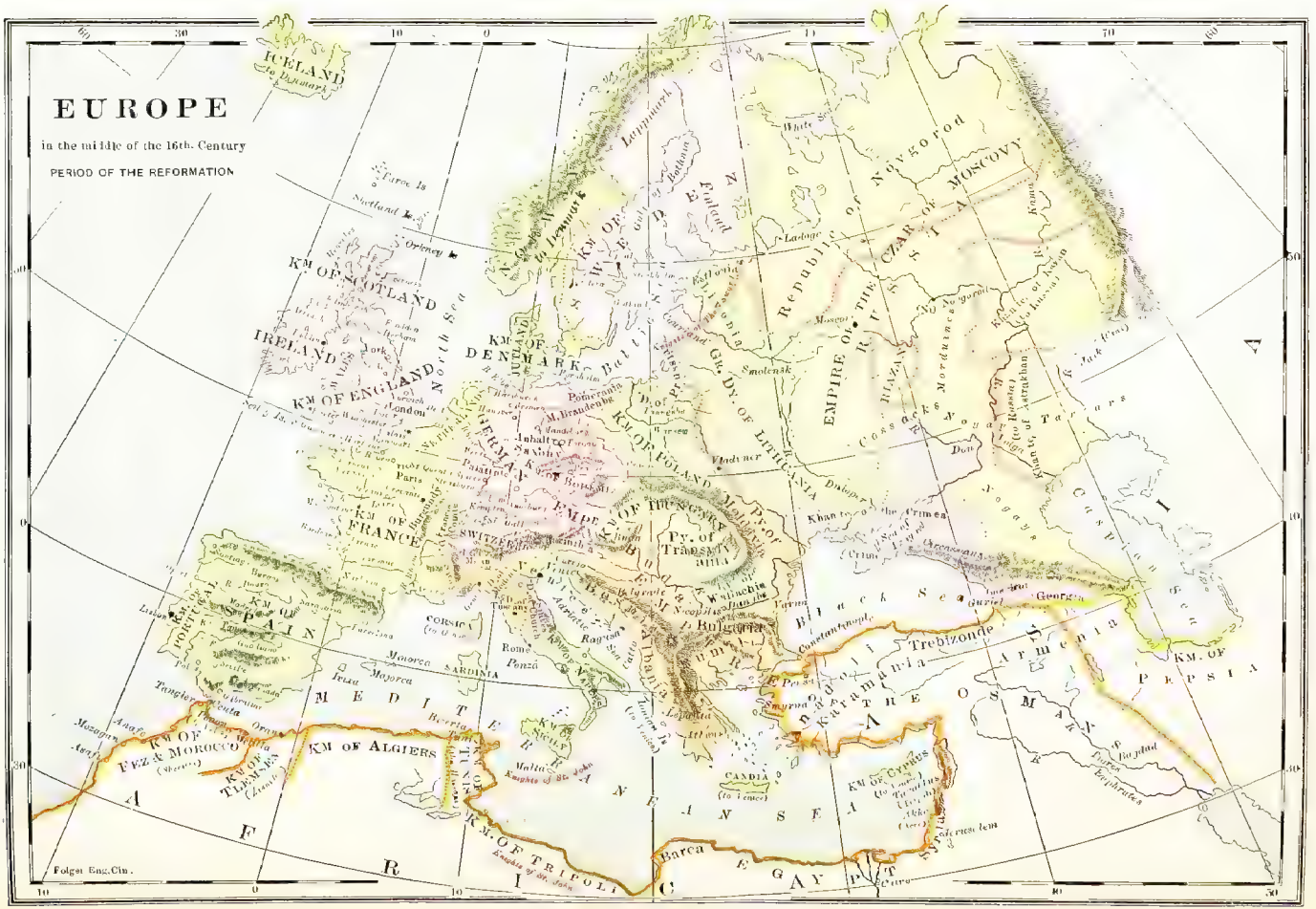
at the head of the Eastern Church, were always subject to the emperor; but at Rome, the bishops had drifted into popes, who were the acknowledged head of the Western (Latin or Catholic) Church, and were already beginning to gain ascendency in temporal power over political rulers. Now there was always a bitter enmity between the various

religious factions. The Goths and Vandals were Arian Christians. Theodoric ruled at Rome without stooping to the persecution of Catholics; but this stands out as an almost isolated example where, during medieval times, the sect in power did not persecute their weaker brethren.

When Justinian became emperor (527-565), he determined to unite the West with the East, and rule the whole in reality. His generals, Belisarius and Narses, entered Italy, conquered the Goths, and put an end to the Italian kingdom (553). Italy was now ruled from Ravenna by officers called exarchs. For two and a half centuries (550-800), there was no Western Empire. But another wave of Turanian people, the Avars, had now appeared in Central Europe, where they dwelt for nearly two and a half centuries (566-796). They took possession of the valley of the Danube.[1] They displaced a Teutonic people known as Lombards, who, in turn, sought homes in the valley of the Po (567). These Lombards formed the third Teutonic kingdom that had been formed in Italy; and they ruled nearly the whole of the peninsula except Rome, Ravenna, Naples, and Venice. Though Rome never fell before the Lombards, the Exarchate at Ravenna was finally conquered by them (753). The Lombards remained a power in Italy for centuries, and we shall hear more of them as we proceed.

In the fifth century, we find German tribes crossing the English channel, penetrating into Britain, and forming a host of petty kingdoms there, which finally shifted around into seven more or less well defined confederacies. The bonds of confederation were, however, very loose, and many tribes seem to have remained independent for a long time to come. Now three—Sussex (477), Wessex

[1] Vambury: "Story of Hungary," p. 24-5.


EUROPE
in the middle of the 16th. Century
PERIOD OF THE REFORMATION
ICELAND
to Denmark
Faroe Is.
Shetland Is.
Orkney Is.
KM OF SCOTLAND
IRELAND
KM OF ENGLAND
North Sea
London
York
KM OF DENMARK
KM OF SWEDEN
Lappmark
Finland
Bothnia
Gulf of Bothnia
Estonia
Livonia
Courland
Gr. Dy. of LITHUANIA
Republic of Novgorod
CZAR OF MOSCOVY
RUSSIA
EMPIRE OF THE
White Sea
Ladoga
Moscow
Smolensk
Vladimir
Kazan
Nijni Novgorod
Kingdom of Kasan
Kingdom of Astrakhan
Cossacks
Nogay Tartars
Don
Dnieper
Khan of the Crimea
Circassians
Caspian Sea
Georgia
Black Sea
Constantinople
Trebizonde
Armenia
KM. OF PERSIA
Baghdad
Euphrates
Tigris
Jerusalem
Syria
Cairo
EGYPT
Barca
KM OF TRIPOLI
Knights of St. John
KM OF TUNIS
KM OF SICILY
Malta
Knights of St. John
KM OF ALGIERS
KM OF TLEMEN
KM OF FEZ & MOROCCO
(Sherifs)
Tangier
Ceuta
Oran
Mozagan
Anafa
Asafi
AFRICA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Beirut
Minorca
Majorca
Iviza
SARDINIA
CORSICA
(to Genoa)
Rome
Ponza
Naples
Tuscany
Venice
Ragusa
Albania
Epirus
Athens
Lepanto
Smyrna
Rhodes
CANDIA
(to Venice)
KM OF CYPRUS
(to Venice)
Tarsus
Akka
(Acre)
Karamania
Anadoli
THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Bulgaria
Wallachia
Moldavia
Pr. of Transylvania
Hungary
Budah
Vienna
Bohemia
Moravia
Silesia
Saxony
Brandenburg
Pomerania
Anhalt
Saxony
Palatinate
GERMAN EMPIRE
Mayence
Cologne
Paris
Lorraine
Burgundy
KM OF FRANCE
SWITZERLAND
Berne
Geneva
Milan
Genoa
Lisbon
KM OF PORTUGAL
KM OF SPAIN
Barcelona
Cordova
Granada
Seville
Toledo
Madrid
Saragossa
Pampeluna
Bayonne
Bordeaux
Poitiers
Orleans
Tours
Rouen
Caen
Dieppe
Calais
Boulogne
Dunkirk
Ostend
Antwerp
Brussels
Ghent
Bruges
Liege
Namur
Mons
Tournay
Lille
Arras
Amiens
Abbeville
Rheims
Troyes
Dijon
Lyons
Avignon
Marseilles
Toulouse
Montpellier
Nantes
Rennes
Brest
Cherbourg
Havre
Dieppe
Folger Eng. Cin.

(495), and Essex (500)—of these confederacies were of Saxon origin; three—Northumbria (547), Anglia (455-579), and Mercia (584)—were of Anglian origin; while one—Kent (465)—was of Jutish origin. All were "Low Dutch,"[1] that is coming from the low lands along the Baltic Sea. These loosely organized confederacies form the so-called Heptarchy, or Seven Kingdoms. The Angles have furnished us with the name of our English race, while from the combination of Angle and Saxon, we have the ethnical term Anglo-Saxon.[2]

Interest now centers in Gaul, and we must consider the rise of the Frankish power. Near the end of the fifth century, we read of Clovis (481-511), who made himself ruler of much of ancient Gaul. Around his head, there cluster many legends of his prowess and virtue, among which, the most often repeated is the one concerning the vase of Soissons—of "marvellous size and beauty." Clovis was a pagan, and this vase was among the plunder that his warriors took from the church at Rheims. At the request of the bishop, St. Reni, Clovis wished to return it to the church, but when the spoil was divided, an ill-natured Frank dashed it to pieces with his battle-axe. This was his right as a Frank, or "Freeman." But before a year had passed, Clovis found an opportunity when it was his privilege to punish the Frank, and struck him dead with a battle-axe saying: "Thus didst thou to the vase of Soissons."[3]

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[1] The terms High Dutch and Low Dutch often occur in history, the former meaning the inhabitants of inland or Southern Germany, and the latter, the population of the lowlands along the coast. *Vide* "Historical Course," p. 107.

[2] *Vide* Buckley: "History of England," London, 1887, p. 13.

[3] For extended account *Vide* Guizot: "History of France," Black's translation, Boston, Vol. I. p. 138 *et seq.*

In regard to the life of Clovis, this much is true. He was the first Frankish chieftain to rise into prominence. The eyes of the religious world were upon him; and there was rivalry between the Arians and Catholics, each endeavoring to achieve his conversion. He (492) received in marriage Clotilda, the Catholic princess of Burgundy, and soon (496) became a devout Catholic. Henceforth he was the Catholic champion against the Arian West-Goths. At the battle of Poitiers (507), Clovis broke the power of the West-Goths north of the Pyrenees, and checked the further spread of the Arian religion in that direction. He defeated the Roman governor of Gaul and became, at last (508), consul by the appointment of the Emperor Anastasius. Under Clovis, then, we have the first appearance on the map of Europe of a state somewhat resembling modern France.

But this territory was to undergo many changes before our own times. When Clovis died (511), it was divided among his four sons. This line of rulers was known as the Merovingian dynasty. And the history of these princes was "one long, dreary story of blood, vice, and cruelty."[1] They became so weak and incapable that their provinces were ruled by deputies known as Mayors of the Palace.[2] The princes were mere figure-heads and, at last (751), passed away altogether. Pippin, one of these Mayors of the Palace, encouraged by the Pope, asserted his power, deposed the last Merovingian king, and ruled a united Frankish empire for seventeen years (751-768), gaining even greater renown than his illustrious father, Charles Martel (Mayor of the Palace 715-741), who gave the name of Karlings to this dynasty, and of whom we shall hear

[1] "Medieval History," p. 47.

[2] Really the tribal chiefs of the older period.

again in connection with the Lombards and the Saracens.

If we were to glance at a map of Europe showing the ruling people at the beginning of the sixth century A. D., we would perceive how thoroughly Western Europe had become intermixed with Teuto-Aryan blood. The Celts were driven either to the farthest corner of ancient Gaul and to the remotest shores of the British Isles, or had become the serfs of Teutonic over-lords. Cæsar's Gaul and Spain were occupied by the Teutonic kingdoms of the Suevi, West-Goths, Franks, and Burgundians. The East-Goths occupied the whole of Italy. The northern and eastern banks of the Rhine and of the Danube were the homes of the Saxons, Thuringians, Lombards, and Gepidæ; while the Angles, Jutes, and some of the Saxons had already reached the shores of Britain. The European possessions of the Eastern Empire had dwindled away to a small portion of the Hellenic peninsula south of the Danube river—Thrace and Illyricum. The Slaves at last take their place along the eastern borders of Teutonic realms, situated so as to receive the brunt of the later battles with the Avars and other invading Turanians.[1]

The Eastern Empire was at this time eking out an almost uneventful career. Theodosius II. (408-450) initiated the work of compiling the customs, usages, and laws of the Roman court into a code of laws. Justinian (527-565) took up the work and gave the world the "Justinian code," which is the foundation of much of modern European law. As a legislator, he had no equal among the early emperors. The imperial throne was occupied by Heraclius (610-641). During his reign, Jerusalem was captured by the Persians, but was afterward retaken. A new element in the world's history made its appearance early in the seventh century.

[1] Hallam: "Middle Ages," New York, 1880, Vol. I. p. 1-2.

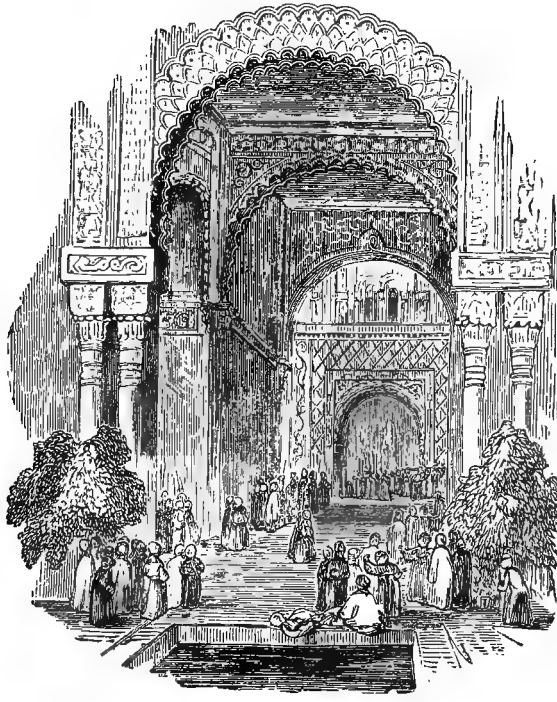
This was the rise of Mohammedanism. It was during the reign of Heraclius (June 18th, 622) that the Hegira of Mohammed occurred. And thus was inaugurated one of the most important religious movements of the world, one that was to weld the Semitic tribes of the desert into a powerful government, destined to make Christian Europe tremble before it.

Mohammedanism will be fully treated in its proper place. It is sufficient here to note that the founder belonged to the ruling family of one of the most powerful tribes of Arabs, the Koreysh tribe, which had for a long time ruled over Northern Arabia. Mohammed was born at Mecca, but was forced to flee to Medina, and this flight is the "Hegira" of Mohammedanism. The Mohammedan era dates from that event. The particular faith known as Mohammedanism is said to have been compounded from all the philosophical religions of that day. Its peculiar tenets are set forth in the Koran, the Bible of Mohammed. This new faith rapidly spread over the plains and deserts of the East, and especially among the wandering tribes of Arabia. The followers of Mohammed are called Saracens; and, with the battle cry of "The Koran, the sword, or tribute," they entered upon their era of conquest. The successors of the Prophet were called Caliphs.

Omar, the second caliph, was father-in-law to the Prophet. Under his rule the faith was carried into Syria, Persia, Central Asia, and Egypt. Alexandria was taken, and its famous library burned. The caliph claimed that if these books agreed with the Koran they were superfluous; if they disagreed, they were pernicious and ought to be destroyd.[1] The Ommiade dynasty of caliphs ruled at Damascus until 750; the Abbasside dynasty, at Bagdad, from

[1] Dawe: "Land Marks of History," p. 91.

750 to 1258, when the last caliph was slain by the grandson of the Mongol chieftain, Genghis Khan. These Saracens spread in every direction. They reached India on the east, and Spain on the west, the same year (711). Twice, during the first century of their existence, they besieged Constantinople. In 673 they were beaten back by



The Alcazar in Spain.
[*Saracen Architecture.*]

the armies of Constantine IV. Finally Leo I. (717) so utterly defeated them that no "Moslem army ever again appeared under the walls of New Rome until the caliphate had passed away and a sterner race of conquerors had assumed its mission."[1] The Saracens entered Spain (711),

[1] Freeman: "History and Conquests of the Saracens," London, 1876, p 91-2.

and in three years had completed its conquest.[1] The comparative ease with which they gained control of this peninsula is somewhat surprising; but, when we consider, that the population of Spain and Northern Africa were no doubt kindred, that the straits were the highway over which the Phoenicians and the other conquerors of Spain had passed, and that the mass of the population were held in the condition of serfs to foreign or West-Gothic over-lords, we can account for the rapid conquest of the country by the Mohammedans. As they spread over the peninsula, the most powerful Gothic chieftains rallied their tribesmen about them, fortified some mountain fastnesses, and waged continual warfare with the Saracens until the latter were finally driven out by Ferdinand and Isabella (1492). In fact, it is to these bands of independent West-Goths in their mountain homes that we are to look for the germs from which sprung the kingdoms of Castile, Aragon, Leon, and Portugal, and by the union of the first three, the kingdom of Spain itself.[2]

The Saracenic government in Spain is said[3] to have been one of the best of its age. Religious persecution happened only in cases where it was invited by zealots who had determined upon martyrdom. Literature was cultivated; and, in architecture, the ruins of the Alhambra[4] testify to the degree of perfection and grandeur which they had attained. In time (about 755), Spanish Mohammedans became alienated from their brethren in the East, and a separate caliphate (the Western) was formed. Not satisfied with the conquest of the peninsula, the Saracens crossed the Pyrenees and began to encroach upon the ter-

1 "Historical Geography," p. 111.
2 Freeman: "History and Conquests of the Saracens," p. 138-9.
3 Ibid. 137 *et seq.*
4 *Vide* Irving: "The Alhambra."

ritory of the Burgundians and Franks. The cities of Southern Gaul became for a time Saracenic.[1]

Charles Martel, though only a mayor of the palace, was really the chief man among the Franks at this time. As the Saracens grew bolder, by reason of a succession of conquests, they penetrated farther and farther into Frankish territory. Charles Martel summoned all the forces of Gaul, and met the invaders at Tours or Poiters (732). Another of the decisive battles of the world was fought, and the Aryan triumphed over the Semite. The Saracens were driven to the south of the Pyrenees, and these mountains henceforth remained the boundary between the two races in the West. By this battle, Europe was preserved to the Aryans.

It will be remembered that Charles Martel was the founder of the Frankish dynasty known as the Karlings.[2] When Pippin, the son of Charles, was king of the Franks, the Lombards,[3] after conquering nearly all of Italy, appeared at the gates of Rome. Pope Stephen III. invited Pippin to enter Italy and save the imperial city. Pippin was successful, and restored the exarchate to the empire. For this service, he was made patrician, or governor, of the exarchate (Rome and vicinity), for Rome still regarded herself as a part of the empire and bowed to the imperial authority at Constantinople.

Pippin was succeeded by his son, Charlemagne,[4] who raised the Frankish kingdom to its greatest power. His reign might be called the Golden Age of the Franks, as distinguished from the later French, for this people never again enjoyed such power and happiness as during his wise reign. Conquests were pushed in all directions.

[1] "Historical Geography," p. 111-12.
[2] Above p. 346. [3] Above p. 342. [4] Charles the Great, 768-814.

His armies were everywhere carrying peace to those who chose to submit to his authority, the sword to those who withstood his arms. The Saxons were his most obstinate subjects, for he tried to force them to change their religion. They desired independence and the privilege of worshiping

Defeat of the Saracens by Charles Martel.

their own gods. Though many of them submitted to baptism at the point of the sword, they worshiped their pagan gods in peace. The ruthless hand of the destroyer, however, cut down their images and defiled their sacred places. Revolt after revolt happened, proving to Charlemagne that they were still pagans, and the only way to save

their souls was to take their lives. So he assembled over four thousand of their foremost tribesmen and caused their heads to be struck off in one day.[1] The remnant continued to fight until each small band was conquered or annihilated.

The Avars were by this time crowding over the mountains and threatening the Franks.[2] They already held the Byzantine (or Eastern) Empire under annual tribute. But, toward the close of the eighth century, Charlemagne drove them back to their Danubian home.[3] The Lombards were again threatening the imperial city, and Charlemagne responded to her call for help. He (774) completely subdued these dangerous neighbors, and held them under subjection for the remainder of his reign.

The cruel Irene had usurped the throne at Constantinople. The Imperialists at Rome claimed that a woman could not be Caesar and turned their eyes toward Charlemagne, the saver of the imperial city, the champion of Christianity against Paganism, as the only proper person to occupy the seat of Caesar. Amidst great pomp and ceremony, on the last day of December, in the year 800, as Charlemagne knelt at the altar in St. Peters at Rome, Pope Leo III. placed upon his head a crown, and, amid the acclamations of the people, proclaimed him Emperor and Augustus.

In this manner was the Western Empire revived, though a Teuton wore the crown; and we must remember that the Western Empire was ever afterward a truly German Empire, and nearly all the emperors were kings of Germany. Charlemagne never became the slave of the

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1 Guizot: "History of France," Vol. I. p. 216-17.
2 Above p. 334.
3 *Vide* Vambury: "Story of Hungary," p. 24-5.

Pope. He openly differed from the church and its council by rejecting their decrees to authorize image worship when sent to him.[1] So, too, he was in advance of his time in regard to culture. His reign was a period when great progress was making; literature and art were encouraged; and, at his invitation, France became filled with scholars of the day.

The mind of Charlemagne was one of those master minds that could carry on conquest after conquest, spreading his power in all directions, and, at the same time, capable of conceiving and perfecting plans for the improvement of his subjects, for the advancement of education, and for the introduction of good government. Ordinarily, if the prince be a soldier, his mind is too much filled with his plans of conquest to be able to attend to his government; if he be a scholar and legislator, he is utterly incapable of defending his possessions from the encroachment of his neighbors. While Charlemagne was extending his empire in all directions, he was holding the reins of government with a strong hand; shaping the religion of the Catholic church; establishing schools throughout his vast domain; and bringing scholars from the ends of the world to preside over them. Though he was continually called upon to battle with Saxons, Danes, Saracens, Slaves, Avars, and Lombards, the internal portion of his empire was enjoying the prosperity of a time of peace, and reaping the rich rewards in culture that always attend such eras in the history of a country. When Charlemagne died (814), his empire extended from the Baltic to the Mediterranean and from the Atlantic to the banks of the Danube.[2]

[1] Stokes: "Medieval History," p. 51.

[2] We must not forget that Charlemagne is one of those persons

The Eastern Empire did not recognize Charlemagne as Emperor of Rome, neither did they acknowledge the right of the Pope to crown him. They went right on electing emperors, and they considered that "the emperor anointed

St. Sophia at Constantinople.

in St. Sophia had a right which none could take away, to reign over the Old Rome as well as the New. Each emperor (East and West) in short, asserted himself to be the one true Emperor and the other to be an impostor or a tyrant."[1] The act of Pope Leo III. in crowning Charle-

around whose names have clustered many myths *Vide* Hallam: "Middle Ages," Vol I. p. 23 *et seq.*

1 Freeman: "Chief Periods of European History," London, 1886, p. 107

magne was an open and ever widening breach between Rome and Constantinople.

The two empires were now absolutely and finally separated, and henceforth led separate existences. So too with the churches, the Pope became the head of the Western Church, while the Patriarch at Constantinople became the head of the Eastern Church. As time passed, both empires and churches drifted further and further apart, and the most bitter hostilities and jealousies came to exist between them. The Eastern Empire and Church became decidedly Greek, and are often mentioned as the Greek Empire or the Greek Church. The Western Empire and Church as often bear the names of Latin Empire and Latin Church.[1] So great did the hostility bebetween the two become, that we shall find one army of crusaders turning aside to besiege Constantinople as though it were a city of unbelievers. But in the East, we will always find the Patriarch subject to the political power of the emperor; while, in the West, we must notice how the Pope began gradually to acquire political power until his decree of excommuniction was more powerful than the army of a prince.[2]

As the strength of the Mohammedans increased, the strength of the Eastern Empire decreased. Occasionally a superior line of sovereigns would gain control of the government and the empire would blaze out like a meteor among the powers of the world. The Basilian dynasty (867-1057) was such an one. Basil I. was a Macedonian.[3] During his reign, Photius was patriarch of Constantino-

1 "Historical Geography," p. 366.

2 For example we would refer to the defeat of Harold by William the Conqueror, and the journey of Henry to Conossa. *Vide* Hallam: "Middle Ages," Vol. I. p. 656-7.

3 Stokes: "Medieval History," p. 114.

ple and instructor of Prince Leo, the philosopher. The reigns of Leo (886-912) and of his son Constantine VII. (912-959) form "one of the most properous eras of the Byzantine literature."[1] During the childhood of Basil II. (963-1025), Nicephoras (963-969) and Zimices (969-975) were in turn raised to the position of colleague with the Emperor, by marriage with Theophona, the empress. They were the greatest generals of their age, and, in succession commanded the royal army. Basil profited by their training, and was one of the few of the later emperors who was able to lead his own armies to victory.

Under these three generals, the imperial army twice defeated the Russians.[2] The Bulgarians were conquered by Basil himself, and were most inhumanly treated. The boundaries of the empire again embraced the most of Asia Minor, the Euxine basin, the Hellenic peninsula, and a part of Southern Italy. But Basil seems to have introduced changes in the government, which, by promoting favorites to the chief positions, ultimately destroyd the old civil service organization. The Basilian dynasty came to an end in 1057 by the the nobles transferring the crown to one of their own number, Isaac Comnenus.[3]

The capital of the Eastern Empire was not only open to attack from the Turks and Mongols, but her relations with the Western Empire were becoming more and more estranged. In the West, the great crusades were forming. These crusades were great armies of men marching to the rescue of Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulcher. The commanders lacked power; and the soldiers of the Cross, unity and discipline. As they passed

[1] Gibbon's "Rome," Vol. V. p. 379.

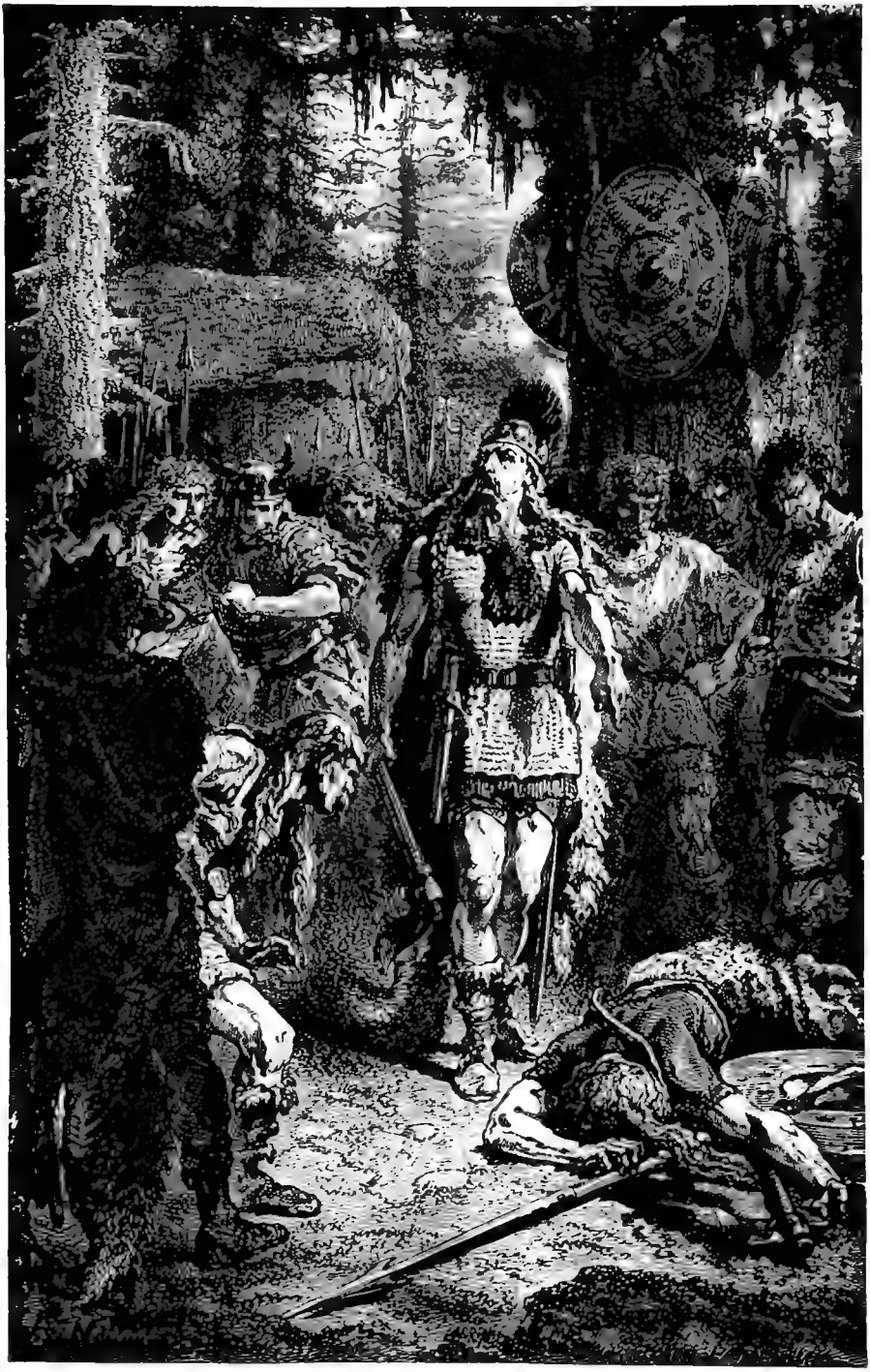
[2] These people had risen in power so as to become formidable to the empire, as we shall see in the proper place.

[3] *Vide* Gibbon, Vol. IV. p. 610 *et seq.*

through the country, they were very lax in observing the rights of property holders and the laws of hospitality. Constantinople, more than any other city, was subject to outrages from these lawless hordes, as they often encamped in that vicinity. Then, too, numbers of these western people adopted the eastern capital as their home, never returning to their native lands. Finally their presence became intolerable, and (in 1183) all the Latin residents in that city were massacred. The fourth crusade, therefore, turned aside from its real mission, twice besieged Constantinople, and captured the city in 1204. For nearly sixty years (1204-1261), a Latin dynasty ruled the Eastern Empire, although the Greek emperors ruled at Nicaea and Trebizond.

In a few lines, we can give the story of the final fall of the Eastern Empire, and with it the disappearance of the Roman Empire from the pages of history. The thirteenth century witnessed strange upheavals in the Orient. The great Genghis Khan subdued nearly all Asia to his rule. His empire, however, as rapidly disintegrated on the death of its founder, as it had sprung into being under the guidance of his genius. Out of the ruins of his empire, there arose into prominence the Ottoman Turks. They rapidly swallowed up the provinces of Asia; and in 1343, they entered Europe. Their season of conquest continued. They conquered the Slaves and the Hungarians. Under Sultan Bajazet, they triumphed over the combined forces of Europe (1396), led by king Sigismund of Hungary, at the battle of Nicopolis.[1] They drafted the flower of the Christian youth into their armies, so that their soldiers were as powerful as any in Europe. The knights of the

[1] *Vide* Vambury: "Story of Hungary," p. 183.



CLOVIS AND THE VASE OF SOISSONS. 359

West were powerless before them. At last, (1402) Sultan Bajazet sent a message to the Emperor which read: "By the Divine clemency, our cimetar has reduced to our obedience almost all Asia, with many and large countries in Europe, excepting only the city of Constantinople; for beyond the walls thou hast nothing left. Resign that city; stipulate thy reward; or tremble for thyself and thy unhappy people, at the consequence of a rash refusal."[1] The Emperor sought aid from the West but to no avail. But the Mongols, rising into power under Timour, or Tamerlane,[2] gained a respite of a half a century for the fated city, while the Turks were busy subduing the rebellious Mongols. The Ottomans, however, besieged the capital in 1421, but still she held out. The Greeks tried, in every way, to reconcile themselves with the Western Empire and the Western Church, but no substantial aid was sent.

Mohammed II. became Sultan of the Ottoman Turks in 1451. Crossing the Hellespont, he laid siege to Constantinople. On the twenty-ninth of May, 1453, that city fell before the arms of the unbelievers, and the Christian temple of St. Sophia became a Mohammedan Mosque. Eight years later the Sultan conquered the Greek empire of Trebizond. The Eastern Empire was no more. Rome, that proud mistress of the world, now existed only as the German Empire of the West; and the seat of Christian power and learning had passed into the hands of the unbelievers. The Turkish power continued to spread, although it had met with some checks by the Hungarians under the great "Raven Knight," John Hunyadi, but this was for a moment only. When the Turkish Empire had

1 Gibbon, Vol. VI. p. 243.

2 Probably a Turk. *Vide* "Historical Course," p. 225.

attained its greatest European limits, it included the Euxine basin, Podolia, Moldavia, Transylvania, and a large part of Hungary. From these boundaries, it has since greatly fallen away.

Fall of Constantinople.

Returning now to the west of Europe, let us take up the thread of history with the successors of Charlemagne. They were weaker and less capable rulers than their illustrious ancestor. By the treaty of Verdun (843), the great empire which he founded was divided among his three grandsons. Charles the Bald was given rule over the Western Franks, who afterward became the French. Lewis became king of the Eastern Franks, or Germans

proper. Lothair was called king of Italy, although his dominions extended in a broad belt from below Rome toward the northwest, between the other two kingdoms, even to the German ocean. Here we have the germs of three prominent nations of our day, although there was

The Huns in Germany.

much shifting about and changing of border lines before they assumed their modern shapes. Nearly the whole territory was again united under Charles the Fat (884-887). Then it again fell apart, and broke up into many king-

doms, principalities, dukedoms, and commonwealths. But throughout all this series of changes, the Western Empire of Rome was still feigned to exist, and one of the kings was elected as emperor.

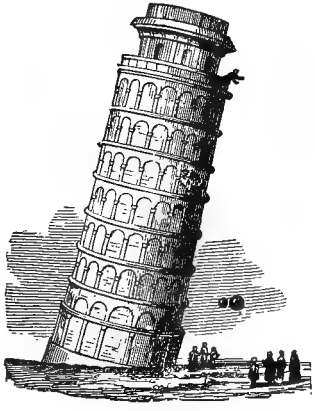
Perhaps the best way of treating our subject from this point is to give a brief outline of the various modern nations in Europe, as they gradually emerged out of these three divisions of Charlemagne's empire. Under the successors of Lothair, Italy was a hot-bed of contending factions. The Greeks entered and occupied Lombardy. The Saracens occupied Sicily and extended their conquests further north. The Magyars penetrated the peninsula from the north, and the Northmen ravaged the coast. Then there came a time when a number of petty kings contended for superiority in Italy. The greater part of Lotharingia had by this time fallen away.

King Otto the Great, of Germany, came to the rescue of Italy, was crowned emperor (962), and Italy was united to Germany. Henceforth it was a rule, that "the king of Germany had the right to be crowned king of Italy at Milan, and to be crowned Emperor at Rome."[1] Now the petty kingdoms were held in check, and the independence of the principal cities was encouraged. Thereafter many of them became republics, or commonwealths, and rose to enormous power and wealth. They made wars and thus added to their possessions, so that their power was by no means limited or indicated by the extent of their city walls. The most important of these cities were Venice, Genoa, Pisa, Naples, Florence, Milan, Verona, Padua, and, of course, Rome as head of the states of the church. Nearly all of the cities of Italy were at times, and some of them at all times, fiefs of Rome. At Florence, the

[1] Ibid. p. 140.

home of Dante (1265-1321) and the birthplace of Michael Angelo (1475-1564), there arose the renowned house of the Medici, that furnished a number of popes, and caused much trouble to the emperors.

While Frederic Barbarossa was emperor (1152-1190), the great Lombard league of the cities of Northern Italy was at the height of its power. There were two factions of cities, Guelphic (Imperial and anti-Pope) and Ghibeline (Popish and anti-Emperor). "Round Guelphic Milan and Ghibeline Pavia, gathered a crowd of famous names: Como, Bergamo, and Brescia, Lodi, Crema and Cremona, Tortona, Piacenza, Parma, and Alessandria."[1] Barbarossa was defeated (1176) by the Ghibelines, and the Lombard cities gained their independence.[2]


Leaning Tower at Pisa.

Pisa, Genoa, and Venice were the great naval powers of medieval times. The former is said to have "forestalled the crusades and won back lands from the Saracens." While an idea of her greatness is still to be gained by her "cathedral, baptistry, and bell tower." Genoa was still more powerful. She extended her commerce to the Black Sea, on whose shore she built factories. She defied the navies of the world, for she could muster and man an armament of one hundred and fifty-five galleys—in one battle conquering the navies of the Venetians, the Catalans, and the Greeks. At last (1378), she threatened Venice herself with siege. But on

[1] "Historical Geography," p 237.

[2] This was during a period when the popes and emperors were contending with one another for precedence in temporal power.

the whole, Venice was the greatest of the three powers and retained her independence until modern times.

When Atilla led the Huns into Italy, they destroyed the city of Aquileia, and her inhabitants fled to the islands of the Adriatic, where they laid the foundations of Venice (452). This city grew and flourished. For a number of centuries, she acknowledged allegiance to the Eastern Empire, but joined the Lombard league, and finally rose to the chief place among the maritime powers of the world. She gained her independence with the rest of the Italian cities. Then she first became an oligarchy (1297), then a republic (1311), remaining such until 1797. We must not regard Venice as merely a city built upon a few islands at the head of the Adriatic. But from that as a center of action, she extended her power in all directions; on the mainland, along the eastern shore of the Adriatic, Dalmatia, Crete, Cyprus, Thessalonica, the Peloponnesus; in fact, she became mistress of the Adriatic and Ionian seas. In naval warfare, she was all-powerful, and was acquainted with the most advanced methods,[1] deeming herself, even in her last days, powerful enough to offer war to England.[2] Her seamen taught other nations the science of navigation as we shall see. When Constantinople fell, she became the bulwark of Christianity against the Turks upon the sea, as Poland did upon the land.

In Southern Italy, the kingdom of Naples arose and grew into the kingdom of the two Sicilies. The foundation of this power was laid by the Normans (of whom we shall speak again), who appeared on the scene early in

[1] *Vide* battle between the Venetians and Normans in Barlow: "The Normans in South Europe," London, 1886, p. 171.

[2] Patton: "Modern History," Philadelphia, 1887, p. 345.

the eleventh century. Their leaders were the De Hautevilles, and came from France. They sought conquest and empire in Italy and found both. Apulia, Naples, Sicily, were conquered in succession,[1] and Roger II. added Capua and a large tract in Northern Africa, reigning over the whole as vassal of the pope.[2] These Norman rulers interfered with the affairs of the two empires, and were among the foremost leaders in the Latin conquest of Con-

The Rialto at Venice.

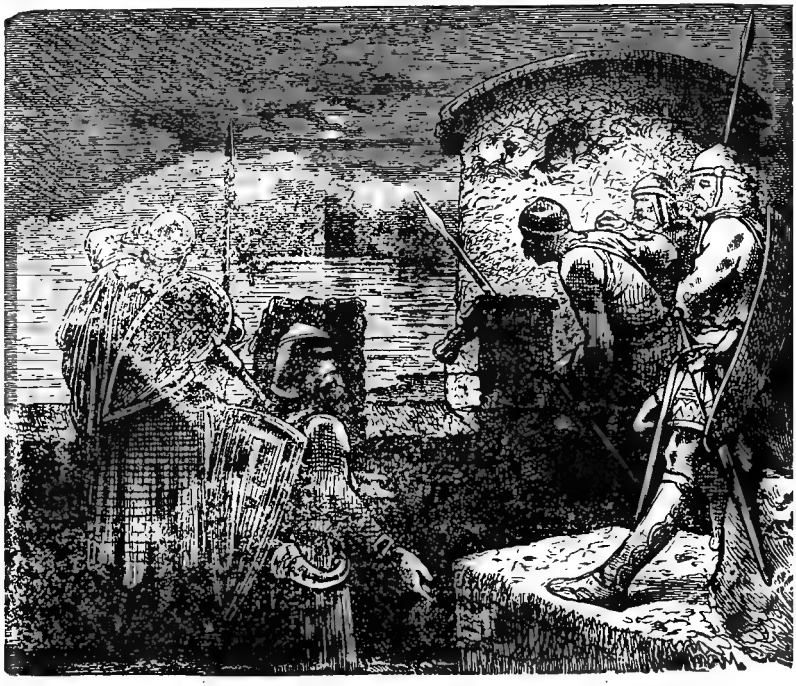
stantinople. They finally became so powerful as to alarm the popes who then favored the Angevin claimants to Italian possessions. Charles of Anjou was raised to the

[1] *Vide* Jewett: "Story of the Normans," New York, 1887, p. 138 *et seq.*

[2] The De Hautevilles were the tools of the Pope [*Vide* Barlow: "Normans in South Europe."] Although they were powerful enough to be independent, they were aware that they were foreigners and usurpers; and they gained much local power and protection from interference on the part of other rulers by holding their possessions as fiefs of the pope.

throne of Naples (1272) and ruled also at Acre as king of Jerusalem. The Spanish Aragonese princes were also claimants to the throne of Naples. Sicily revolted to them in 1282 and Ferdinand was at last (1464) fully recognized as the king of the two Sicilies.[1]

On the whole, however, this was not an unprogressive period for Italy. During this and successive periods the



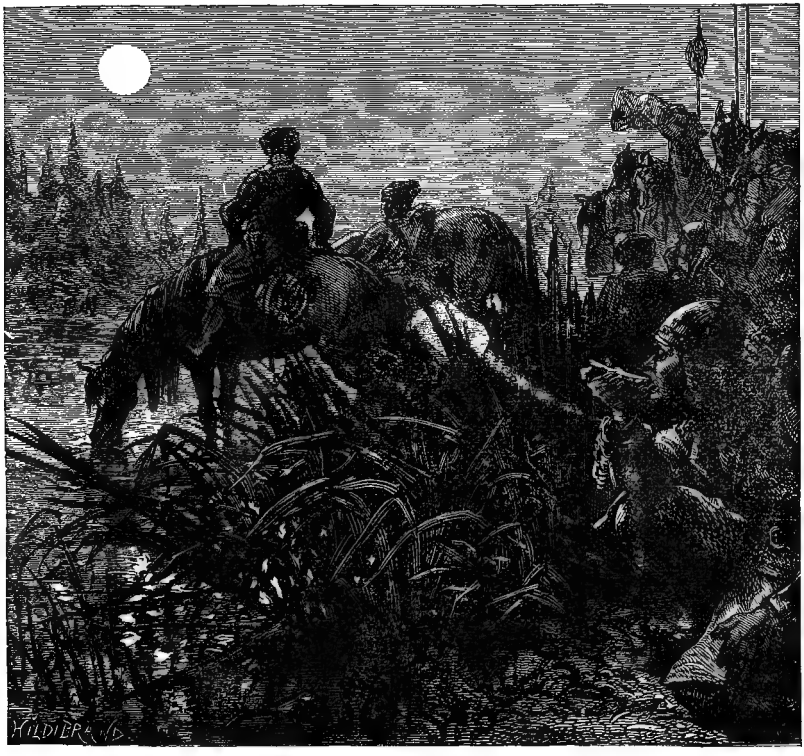
The Norsemen Menacing Italy.

peninsula first fell asunder into principalities, which vanished before the growth of free cities, then these cities became principalities which all have merged into the present kingdom of Italy under the rule of the Savoy princes.

Turning our attention to Germany proper, a wide and

[1] "Naples and Sicily."

confused field of observation is before us. But all through the history of Germany, we must bear in mind, that the king was elective, and that the country was broken up into many independent principalities, duchies, etc., whose ruling men, and, finally, whose princes formed the council of the kingdom and the electors of the king. The dynasty of



Mongols Crossing the Volga.

the Karlings lasted nearly a century when the Saxon Duke, Henry the Fowler, was elected to the throne (918-936). He was called upon at once to defend Western Europe from a new people, who had settled in the Danubian region.

These were the Magyars, a Finnish or at least a Turanian people, who have to this day retained their Ugrian

form of speech. They founded there a state that afterward became the kingdom of Hungary and one of the principal divisions of the Austrian empire.[1] Although they had become Christianized, they had not lost their love of war and conquest. In fact, the gold of the Karlings had more than once saved their kingdoms from Magyar inroads. Henry the Fowler agreed to pay tribute for ten years, and during that time he organized a powerful army and built defenses for the protection of his subjects. At the end of the truce, he was not only determined to stop tribute, but to defend his kingdom, and was successful in doing both. He also made the Danish king his vassal.

Otto I. (936-973) was the "greatest sovereign of the tenth century."[2] He not only crushed the Magyar power, but twice delivered the Pope from the power of petty Italian kings. He was crowned emperor (962) at Rome; and, as we have stated, henceforth the king of Germany was considered heir to the thrones of Italy and the Empire. The imperial crown was received from the hands of the Pope. So far as Germany was concerned, this was not a wise step; for nearly all the rulers who held the triple crown were obliged to neglect the affairs of Germany for those of the Empire, to the detriment of the former. It was customary in those days for bishops, prelates, and abbots to have temporal possessions, and so they became members of the national council. While the king was away attending to his imperial duties, the power of the central government was growing weaker through the demands of the princes, bishops, etc., for greater privileges. But Otto was strong enough to retain his full powers. The

[1] Vambury: "Story of Hungary," p. 28 *et seq.*
[2] Stokes: "Medieval History," p. 79.

boundaries of the empire were enlarged. The kings of Denmark, Poland, and Bohemia were his acknowledged vassals.[1]

Conrad II. (1024-1039) introduced the Franconian line of emperors. Of this dynasty, Henry III. (1039-1056) stands out pre-eminent. In his time, the pope bowed to the temporal power of the emperor. But from his time down, the pope grew in temporal power while the emperor decreased in equal degree. Henry III. entered Italy, deposed three rival popes, and appointed a succession of Germans to the office of chief pontiff, by the first of whom he was crowned emperor. Henry also wore the kingly diadem of Burgundy, so that he possessed four crowns, thus we can see how the boundaries of the empire were changing.[2]

From this time the quarrel between prince and pope grew more bitter. A number of modern nations had begun to form, and the kings of all were devout Catholics, usually ready to fight the battles of the pope and especially when invited to make war against their own natural sworn enemies. The popes were not now dependent upon the temporal power of the emperors, and began to try to render the latter submissive to their dictums. While Henry IV. (1056-1106) was emperor, the great Hildebrande (Gregory VII.) was pope, and he strove in every way to establish the supremacy of the church. He was the first pope to enforce the law that the clergy should not marry, and he established the further rule that no

1 Ibid. p. 55.

2 Burgundy was the name of first, a kingdom, which was often independent, or, at most, a vassal to some greater power, usually Gemany; second, a duchy entirely distinct from the kingdom and usually, if not always, vassal of the French king; third, the country which was a part of the kingdom and a fief of the empire. They all were from the middle or Lothairingian kingdom. *Vide* "Historical Geography"

temporal prince "should bestow any ecclesiastical benefices." The emperors and princes were very jealous of this right of "investiture," whereby they might reward their friends, who were not soldiers, with abbacies and bishoprics. From this time, there was much fighting between the armies of pope and prince over this one cherished privilege. Henry IV., refusing to submit, waged war against Gregory VII.; but the pope's curse against his followers brought the emperor to Conossa as a suppliant, but only to return, raise a new army, and banish Gregory from Rome. Henry V. (1106-1125) inherited the struggle, and so it continued.[1]

The Hohenstaufen dynasty succeeded to the imperial throne in 1137.[2] They were dukes of Swabia and were violently opposed to the dukes of Bavaria. The followers of the one were dubbed Ghibelins (Waiblingen), and those of the other Guelfs (Welf). But the popes were at the bottom of this quarrel also; and, as we have already seen, the former were imperialists and the latter papists.[3] The Hohenstaufens, therefore, inherited this old quarrel, though they were the most devout of Catholics and were foremost in their crusades against unbelievers.

The most illustrious rulers of this line were the two Fredericks. Frederick I. (or Barbarossa–red beard–1156-1190) spent most of his time in Italy, where, as we have seen, he was defeated at the battle of Legnano (1176) by the Lombard league. This is recorded as a great victory for the papists. His rule in Germany, as she was left

1 *Vide* This Series, Vol. IV.

2 Baring-Gould: "Story of Germany," New York, 1886, p. 113 *et seq.*

3 "The Waiblingen family long ago died out, but the Welf remains. It is represented by Queen Victoria of England and the Duke of Brunswick. It is one of the most ancient reigning houses that exists." Ibid. 116.

principally to herself, was "peaceful, flourishing, and popular." But the Guelfs, under Henry the Lion, caused some trouble. Barbarossa entered upon the third crusade,

Barbarossa Asking Aid of King Henry.

leading a land force to the aid of Richard of England and Philip of France, but was drowned while crossing a stream

on the way. He left the enviable name of the greatest of German emperors after Charlemagne.[1]

Frederick II. [1212-1250], grandson of Barbarossa, came to the throne while a mere boy; and, before he reached maturity, was forced to dispute his throne with two powerful rivals—Philip of Swabia and Otto IV. of Brunswick. He was usually successful in his wars, though the popes were continually stirring up his subjects to rebellion. He regained some of the territories that his predecessors had lost, and, in the end, possessed seven crowns —those of the Empire, Germany, Lombardy, Sicily, Burgundy, Sardinia, and Jerusalem. In order to lessen his power, the popes kept him under the ban of excommunication during the whole of the latter part of his reign. Pope Gregory IX. finally sent him on a crusade. Sickness prevented his reaching the Holy Land at first, but the pope refused to listen to his messengers. When, at last, he did reach Palestine, he accomplished more than any one who had preceded him, for he forced the Sultan to a treaty whereby all the holy places were recovered,[2] though it is said that the pope ordered all eastern Christians to hold aloof from him and render him no aid. When he returned, crowned with success, the bans were not removed. As Freeman[3] says, he was "cursed first, for not going on the crusade, then cursed again for going, cursed most of all for actually winning the prize of so many struggles." When Frederick returned, he found his vassals in rebellion, and a new blast of papal anathemas awaiting him. At last the bans of the pope had the desired effect. To gain the smile of the pope, his vassals fell away from him, one after another. They sought to divide the empire among

[1] Ibid. 120. [2] Ibid. 132.
[3] "Chief Periods of European History," p. 163.

themselves, for now they had an excuse. "The robbers rejoiced over their spoils. Then were the plowshares beaten into swords, and the reaping-hooks into lances. No one went anywhere without steel and stone to set in a blaze whatever he could fire."

Frederick II. died (1250), and the Hohenstaufen dynasty lasted only four years longer. With it, the glory of the empire passed away from Germany. No prince was found daring enough to accept the imperial diadem while the fates of the Fredericks were fresh before their minds.[1] A long inter-regnum followed (1256-1273), with no one at the head of the empire, every prince was independent. There was no power to restrain the ambitious. Everyone did as he pleased. There arose a generation of "robber knights," who built strong castles in places easiest of defense. Rushing out from their defenses, they plundered travelers and the unprotected, robbing, murdering, and imprisoning for ransom the men, and making the women captives. It was a terrible time for Germany, and those princes who desired to restore order were almost powerless. There arose during this period, for the protection of trade, a number of mercantile leagues that gained enough power to carry on wars and to make treaties. The most noted of these was the Hanseatic League, of which we shall say more in its proper place.[2]

Up in the mountains of Switzerland, there lie the ruins of an old castle, that was built in 1020. This was the cradle of the imperial house of Austria. Here the Hapsburgs rose into power. From this old castle, the German empire finally chose an emperor, Rudolph (1273-1291), a vigorous, energetic man, capable of restoring order in Germany. He began by engaging the king of Bohemia

[1] "Story of Germany," p 136. [2] Ibid. 146-7.

in battle, in which Rudolph was victorious, and by which he gained the Duchy of Austria and other possessions in Central Europe,[1] which have ever since remained in possession of the Hapsburgs. Rudolph is said to have destroyed seventy castles of robber knights in Germany. It was during his reign that the foundation to the Swiss Republic was laid. Three cantons—Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden—rose in rebellion, formed a league, and later, established their independence.

Albert (1298-1308) established himself on the throne by the defeat of Adolph of Nassau. He sent the "tyrant," Gessler, as governor to crush the Swiss revolt. A half-witted peasant[2] shot him, and Albert himself was assassinated by orders of his nephew, John, a pretender to the throne. Thus we are furnished with the facts from which the fable of Tell and the apple has arisen. The reign of the Hapsburg dynasty was broken (1308-1437) by a succession of emperors elected from the various princes of Germany, Hungary, and Bohemia. The most distinguished of these emperors was Charles IV. (Bohemia, 1347-1378) who is renowned as the author of the famous "golden bull," so-called from its seal of gold. This edict established (1356) a fixed number of electors, by whom and from whom the future emperors should be chosen. It further fixed the place of election at Frankfort and the place of crowning at Aix. The electors were seven, as follows: Princes of Bohemia, Brandenburg, Saxony, and the Palatinate of the Rhine; and the archbishops of Mainz, Cologne, and Treves.[3]

Another house now makes its appearance in Germany.

1 Ibid. 148-150.

2 Toffel, Toll, Tell, means half-witted. *Vide* Baring-Gould, Op. cit., p. 151-2.

3 Stokes: "Medieval History," p. 140.

MARAUDING NORSEMEN.

In 1415 Frederick, count of Hohenzollern, was granted the march of Brandenburg. From that time, the princes of that house have been prominent among the rulers of Europe.[1] The Hapsburgs came into power again with Albert II. (1438-1439). From that time until the male line became extinct (1740), the emperors were of the old Hapsburg dynasty. Emperor William of our own time is a Hohenzollern, descended from the old line of counts.

We have reached a period when religious reforms began to be preached. John Huss and Jerome of Prague were boldly denouncing the evils that had crept into the church. When Sigismund of Hungary was emperor (1410-1437), so great had become the agitation that the council of Constance was evoked by Pope John XXIII., who was himself deposed on account of his enormous vices.[2] This is the period of the Hussite war and of the burning of Huss (July 6th, 1415) and of Jerome of Prague (May 30, 1416). The Germans were in open rebellion against the popes, and were rapidly approaching the great Reformation. Just at a time when the Eastern Empire was breathing its last, they were initiating new movements destined to set the Aryan world ablaze.

Just as new life and new energy arose from the baptism of the Western Empire with Teutonic blood, and new nations mounted into existence, we see the mighty agencies forming in the old German land, destined to lift civilized nations into the blaze of modern enlightenment. The fagots that burned the reformer Huss, cast their rays of light into the ends of the world. Illuminated by their

[1] Frederick V. of this house was raised to princely rank in 1363, another Frederick was made Elector of Brandenburg in 1415, and another Frederick was made king of Prussia in 1701.

[2] Hallam: "Middle Ages," Vol. II. p. 39.

fading light, we catch sight of the mechanic, Gutenberg, fixing the last bolts and driving the last screws into the first of those great "educators of the people," the printing press. Nay, before the followers (1450) of Islam had entered the gates of New Rome, he had given the first press to the world. Then, too, we see the powers at work that were to call out just such rugged natures as those of Martin Luther and his heroic followers. Though these great changes were to cost the world many lives, and much wealth and suffering, we, of the nineteenth century, ought to be the last to say that they have been purchased at too high a price.

We must now trace the development of France from the triple division of Charlemagne's kingdom.[1] The kingdom that fell to Charles the Bald (843-877) barely occupied that portion of Gaul west of the fifth meridian east of Greenwich, and was called Karolingia. It was broken up into duchies, principalities, etc. The most powerful among its petty rulers was the duke of Frankia. While the Karlings still spoke German, these dukes and their subjects spoke a Latin dialect out of which has developed the modern French language. The reign of Charles the Bald is spoken of as a creditable one. He endeavored to follow the course that his grandfather, Charlemagne, had instituted. He was a patron of literature and education. He gathered scholars around his court The famous John the Scot[2] was invited from Ireland to preside over the Palace School established by Charlemagne. Charles made the possessions of his fiefs hereditary in certain families; and, from that time, the power of the Karlings was on the decrease, while that of his vassals grew—the dukes of France more than any others.

1 Above p. 362.

2 Johannes Scotus Erigena.

Odo, duke of France, was finally elected king by the nobles (866-898), but again the crown returned to the Karlings. During the next century, there was almost continual strife between the Karlings and the French dukes. When the former wore the crown, the capital of the kingdom was at Laon; when the latter ruled, it was at Paris. During this time, the greatest event that happened to France was the arrival of the Northmen, or Normans. This new element in the history of Southern Europe made its appearance during the reign of Charlemagne, and led him to prophesy its future greatness.[1] They came from the north lands and so were called Northmen or Norsemen. Their ships sailed far and near; and, appearing suddenly upon some unprotected coast, they plundered its inhabitants without constraint. So they were called vikings or "sea robbers." During three centuries (800-1100), scarcely a foot of the North Atlantic's surface was unknown to them, from Greenland to Hellas, from Vinland to the northern coast of Russia.

Were we to seek the origin of these hardy, daring, giant sailors, with their blue eyes and their blonde hair, we would have to visit the Baltic homeland of the Aryans. Could we but penetrate further into the pre-historic past, we might find these people sharing with the Germans the honor of ancestry of our own race. But as the Northmen penetrated to the north toward the frozen sea, we find them shading off into Turanian—Finns and Lapps. They were also called Scandinavians. By the time of Charlemagne, three kingdoms had arisen in these northern regions—Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. The Western Empire, from Charlemagne's time down, had much fighting with the Danes. The Swedes controlled the Baltic

[1] Jewett: "Story of the Normans," p. 11.

basin, pushed to the east, and, in the tenth century, settled in Russia, laying the foundation of the modern Russian

The Vikings.

Empire. The Norwegians and Danes combined ravaged the coast of Europe from Flanders (Holland and Belgium)

to Asia Minor, completely terrorizing the inhabitants of France and Britain. That these Northmen were not lacking in culture is proved by that store-house of literature which they have left—the Eddas—composed as early as the eighth century, and preserved on the island of Iceland, cut off from all other influences.[1]

The visits of the vikings to the coast of France became more and more frequent. First they came on flying expeditions for plunder; next they built forts, which they occupied for several seasons in succession, and into which they could safely gather their stores; then at last, they came to settle and found homes for themselves, giving up their roaming lives. In 912, a large band of Northmen, under Rolf or Rollo, took possession of Rouen. In order to gain his friendship, king Charles the Simple (893-929) ceded to him a large province in Western France, which he was to hold in fief to the king, but on the condition that he was to be baptized and receive Christianity.[2] To seal the treaty, the king's natural daughter was married to Viking Rolf. Now that these Northmen had possessions in France, and had become vassals of the French king, they adopted the language, dress, and manners of the French. They became Normans and their chief, the duke of Normandy. They were ever ready, however, to assert their independence of kingly authority, claiming as many rights as their overlords.[3]

The Karlings were superseded by the French dukes,[4]

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1 *Vide* Encyclopedia Britannica, article Edda, also Karl Blind: "Ethic Ideas of the Edda," University Magazine, April, 1878.

2 Freeman: "Norman Conquest," Oxford, 1873, Vol. I. p. 112.

3 Hallam: "Middle Ages," Vol. I. p. 37, note 3.

4 Hallam claims that Hugh Capet's accession to the throne was an usurpation. "Middle Ages," Vol. I. p. 30-31.

when Hugh Capet was chosen king (987-996), and then modern France appears in history, for we have now a French people, governed by a French king, who spoke a French language, and the capital of the kingdom was Paris. The number of hereditary fiefs had increased from twenty-nine to fifty-five. However, a few of the great vassals occupied a greater portion of the kingdom and the remainder did homage to them. These greater vassals were six in number, as follows: the counts of Flanders, Champagne, and Toulouse; and the Dukes of Normandy Aquitaine, and Burgundy.[1] And now a feudal monarchy was fully established.[2]

For a long time before and after the accession of the Capets, France can be said to have no national history. The king of France was not powerful enough to compel obedience from his great vassals. Indeed they were nearly all equal in power; and, during the reigns of the first four Capets, they were too busy with quarrels among themselves to trouble the outside world very much. Every great vassal was lord over a number of barons, who, in turn, had their vassals.[3] Every chieftain was independent to rule his own subjects, and every great vassal had power to make treaties and alliances, to wage war and make conquests. Therefore, it is not surprising to find the dukes of Normandy, the most independent of all, continually at war with their neighbors, and even in open rebellion against their lord the king.[4]

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[1] *Vide* Hallam Op. cit. p. 35, and compare with Stokes: "Medieval History," p. 88, who mentions the count of Vermandois instead of Toulouse, and adds the duke of Brittany.

[2] Feudalism will be treated in a following chapter.

[3] Hallam, Op. cit. p. 36.

[4] In treating of England we will see how the duke of Normandy became king of England, and thus one of the vassals of the king of France became more powerful than his master.

From the time of Louis VI. (1081-1137) it became the open policy of the French kings to reduce the power of their vassals, and especially that of the Norman dukes. Louis VI. and VII. spent their energies in building up the power of the towns to the detriment of the nobles. It was, however, a flourishing period for agriculture, commerce, and internal improvement.[1] At last Philip (II.) Augustus (1180-1223) succeeded to the throne. He is represented as a cool, calculating, capable ruler—"a great king but not a great man." He found Henry II. of England still in possession (as duke of Normandy), of his great dominions in France; and he began, at once, to lay plans for undermining the English king's power. The entire military forces of England and Normandy were called into activity to repel the encroachments of Philip. Henry II. and his successor Richard I. (Couer de Lion) were able to hold their own against king Philip. In fact, Richard, Philip, and Frederick Barbarossa, had united their forces for the third crusade. But John, Richard's brother and regent, was unable to maintain his rights against the French king. When Richard died, young prince Arthur was murdered (perhaps by John his uncle), and John became king of England (1199-1216.) Philip immediately summoned him, as vassal duke of Normandy, to appear at the court of France in answer to the charge of murdering Arthur, who was the choice of the Norman nobles for the vacant throne. John refused to come, and Philip, declaring his continental possessions forfeited, poured his armies into Normandy, and wrested all except Aquitaine, Gascony, and the Norman islands from England.[2] Philip began also the crusade, or "Albigensian war," against the

1 "Medieval History," p. 146-7.
2 "Historical Geography," p. 333-4.

Manichæans in and around Toulouse. The result of this struggle was the annexation, during the thirteenth century, of a number of provinces—Beziers, Narbonne, Nimes, Albi, Toulouse—which form the valuable province of Languedoc.[1]

Louis the Pious, or St. Louis (1227-1270), "was perhaps the best king that ever reigned, unless it were our own (English) Aelfred."[2] Louis conquered his enemies by arbitration and by just and faultless action. His vassals came to look upon him as their judge and legislator, rather than their master. His yoke sat so lightly upon their shoulders that they perceived not the "transition of the French constitution from a feudal league to an absolute monarchy."[3] By his virtue, justice, and moderation, he raised the power and influence of his kingdom to a much higher level than his more war-like and ambitious predecessors. Thus, during his reign of nearly half a century, we see France, under the smile of the goddess of peace, making enormous strides in culture and internal prosperity. All the feudaries were inspired with confidence in their monarch. France "had havens on the three seas, the Mediterranean, the Ocean, and the Channel." She was prosperous and growing, while Germany was struggling with her Italian dependencies, or was at the mercy of her "robber knights."

About this time, Paris reached her highest fame as a seat of learning. Her university attracted such men as Roger Bacon, Albertus Magnus, and Thomas Aquinas. Louis advocated the highest education for theologians, who only should dispute with unbelievers. If a layman "heard a man to be an unbeliever, he should not dispute with

1 Ibid. 335. 2 "Historical Course," p. 182.
3 Hallam: "Middle Ages," Vol. I. p. 43.

him, he should at once run his sword into his entrails, and drive it up to the hilt." His zeal and bigotry were the cause of his dying outside of his kingdom. He organized and led the last two crusades, dying before Tunis while besieging that city. He had heard that its ruler were longing for Christianity, and he was carrying it to him according to the manner of his age.[1]

Philip the Fair (1285-1314) added Navarre to his kingdom by marriage with the heiress, Joanna. Finally (1312) Lyons was annexed. For openly defying the pope (Boniface VIII.) for usurpation of power belonging to the temporal ruler, he was placed under the ban of excommunication. Pope Clement V. was more lenient with him, for he sought, by alliance with France, protection from the Emperor. The papal chair was removed to Avignon where it remained for seventy years, known as the "Great Captivity." This is recorded as a great victory for prince over pope. The house of the Capets passed away with the death of Charles IV. (1328). Philip of Valois succeeded to the throne in 1350. The rivalry between the French king, and the Norman duke (or English king), was the cause of much quarreling between France and England during all this time. Edward III. of England urged his claim to the crown of France as the son of Philip the Fair's daughter Isabel. And thus began the "Hundred Years War" (1337-1453), which was carried on, with short intervals of peace, during a succession of five English and five French sovereigns. During a portion of the time, the English were supported by the emperors, and the French by the Bohemian kings. For many years, the English were conquerors, and boasted of great victories at Crecy (1346), Calais (1347), and Poiters

[1] Ibid. p. 52.

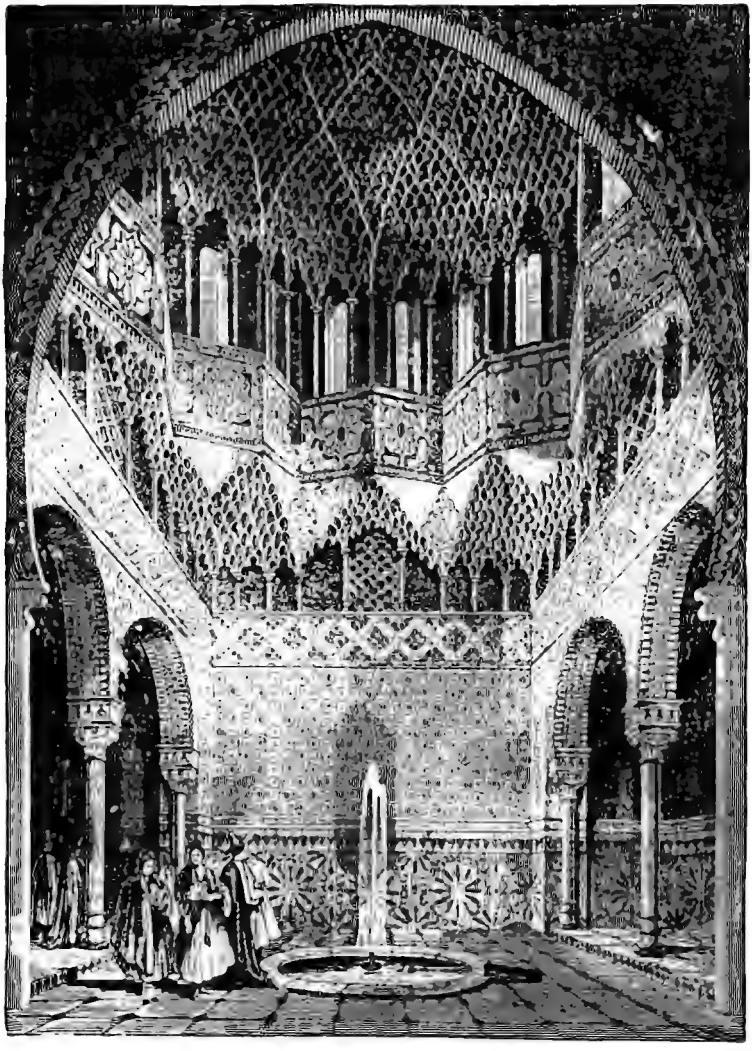
(1356), from which field the French king John was carried a prisoner to England.

Fortune continued to smile upon the English during the next century, for they won the battle of Agincourt (1415), and captured Rouen (1419). Finally, to close this eventful period, that strange personage, professing divine guidance, came to the aid of the frightened king, Charles VII. (1422-1461). When France had lost almost everything; when Paris was occupied by the English; when the English king, Henry VI., had been crowned king of France at Paris (1431); when all France was discouraged, a peasant maid, Joan of Arc, Maid of Orleans, appeared at the head of the disorganized French army, and, in two short years, succeeded in so turning the tide of affairs that English power in France was completely crushed.[1] The war dragged on for twenty years longer, however, though there was not much fighting.

The internal history of France during this whole period is, as we could expect, only a story of confusion, misery, and ruin. When King John was taken captive to London, there was no political head to the kingdom; and an attempt was made to organize a "popular and constitutional government". This led to a peasant war (the Jacquerie), under a leader named Caillet (nicknamed Jacques Bonhomme). Later (1413) another popular insurrection was instituted by one Caboche. Both were miserable failures and cost the lives of many peasants. They were only the harbingers of that greater uprising of a later time—the French Revolution. The medieval period closes with the French kings masters of nearly all of modern France, and stronger than at any previous time.

1 For extented history of Joan of Arc, *Vide* Guizot: "History of France," Vol. III. p. 90. *et seq.*

The Western Mohammedan Caliphate[1] came to an end (1031) by breaking up into a number of small Saracenic



Hall in the Alhambra. [Spain.]

states. The Gothic chieftains, who still retained their independence in their mountain homes, now found them-

[1] Above page 350.

selves able to take the offensive against these small powers where they could accomplish nothing against a united Mohammedan power. So they began to reclaim some territory from the sway of unbelievers. The kingdoms of Leon and Castile became united (1084), and their king, Alfonso VI., was the most powerful ruler in Spain, reclaiming even the ancient capital, Toledo, to the Christians. The power of Aragon also arose, so that Castile and Aragon were the principal states of the Spanish peninsula. As we have seen, the house of Aragon became rulers in Sicily (1282), and finally (1464) they ruled the "Two Sicilies and Sardinia."

In time (1474), the crown of Castile was placed upon the head of Princess Isabella; and, soon (1479), her husband, Prince Ferdinand, was crowned king of Aragon. These are the famous Catholic sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella. They soon began a war of extermination against the unbelievers. The Jews were expelled from Spain. The famous stronghold of the Moors (Saracens), the storied Granada,[1] was taken (1491), and the inhabitants were driven out of the country. Though they were married, Fredinand and Isabella ruled their respective kingdoms as separate monarchs. Upon the death of Isabella (1504), the crown of Castile fell to their daughter, Joanna, wife of Philip, a Hapsburg prince. Ferdinand soon supplanted her on the grounds of her incapacity. By giving another of his daughters in marriage to the king of Portugal and by the annexation of Navarre (1512), all the kingdoms of the peninsula became subject to one ruler.

Now Philip, the husband of Joanna, was son of Mary, duchess of Flanders, and of Maximillian, Emperor of Germany and a prince of the famous Hapsburg house. Char-

[1] *Vide* "Conquest of Granada," by Washington Irving.

les, the son of Philip and Joanna, then was duke of Flanders (The Netherlands), Duke of Burgundy, Archduke of Austria, King of Spain (1516), King of the Two Sicilies, Lord of the Spanish possessions in America and Africa; and less than three years more (1519) were to see him "raised to the greatest dignity in the world as Emperor of Germany."[1] Charles I. of Spain became Emperor Charles V. Spain soon became an absolute monarchy, and was ruled with severity. Charles was continually at war with Francis

Charles V.

I. of France. We can see how the interests of the two sovereigns would conflict when we perceive how their possessions lay. Those of Charles extended from Spain through Italy, Austria, Burgundy, Germany, and the Netherlands, thus surrounding France on three sides. But Charles abdicated his throne in 1556—the Spanish (including the Netherlands) throne in favor of his son Philip II. (1556-1598) and that of the empire in favor of his son Ferdinand (1556-1564). Philip was a Catholic, and his cruel bigotry led him to adopt such refined meth-

1 Patton: "Modern History," p 78. *Vide* also Young: "History of the Netherlands," p. 40.

ods of torture and such inhuman modes of execution of heretics, that, had he been a pagan, history would have remembered him only as a bloodthirsty tyrant. We shall hear of him again in connection with the Netherlands.

The small kingdom of Portugal assumed its present shape and size during the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. By marriage of king Emanuel and the daughters (two in succession, the first dying) of Ferdinand and Isabella, the kingdom became really united to Spain. Then again for a brief moment (1581-1652), she became an actual part of Spain, but finally gained her independence. Her importance is confined almost wholly to her commercial enterprises and extensive discoveries, so her history belongs more properly to our chapter on the Age of Discovery, where it will be fully treated.

We have now briefly outlined the formation of modern nations from two of the three divisions of Charlemagne's kingdom. Let us now turn our attention to the third division, Lothairingia, lying between France and Germany and stretching from Central Italy to the German Ocean. This central strip of land was occupied by a large number of semi-independent princes and dukes, who made themselves vassals of now one king and now another, as it suited their interests, or as they were forced to yield to conquest. Now these central duchies and kingdoms were in their palmy days no insignificant powers. The dukes of Savoy, though they may not be said to hold one foot of the old Savoyard dominions, have made themselves kings of a united Italy. The kingdom of Burgundy occupied a sort of middle position between France and Germany, which Switzerland has inherited.[1] Holland and Belgium have risen from the Spanish possessions of the

[1] "Historical Geography," p. 146.

Netherlands into independent powers, and each has a history of its own.

While the emperors of Germany were busy with their Italian affairs, the princes of their German kingdom were left a great deal to themselves, and were often obliged to unite themselves into leagues for mutual protection. There were a number of such leagues in the thirteenth century. Such was the league of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden, that asserted its independence (1291) and began to extend its power, growing into the greater Swiss Confederation. Luzern (1332), Zurich (1351), Glarus and Zug (1352), and Bern (1353) were added in succession, comprising the eight ancient cantons. A century of internal peace and prosperity followed. The power of the confederation was extended in various directions though no new cantons were admitted. Then there was another season of growth, Freiburg and Solothurn (1481), Basel and Schaffhausen (1501), and Appenzell (1513), were admitted to form the later confederacy of Thirteen Cantons. By conquests and alliances, the power of this confederacy was extended across the Alps into Italy. Thus it remained until the wars of the French Republic, when the "federal system was abolished," and there arose what has been called the Helvetic Republic.

That portion of old Lotharingia bordering the German Ocean had little to attract the immigrant. The soil was poor and a portion of the country had been reclaimed from the sea by means of dykes and windmills Still this part of Europe had become the homes of wealthy "merchant princes." The southern part was the site of the famous Flemish manufactories whose proprietors consumed the wool of England and other parts of Europe. And we shall see how the ships of Holland were foremost in ex-

tending commerce to newly found portions of the world. We have seen how, in the fifteenth century, the Netherlands passed under the control of the dukes of Burgundy; and, finally, to king Philip II. of Spain (1556). Thus we are brought down to the later half of the sixteenth century before the real history of the Netherlands begins.

Philip seems to have been determined, under the cloak of zeal for the Catholic church, to exterminate the population of the Netherlands. His cruel persecutions under the Duke of Alva led to a revolt under William of Orange, called also the Silent.[1] The Duke of Alva with his famous "Council of Blood," was tireless in his endeavors to invent excuses for arresting both peasants and nobles who had offended him or who had money. Arrest meant speedy execution, by the most refined and horrible modes of torture, and often without the form of a trial. The Inquisition was active in prying into men's private lives, and on the least suspicion condemning them to some new torturing, lingering death. The Duke of Alva is said to have ordered more than eighteen thousand executions while governing the Netherlands.[2] After every manner of defeat and discouragement, William the Silent succeeded in establishing the independence (1578) of the seven northern provinces,[3] which form the commonwealth of the Seven United Provinces. William, however, was, after many attempts, assassinated, (1584) by the secret order of king Philip.[4]

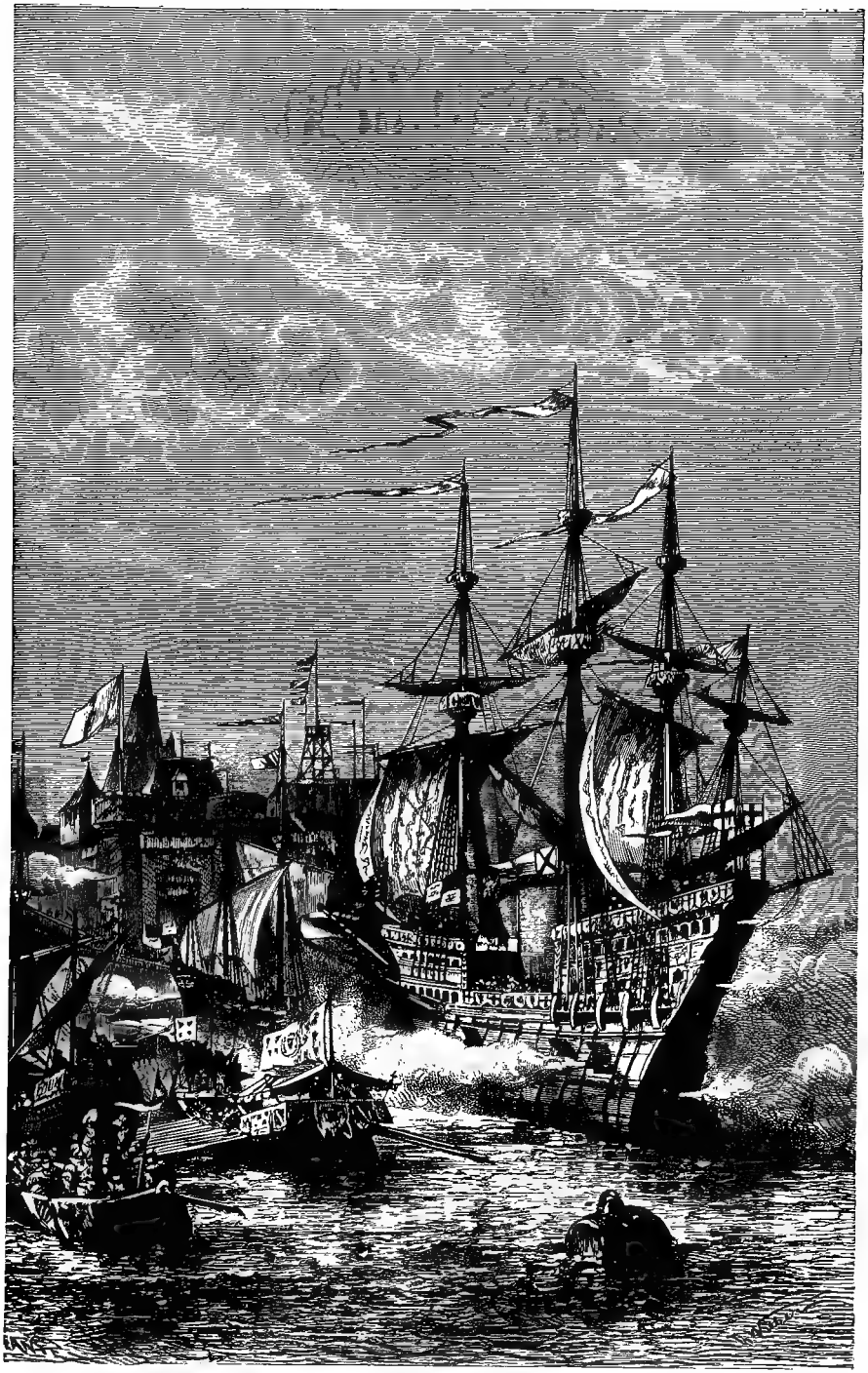
That portion of the Netherlands, that now forms

[1] *Vide* Motley: "Rise of the Dutch Republic," New York, 1856, Vol. I. p. 245 *et seq.*

[2] Young: "History of the Netherlands," p. 165.

[3] These were Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Gelderland, Overessel, Friesland, Grounigen, "Historical Geography," p. 299.

[4] Motley: "History of the United Netherlands," New York, 1861, Vol. I. p. 1.



TH. WEBER.

ON THE ROAD TO THE FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD—HENRY VIII. LANDING AT CALAIS.

the kingdom of Belgium, remained under Spanish rule for some years longer. It then (1595) passed to the Duke of Austria. It was composed of a number

Duke of Alva at Brussels.

of states, such as Flanders, Brabant, Artois, Hainault, etc. As it remained disputed territory for a long time, parts of it were continually changing their vassalage

from one power to another, subject to French, Dutch, German, or Spanish authority. Finally, in the settling of Europe, after the troublous times of Napoleon, the jealousy of these greater powers led to the formation of the kingdom of Belgium. It is fitting here to notice that the existence of these three lesser powers in the midst of so many greater is due, not so much to their spirit of independence and their military prowess, as to their middle position among their greater neighbors. The jealousy of one another's power, that exists among the great nations of Europe, is a sufficient safeguard to the independence of these three nations.

We must now turn our attention to that portion of Europe, lying outside of Charlemagne's kingdom, which was but a part of the Roman empire. Russia has, in historical times, been pre-eminently the home of the Slave. But, as we have seen, the great waves of Turanians, who have, in our era, spread over the steppes of Russia on their way toward the West, must have in places, almost annihilated every trace of Aryan occupation. "Iran and Turan have ever been at feud; they could not dwell on the same soil in peace,"[1] so we find the Slaves and Mongols continually at war. It is not unreasonable, then, to suppose, as Rambaud suggests[2] that the Northmen (Swedes) came upon invitation (862) as allies of the Slaves against the Mongols.[3] Rurik and his followers came, and seem to have had no trouble in conquering and ruling the Slaves. (They were also called Varangians). They made their headquarters at Novgorod and Kief, and increased so rapidly in power that we find them, very early in the tenth

1 Quatrefages: "The Prussian Race," p. 34.
2 "History of Russia," London, 1879.
3 Above page 382.

century, besieging Constantinople (907 and 943). In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, three Rurikan princes ruled a territory seven hundred miles from north to south and six hundred miles from east to west.[1]

Like all Europe at this time, Russia was occupied by many independent princes, who became vassals, of all

Entry of Ivan into Kazan.

grades of dependency, to the Rurikans. Chief among them were the princes of Vladimir, Kief, and Novgorod, which correspond respectively to Great, Little, and White Russia of our own times.[2] Under Vladimir (972-1015) the

1 *Vide* Abel: "Slavic and Latin," p. 9.
2 "Medieval History," p. 106.

fifth prince of the house of Rurik, the Russians accepted Christianity from the Eastern Church, and have ever since held to its doctrines. In the thirteenth century, Russia was governed by a number of princes who failed to rule in harmony; and when the Mongols came, they were easily conquered (1223). Russia remained under Mongol rule for two and one half centuries.[1] Still many of the western princes became subject to Lithuanian and Polish rule.[2]

Some of the Rurikan princes, through all this time, held possessions as vassals to the Mongol Khans. Such was the prince of Moscow, who seems to have been a trusted subject of the khan. Around his standard, gathered many of the Aryans of Russia; and, at last, under Ivan the Great (1462-1505), they threw off the Mongol yoke and gained their independence. These new ruling people were called Muscovites, they were probably greatly Turanized by intermixture while subject to the Mongols,[3] as well as by mingling with the subject Finns. Ivan allied himself, by marriage, with the royal house of the fallen emperor at Constantinople. He really laid the foundation of modern Russia. He increased his possessions in all directions; and, receiving embassadors from other European powers, he opened Russia to western civilization.

Ivan III. first bore the name of Czar.[4] Ivan IV. (the Terrible 1533-1584) continued to build up his empire. By the annexation of Astrakan, at the mouth of the Volga,

[1] "Historical Geography," p. 483. Abel makes this period two centuries. "Slavic and Latin," p. 13.

[2] *Vide* Rambaud: "History of Russia," Vol. I. p. 183 *et seq.*

[3] In later times under Elizabeth [1741-1762], a scholar who dared to argue that the Muscovites were of Finnish origin received one hundred stripes with the knout. Under Catharine II. [1762-1796], the subject was again raised, when the Czarina "issued a Ukase commanding Muscovites to be Europeans. Abel: "Slavic and Latin," p. 17.

[4] Probably Caesar, for he was the only person who claims succession to the Eastern Emperors. Rambaud: 'History of Russia," Vol. I. p. 266.

he gained seaboard on the Caspian. About this time, English vessels had found their way to the White Sea along the northern shore of Europe. The seamen visited Moscow, and their kind reception led to commercial relations between the two countries.[1] Ivan gave Russia a valuable code of laws and likewise improved the condition of his subjects. In the later years of his reign, he became involved in wars with Poland, Sweden, and Denmark; and was obliged to seek the assistance of Pope Gregory XIII. in order to save himself.

Feodor I. (1584-1598), the last of the Rurikans, added Siberia to his dominions. Then there followed a time of anarchy and misrule for Russia until Peter the Great (1682-1725), of the Romanoff line of princes, came the throne. Peter did more than reclaim Russia to her former state, for he raised her to a place among the powers of Europe. He extended his dominions until he could boast of seaboard on four seas—White Baltic, Black, and Caspian. St. Petersburg was founded and made the capital. By study, travel, and intercourse with other nations, new ideas and improvements were introduced into all departments of the government and into all lines of industry. Catherine II. (1762-1796) was a patron of literature, science, and education and her reign was a time of great internal improvement for Russia.[2]

Peter the Great.

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[1] Patton: "Modern History," p. 138.

[2] *Vide* Rambaud: "History of Russia," Vol. II., for a full account [3]the reign of Peter and Catherine.

But in early times there was a broad belt of territory, or middle land, stretching from the Baltic sea southward to the Turkish dominions, between Germany on the west, and Russia on the east. Here were the states of Lithuania, Poland, Bohemia, and a number of others of less importance. They were occupied by a mixed population of Germans, Slaves, and Turanians. But it is safe to say, that they all now differ little from other Aryan people. The Magyars of Hungary are the only ones that have kept a Turanian dialect.[1] All of these states were factors in the settling of Europe into its modern political divisions. But their individuality has long since passed away, and we can give the parts that each played in the history of Europe only a passing notice.

In the ninth century, when the Magyars of Hungary were so troublesome to the empire, there was established a number of outposts (marks) as defences against their invasions. Among these was the Eastern Mark (Oesterreich) almost between Bohemia and Hungary. Thus was planted the germ from which modern Austria has grown. By a series of marriages, successions, elections, and conquests, the Hapsburg[2] dukes of Austria became sovereigns of Bohemia, Hungary, and a number of smaller principalities, of various Aryan and Turanian populations, which were finally united into the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. There was much shifting about before Austria assumed its present form. We have seen that the Hapsburg princes were usually emperors. We have noticed that Charles I. of Spain was Archduke of Austria and emperor Charles V. So we would find, were we to trace the history of Austria down to modern times, that, in the treaty of

[1] Keane in Ramsey's "Europe," p. 554 *et seq.*.
[2] Above p. 375.

Pressburg (1805), Francis of Austria is styled "Emperor of Germany and Austria."

Poland was one of the greatest European states of the seventeenth century. Previous to this, for a moment only, Poland had become an Angevin possession by the election

Death of Louis II. of Hungary.

of Henry of Anjou as king. Poland and Lithuania accepted the faith of the Latin Church (Catholic). When the Mongols were rulers of Russia, these countries were the champions of Christianity against the invaders. The great general and king, Sobieski (1674-1697), at this time, made himself immortal by hurling back the Turks who

were advancing on Europe.[1] When the Muscovites came into power in Russia, Poland was the fighting ground between the Latin and Greek churches. Russia, Prussia, and Austria, becoming jealous of Polish power, resolved upon her destruction. The gallant defence, which Poland made against its enemies, gained the admiration of the world, and the name of Kosciusco will never be forgotten.

John Sobieski.

In the Baltic region, composed of two great peninsulas and numerous islands, were forming, as we have seen, the three kingdoms of Scandinavia; Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. In the tenth century, the kingdom of Denmark included the greater part of the northern peninsula, as well as the southern. Under Cnut (1017-1035), a momentary empire of the northwest was formed, embracing also the British Isles. In the fourteenth century, Denmark waged frequent wars with the great Hanseatic League. By the "Union of Calmar" (1397), Norway, Sweden, and Denmark were united under queen Margaret.

This union lasted, in the case of Sweden, until 1523, when Gustavus Vasa broke the yoke of Denmark. Norway remained a part of Denmark for three centuries longer (1814). The latter part of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries was a period of growth and prosperity for Denmark. This was under Frederick II. (1559-1588) and Christian IV. (1588-1648). They were patrons of literature, science, and art. It was in their time that the great Tycho Brahe (1546-1601) flourished.

[1] Above page 361.

Sweden was ruled by Gustavus Vasa until 1560. The latter part of that century was filled with wars with Poland and Russia. Gustavus Adolphus then came to the throne (1611-1632); and, as we reach the modern period of history, we can see him leading a Protestant army from victory to victory in the heart of Europe; and, finally, to his own death on the field of battle. As the period of Medieval history closes on the continent, we see the whole country convulsed with religious wars. The liberty gained by so much bloodshed nourished the growth of the enlightenment of our own time.

Gustavus Vasa.

We have now only to give an outline of English history, the country that had so much to do with our own early history. We have already[1] seen the commencement of this history. We will resume the thread with king Egbert, a West Saxon prince, who had resided at the court of Charlemagne, and who could boast of descent from the great Cedric. He ascended the Wessex throne (802-847). Filled with that ambition and spirit of conquest that must have pervaded the court of Charlemagne, Egbert planned the conquest of the whole island. Mercia and Northumbria fell before his power (829), and Egbert styled himself "King of England."[2] He was not master of the whole island, however. Scotland and some portions of the

[1] Above p. 342.

[2] "Medieval History," p. 60.

Western Celtic territory were never conquered by Egbert. Already the Danes had begun to plunder the coasts of these islands, and his armies were needed to guard against their attacks. His successors (837-881) inherited this conflict with Danish vikings. The Norsemen now began to form settlements, although they were merely headquarters or camps, where their marauding bands could store their plunder.

When Aelfred the Great, grandson of Egbert, came to the throne (871-901), nearly the whole island had been lost to the English. From the very commencement of his reign, he engaged in war with the Norsemen. He became so reduced in power and resources that he had no followers, and was obliged to hide himself in the marshy lands of Somersetshire. There be built himself a stronghold and secretly organized an army, with which, during the next seven years, he won many battles against the Danes. Finally they entered into treaty with him, by the terms of which the Danish chieftain, Guthrian, was permitted to occupy all of England north of Watling street, or the road running from London to Chester, as vassal to the English king, on condition, however, that he should embrace Christianity. Aelfred, therefore, was real ruler over only the southern portion of England.[1]

Aelfred.

1 "The Norman Conquest," Vol. I. p. 34.

The reign of Aelfred, after the conquest of the Danes, was a season of peace and prosperity for England. Ranke[1] calls him "a marvelous phenomenon," not merely a king and a great general, but a wise legislator and the foremost author of his times. He organized his government. He adopted a system of defenses by which he was able to protect his kingdom from all foes. He built and maintained a navy which was serviceable alike for war, for commerce, and for discovery. Thus was laid the foun-

Aelfred's Mother Teaching Him Saxon Songs.

dation of the naval power that has kept England among the foremost nations of the world. He made the accumulated customs, practices, and usages of his Teutonic forefathers the common law of the land.

The aim of Aelfred's legislation seems to have been the elevation and happiness of his subjects. He tried in every way to introduce advanced ideas in learning and culture. Not satisfied in simply inviting foreign scholars

1 "A History of England," Oxford, 1875, Vol. I. p. 19.

to his court, he placed himself in their front and even surpassed them all in the amount and character of his literary work. A large number of volumes that had previously been written only in Latin were translated into English by the king himself. Thus English was made the popular literary language. Now Aelfred is not to be compared with other literary kings, who, in general, rank very poorly as writers. He wrote just as he fought and legislated, "with a single eye to the good of his people." "The culture already existing, the whole future of which had been saved by Aelfred, attained in him the fullest development. We weaken the impression made on us by this great figure.... by comparing him with the brilliant names of antiquity."[1]

The descendants of Aelfred, "for nearly a century, form one of the most brilliant royal lines on record." All the Teutonic elements—English and Danish—were at last drawn into one kingdom. Then the chieftains and princes of the Welsh and Scots became vassals to the English king (924), who was often styled Emperor or Basileus of Britain. Under Eadgar (959-975), the royal house of Aelfred and Saxon England reached the summit of its power. This king is called "the peaceful," though never before were vaster military preparations made. A standing army was organized. A naval-fleet was kept in readiness for action and constantly encircling his domains, in order to guard against attack by sea. Eight of his vassal kings met at one time and place to do him homage. It was, therefore, a time of peace and prosperity for England, during which no foe dared to approach her borders.

Succeeding kings were not as careful as Eadgar about their defences; and the Danes, who had now effected a lodg-

[1] Ranke, Op. cit. p. 20.

ment in Normandy, again plundered the coasts of the British Isles. Aethelred, the Unready, and his son Edmund Ironsides (979-1016) were so hard pressed by them that they were obliged, season after season, to buy off the invaders. An annual and ever increasing tax was levied to furnish the crown with this "Danegeld" instead of to

Aelfred the Great in his Study.

place the kingdom in a state of defence. Finally, on St Brice's Day, 1002 A. D., the king ordered a general massacre of the Danish freebooters, who had by treaty been promised protection in his realms. This only hastened the final conquest of England by the Norsemen.

Another element appeared in England during Aethelred's reign, which continued to grow in power and impor-

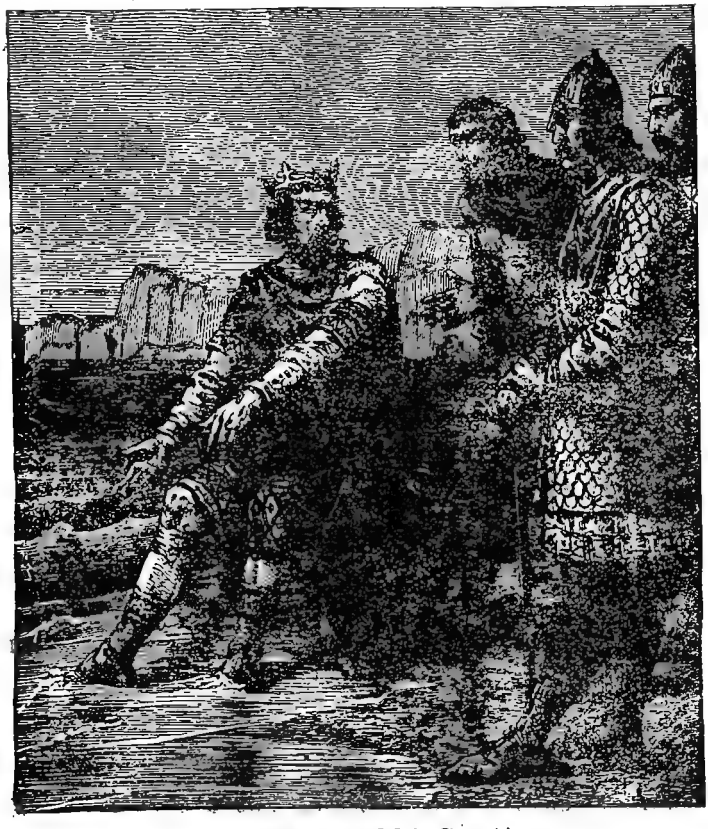
tance, until it ruled the whole island. His queen, Emma, was a Norman lady. Her appearance at the court of England opened the gates of the government to a host of Norman adventurers, who flocked around her, and received many profitable offices at her hands. The Danish king, Swegen, soon appeared to revenge the murdered Danes. To the weakness of the English king, were added the distrust and disloyalty of his noblemen and his generals (many of them Norman favorites of Emma) and a lack of zeal on the part of his subjects. So, in spite of the almost superhuman efforts of Edmund Ironsides, the Danes were successful, and Britain was added to the great Empire of the Northwest; and Cnut, the Dane, son of Swegen, was crowned king of England (1017-1035.)

Cnut dwelt at London, and married the widowed queen Emma, thus reconciling himself to many of his subjects. "Cnut had entered England as a conqueror and a destroyer; but his reign, as far as the internal state of England is concerned, was a time of perfect peace. No invasion from beyond the sea, no revolt, no civil war, is recorded during the eighteen years of his government..... Within England itself we read of no district being ravaged either by rebels or by royal command, we read of no city undergoing, or being threatened with, military chastisement. This is more than can be said of either the reign of Eadgar the Peaceful or of Eadward the Saint."[1] Here we have another instance of a wild "barbarous viking" from "pagan lands," who made one of the best kings that history mentions and that, too, in the middle of the "Dark Ages".

Still, the successors of Cnut were failures as kings, and the banished son of Aethelred and Emma, Eadward

[1] "Norman Conquest," Vol. p. 296-7.

the Confessor, or Saint, was hailed with joy then he came over from Normandy to occupy the English throne (1042–1065). He was a grandson of Robert the Fearless, duke of Normandy, and had been educated at the Norman court; so, it is not surprising, that many Norman adven-



Cnut the Great and his Courtiers.

turers followed him across the channel, and that they received good offices and large possessions for their homage and friendship. Meanwhile, there had arisen an Englishman from humble birth to the first position in England. This was Earl Godwine. As Eadward was better suited to the monastery than to the throne, Godwine, became

virtual ruler of the kingdom. Though never himself a king he "was the maker, the kinsman, the father of kings."

Next to Godwine, his son Harold, was the first man in all England. He already ruled as vassal earl over the East Angles; and, upon the death of Godwine, he became earl of the West-Saxons, which, as Freeman[1] says, was "equivalent to investing him with the practical management of the King and his Kingdom." When Eadward, the last of the line of Cedric, died, Harold was the choice of the people as king; he had also been named by Eadward, upon his death-bed, as his successor; and finally he was the choice of the Witan (or English council) who alone claimed the right of electing a king. He was crowned 1066.

We now have arrived at the Norman conquest. William,[2] duke of Normandy, claimed the right to succeed Eadward on three grounds—the promise of Eadward, the promise of Harold, and the right as a descendant of Aelfred through the female line. As to these claims, William had visited Eadward, and may have been at that time promised the succession, but there is no doubt that Harold was the final choice of the dying monarch. As to the second claim, Harold had, upon a time, been shipwrecked on the coast of Normandy, where he was held a prisoner until he had sworn that he would not accept the English crown. The third claim savors so much of the legendary that it is usually pronounced fictitious.[3]

William landed in England at the head of a vast army of Norman knights; and, armed with a papal curse

1 Freeman, Op. cit. p. 236. 2 Above page 384.

3 The work of some unreliable Chronicler who wished to make all English kings of English birth. On this point *Vide* "Norman Conquest," Vol. II. p. 116.

THE TRIAL OF QUEEN CATHERINE.

against those who dared support Harold, as well as with the sword, he demanded the crown from Harold. The battle of Hastings followed (October 14th, 1066), in which Harold was killed. William was then crowned King of England. From this time the King of England held possessions in France as vassal of the French king, which led to endless wars between the two nations.

William the Conqueror.

Norman knights now besieged the English court for appointments and possessions. They obtained both, even if a loyal English subject had to be robbed to accommodate them. The policy of the new king seemed to be to crush out the English. Norman customs and language were introduced and forced upon the people, whom the rulers had made little better than slaves. William was now the "Conqueror," and he seemed to have deserved that title in every sense of the word. When William had succeeded in thoroughly subduing England, he returned to Normandy, where he died (1087) from an accidental injury received while urging his soldiers to plunder and burn the city of Mantes, in order to satisfy some old grudge. His second son, William Rufus (the Red), was his successor (1087-1100), although there was much quarreling over the throne among his three sons—Robert, William, and Henry. By the treaty of Winchester (1101), Henry, the youngest, became king (1101-1135) to the exclusion of Robert, the oldest.[1] Henry could trace

[1] Norgate: "England under the Angevin Kings," London, 1887, Vol. I. p. 1-12.

his lineage back to the good King Aelfred through his mother, Matilda of Flanders.[1] He united himself with Scotland by marriage with Matilda, daughter of Queen Margaret,[2] so that his descendants could trace lineage back to Aelfred by two descents.[3] Henry's daughter, Matilda, became the wife of

Burial of William the Conqueror.

Emperor Henry V., and, after his death, of Geoffrey, count of Anjou, thus becoming the mother of the Angevin, or Plantagenet kings of England. We perceive

[1] Lineal descendant of Aelfthryth, daughter of Aelfred and wife of Count Baldwin.

[2] Who was grand daughter of Edward Ironsides."

[3] "Norman Conquest," Vol. II. p. 200, note.

at once the politic plans that Henry pursued in uniting himself with as many of the contemporary powers as he could. He was no less politic in his government, though most of his plans for reform died away in promises to nobles and subjects. These broken promises, however, had the effect of so arousing the people that future kings were compelled to make many concessions to them.

When Henry died, the Witan elected his nephew, Stephen (1135-1154), to the exclusion of his natural son, Robert, earl of Gloucester. The nineteen years of Stephen's reign are called a "time of utter anarchy" and a "time of utter wretchedness, such as we may safely say England never saw before and never saw again."[1] It was a season of strife between Stephen and Matilda about the right of succession of her offspring. At last to settle the matter, Stephen adopted Henry (Plantagenet), son of Matilda, as his son and successor.

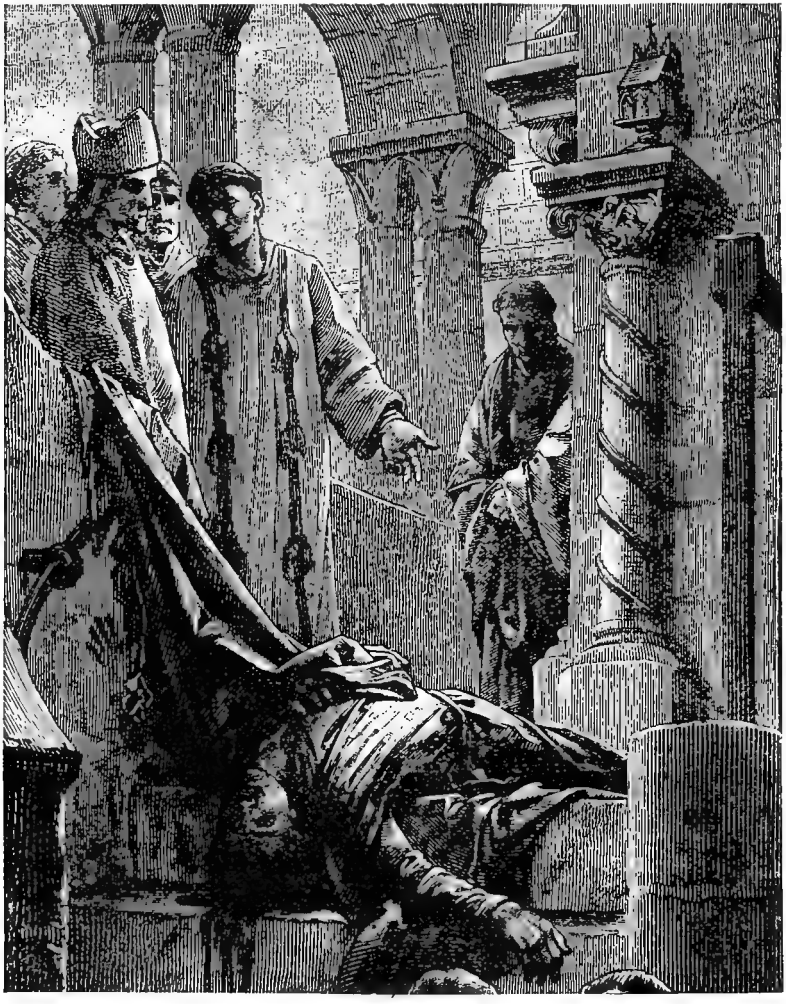
Henry II. (1154-1189), the first of the Angevin kings, inherited greater possessions than any of his predecessors. He was heir to England, Scotland, Normandy, Anjou, Maine, and Aquitaine. Thus, as vassal of the French king, he held greater possessions in France than did that monarch. The next year (1154), he obtained a bull (bulla) from Pope Hadrian IV. giving him permission to conquer and possess Ireland, as prompted by his "ardour of faith and love of religion,"[2] though Ireland was the cradle of Western Christianity.[3] We see, therefore, that England was only a small part of the possessions of her kings.

[1] "Norman Conquest," Vol. V. p. 161.

[2] Lawler: "Story of Ireland," New York, 1887, p. 81-91.

[3] "One hundred and fifty-five Irish saints are venerated in the churches of Germany; forty-five in Gaul; thirty in Belgium; thirteen in Italy; and eight in Scandinavia. For a long time all Christendom looked upon Ireland as the favorite home of religion and wisdom. Justin McCarthy: "An Outline of Irish History," Baltimore, 1883, p. 23.

Henry is remembered as "the law-giver," for during his reign not only many useful and wholesome laws were enacted but the well known legal system of England took



Death of Becket.

its shape.[1] His ablest counselor was Thomas a Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury as well as King's Chancellor,

[1] "Medieval History," p. 161.

whose murder, by order of Henry, has left an ineffacable blot upon that king's name. The first years of Henry's reign brought peace and order to England; the last years, however, marked a succession of quarrels between Henry, his wife, and his heirs.

Richard the Lion Hearted (1189-1199) was a great crusader, joining his forces with Emperor Frederick Barbarossa and Philip Augustus of France. He spent the most of his time out of his kingdom. John (1199-1216), through his quarrels with Philip of France, lost almost his entire possessions across the channel.[1] But to English people the one event, important above all others of John's reign, was the granting of the Magna Charta, which the united barons compelled the king to sign (1215).[2] Several of the last kings had been obliged to grant new and greater privileges to their subjects and especially their old English thanes (nobles). The granting of the charter was the culmination of their demands. It assured to Englishmen their most cherished rights, among which were freedom, justice, good government, security of property, and freedom against unjust taxation. Though the mortification of John was great, and though he swore terrible vengeance against his barons, the great charter has lived and gained new strength and greater privileges from succeeding kings. Every king thereafter was made to confirm it upon receiving the crown; but nearly all were ready to break it when once firmly seated upon the throne.

The Witan about this time began to shape itself into

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[1] *Vide* "England under the Angevin Kings," Vol. II. p. 38 *et seq*

[2] The *Barons* of this age were only the old English thanes under a new name and a baron's war of the time of Henry III. "meant a war which the people, with native barons in their forefront, waged against a foreign-hearted king." *Vide* "Norman Conquest," Vol. V. p. 264 and 277.

the modern Parliament. Its power grew as freedom was granted to the English people. It refused to raise money for the foreign wars of Henry III. (1216-1273). The Commons were then admitted to Parliament. During the reign of Edward I. (1273-1307), the "English Justinian," many new laws and reforms in existing statutes were enacted, not the least among which was a law forbidding the levying of taxes without the consent of Parliament. Wales was annexed to England, but the Scots, under Wallace, rose in open rebellion, (1297) which was continued under Robert Bruce.[1] His armies gained a victory over the English at Bannockburn (1314), and at last captured Berwick (1318).

John.

Parliament had now gained sufficient power to depose King Edward II. (1327), for incapacity, for breach of coronation oaths, and for loss of Scotland, electing Edward III. to the throne (1327-1357). But the tide of Scottish war did not turn with the coronation of a new king. The independence of Scotland was finally acknowledged with Robert Bruce as king. Henceforth Scotland was, for some centuries, a separate European power; though, for a moment, young David Bruce was driven from the throne by John Balliol, at the head of the English barons.

We have reached the period of the "hundred years war" between England and France. We have already

[1] Greene: "History of the English people," New York, 1880, Vol. I. p. 271 *et seq.*

seen[1] how successful England was until the last years of the war. That need not be repeated. But during this time, England was filled with clamors of the barons and the people for greater privileges and greater personal and political freedom. The spirit of religious freedom, too,

John Swearing Vengeance against his Barons.

had awakened. The great Wycliffe (1324-1384) was at the height of his fame. He preached his doctrines and spread his tracts over all England, and laid the foundation for the great Reformation of the next century.[2] Then fol-

[1] Above p. 387 *et seq.*

[2] *Vide* This Series Vol. IV.

lowed the popular outbreaks under Wat Tyler, and the bloody scenes that resulted, the promises and broken promises of young Richard II. (1387-1399), the rising of the Lollards (a term applied to Wycliffites) and their persecution as heretics; all of which are more or less connected with the religious history of that time, and will be treated in the proper place.

With Henry IV. (1399-1413), the house of Lancaster began to reign. Henry V. (1413-1422) made "himself lord of the two great western kingdoms," England and France, and was closely related to the royal lines of Portugal and Castile.[1] Henry VI. (1422-1461), however, saw the English ignominiously expelled from France. There was a strife at this time between the houses of York and Lancaster over the right to the crown of the kingdom. The Yorkists claimed it as descendants of the fifth son of Edward III. while the reigning house was descended, through the fourth son, from the same monarch. The Yorkists wore a white rose as a badge and the Lancasters a red rose, the quarrel has since been called the "wars of the roses." The white rose succeeded in deposing Henry VI.; then three white roses—Edward IV. (1461-1483), Edward V. (1483, three months), and Richard III. (1483-1485)—wore the crown in succession. The Lancasters again came into power with Henry VII. (1485-1509); and forever healed the strife between the two houses by his marriage with Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV. When their son, Henry VIII. (1509-1547), came to the throne, there was none to dispute his title, for he represented both houses.[2]

This strife seems to have been instrumental in de-

[1] Greene, Op. cit. Vol. I. p. 546.
[2] Greene, Op. cit. Vol. II. p. 86.

stroying feudalism in England by exterminating the nobility, and it also left the crown with greater powers than it had previously enjoyed.[1] Indeed the war seems to have been confined to the nobility, and disturbed the population but little. Commerce was maintained all through this period. Henry VII. was the patron of the Cabots, of whose voyages to America we shall hear again. Literature and education flourished, while printing was introduced by John Caxton (1476). Scotland was, during this time, governed by the Stuarts, the ablest of whom was James I., while James IV. became the husband of Henry's daughter, Margaret. This marriage furnished England a line of kings at a later date.

It would require a volume to record the political history and internal development of the English people during the reign of Henry VIII.[2] One fact we must now observe in English history; and that is, the king is no longer the only individual that plays a part in the world's drama. Among the most powerful men of that day, was the king's chancellor, Cardinal Wolsey. In fact, his power and fame lacked little of royalty. Able to perform Herculean mental tasks, he gained the favor of his sovereign, and was allowed to hold the reins of government. As a diplomat, he had no equal. Both King Francis of France and Emperor Charles V. are said to have acknowledged the Cardinal's power and courted his favor by bestowing upon him liberal pensions and costly gifts. Henry showered riches upon him, and he became the most powerful subject of the English king. When that celebrated meeting, known as the "Field of the Cloth of

[1] Stokes: "Medieval History," p. 172.

[2] *Vide* for this reign Froude: "History of England," London, 1870, Vol. I. Hume: "History of England," Vol, III.

Gold" (1519) took place between Henry and Francis, gorgeous was the appearance of Wolsey. Clothed in a crimson robe, mounted on a mule trapped with gold, he rode beside his king as they entered the "camp of three hundred white tents that surrounded a fairy palace with gilded posterns and brightly colored oriels which rose like a dream from the barren plain of Guisnes, its walls hung with tapestry, its roof embossed with roses, its golden fountain spouting wine over the greensward."[1]

Still when his day arrived, Henry proved how little the powerful Cardinal was in his way, by casting him from his lofty seat and depriving him of life itself. So with all his powerful subjects, the will of the monarch sufficed for their death warrants, and they were often led to the fatal block without the form of a trial. He is said to have ordered seventy-two thousand executions during his reign.[2] Nor was Parliament an obstacle to attaining his ends. Instead of fearing the power of that body as former kings had, he made it his tool, and ruled it as he ruled his subjects. So that, when he wished money, Parliament voted a tax to raise it. As Henry could not brook a superior, he finally cast off allegiance to the pope and had himself declared head of the church in England. The arbitrary manners of the king are illustrated by the treatment of his wives. He was the husband of six successive wives, whose sad fates gained for them world-wide sympathy, but for him eternal condemnation.[3]

It must be added, however, that Henry VIII. was a great legislator, a scholar, and a patron of literature.

[1] Greene, Op. cit. Vol. II. p. 114.

[2] Patton: "Modern History," p. 130.

[3] These were Catharine of Aragon, Anne Boleyn, Jane Seymour, Anne of Cleves, Catharine Howard, and Catharine Parr.

During no former reign, did England make such advances in all departments. She ceased to be a secondary power and took her place in the front ranks of the great nations of the age—England, the Empire, Spain, and France. Oxford had gained a world wide reputation for the learning and the independence of the masters who taught there. John Colet, Dean of St. Pauls and founder of St. Pauls school,[1] trained up a class of scholars who were not afraid to think, talk, and write upon all political and religious subjects. Even the king was not spared in their criticisms; but, with wit and irony, they held his actions up before the world and tried to prove that kings were only men. Among these free and earnest reformers, Erasmus and Sir Thomas More stand foremost.

Erasmus.

Henry, himself, was a patron of this "New Learning," as it had been called. His was by no means an inferior mind. But to a powerful, well proportioned, well trained physical frame, was added a superior intellect and a powerful will. Erasmus had been his teacher; and, in wit and learning, he appeared at no mean advantage among the most illustrious scholars who thronged his

[1] *Vide* Lecture by Rev. Ronald Bayne in "God's Englishmen," London, 1887, p. 108.

court and his universities. As we have intimated, his will was a strong and overbearing one. Though his subjects might boldly write and talk, their doom was sealed if they dared to cross their king's will. Even Wolsey's successor, the bold and polished Sir Thomas More, was led away to the block, because he would not sacrifice his religious freedom to the caprice of his stern sovereign.

In this chapter, we have attempted to give a short outline of the gradual formation of the Modern Nations of Europe out of the crumbling ruins of the great empire of Rome. Even though extending over many centuries, like all formative periods in the world's history, it was a time of confusion and shifting of power. Let us attempt to keep in mind the main points brought out. Looked at broadly, it is the period of the gradual emergence into the full blaze of history and into the light of modern culture of the Teutonic people of Europe. Of necessity, only the main details of this outline could be given. The development and growth of culture during this period of time require a separate chapter for a full treatment.

With this chapter, we bring too a conclusion the historical part of this volume. Before turning to study the culture of the Classical and Medieval periods, let us summarize this sketch of Aryan history. Although we have every reason to conclude that the Aryans (whether immigrants or not) were in Europe at extremely early times, yet their history is, comparatively speaking, modern. We are to regard the Aryans of Asia as emigrants from Europe, who wandered so far toward the rising sun that their route home became cut off by returning waves of Turanian people. In their new homes, their native energy for centuries blazed forth, a light to surrounding people; but as far as the main history and culture of the Aryan

people are concerned, the Aryans of Asia are not of great importance.

Turning to Europe, the development of her history is that of a cymiferous flower, the terminal blossoms are the first to unfold. Pushing away from the Baltic homeland, the people of Greece and then of Rome caught the sunlight of Oriental culture and unfolded in the light of the same. And then other blossoms, successively nearer and nearer the base, unfolded in turn until, finally, we have before us the full flowered plant of European history.

In this hurried review, we have tried to outline the history of Aryan people from a prehistoric past to the final appearance of the Modern Nations of to-day. Let us now turn to consider their development in culture. We will then see more clearly than ever that Aryan civilization and history are the civilization and history of the Medieval and Modern worlds; the Semitic and Turanian history and culture belonging to the Ancient period of history.

# Part II.

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## History of the Intellectual Development of the Aryan People.

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I. Greek Civilization.

II. Roman Civilization.

III. Medieval Civilization.

IV. Aryan Religion.

"Those conspicuous circumstances, to which the progress of civilization is commonly ascribed . . . far from being the cause of civilization, are at best only its effects .... although religion, literature, and legislation do, undoubtedly, modify the condition of mankind, they are still more modified by it .... They are themselves the product of preceding changes, and their results will vary according to the variations of the society on which they work."

BUCKLE.

"Civilization may be looked upon as the general improvement of mankind by higher organization of the individual and society, to the end of promoting at once man's goodness, power, and happiness."

TYLER.

# CHAPTER VI.

## GREEK CIVILIZATION.

INTRODUCTION — Importance of Grecian Culture—Factors of Grecian Culture—Influence of Tribal Society—City Life—Family Life in Ancient Greece—In Classical Greece—Condition of Women at Athens —In Sparta—Explanation of the Same—Daily Life of an Athenian— The Value of Athenian Citizenship—Consequences of the Condition of Women in Athens—Education in Athens—Theatres of Athens— Greek Games—Greek Public Meals—Music and Dancing—Public Official Life—The Ecclesia—The Court of Areopagus—The Senate— Greek Philosophy—Thales—The Pythagoreans—Xenophanes—Parmenides — Heraclitus — Empedocles — Democritus — The Skeptics Sophists—Socrates—Plato—Aristotle—The Epicureans—The Stoics —Grecian Science—Astronomy—Mathematics—Greek Art—Temple Architecture—Painting—Phidias

WE ARE now ready to study Aryan civilization. The great importance of this will be apparent when we reflect, that the civilization of the world to-day is Aryan. Let us, therefore, strive to learn what we can of the growth and development of Aryan culture. We have before remarked, that the peculiarity of Aryan culture is not that the Aryan people, for the first time, discovered and applied the various factors which make up their culture, but that they adopted, applied to new uses, and developed the ideas that had long been extant in the world.

On the whole, though Aryan culture has flowed on in an ever widening and deepening stream, yet we may conveniently consider it under three great divisions, periods,

or epochs. In this connection, we will not consider the Aryans in Asia. For the latter are but exotics, and their culture is not a fair test of Aryan culture. The first Aryan people to come in contact with Oriental culture, to seize on it, make it peculiarly their own, and develop it to an extent before unthought of, were the Hellenic people of Asia Minor and Greece. Here we find the first stage of Aryan development. When, in the course of time, the inevitable hour came that the power and influence of Greece declined, we detect the dawning greatness of Rome, that country that for many centuries was to rule the world. In Rome, accordingly, we find a second stage of development.

In the case of Greece, the culture was confined to a very limited area. Rome ruled a much greater country; but the centuries sped by, and, at last, Teutonic Europe, spurred on by Aryan destiny, demanded a share in the culture of their more favored southern kinsmen. Accordingly, when their armies brought down in ruins the Roman Empire, and their people commenced to absorb the culture of Classical times, we enter on a third period in the intellectual development of modern Europe. Under these three divisions, then, we will study the culture of the Aryans.

It is needless to dilate on Grecian culture. The most casual reader knows of its importance, and understands somewhat of the great influence it exerted in the culture history of the Aryans. Greek art has always been, and always will be, considered the purest and most perfect approximation to the ideal. Even the poor remnants of their architecture and sculpture, which we admire in the museums of Europe, and in some places of Greece, Sicily and Asia Minor, even these dilapidated fragments of the

original works fill us with awe, with wonderment, with unbounded admiration. The pottery works found in Grecian tombs exhibit the most exquisite designs, the most delicate use of colors, and the most delightful ornamental forms. All these objects breathe the very spirit of high art; and the severest critics of modern times are unable to find fault with the gorgeous, and yet chaste, orders of Grecian columns, or with their representations of male and female beauty.

It is the same in Literature. The dramas of Sophocles or Euripides, the odes of Pindar, and the comedies of Aristophones have survived the varying tastes and fastidious criticism of over sixty generations, and they still shine forth in unfaded brilliancy and poetic splendor. In Philosophy, with the exception of the founders of new religions, no other individuals can compare with Grecian philosophers in point of influence on the thoughts and opinions of mankind. It has well been said, that every man is either a born Platonist or a born Aristotelian; meaning thereby, that men are naturally divided into two classes of mental caste, of peculiar turn of mind—into such as would lean toward Aristotle and his way of thinking, and into such as would feel inclined to follow the footsteps of Plato.

Let us first inquire into the cause of Grecian culture. What was it which enabled this people, inhabiting a very limited area of country, to achieve so great conquests in the culture history of the world? Many scholars have attempted to answer this query. Some have thought that their geographical location explained all. As is pointed out in a previous volume,[1] "the culture of a people is greatly influenced by their surroundings. The

[1] Vol. I. p. 765.

very appearance of a country, whether it is mountainous or plain, sea-girt or inland, influences the character of a people." Buckle[1] shows how much the culture of a people depends on climate, food, and physical surroundings. Von Humboldt and Ritter have pointed out the strange relation between the length of a country's coast line and the intelligence of its inhabitants. Others, again, seek to explain everything strange in the culture of the Greeks and other people by referring to inborn race qualities. We need not discuss these various opinions; but let us, in the case of Greece, point out a potent factor.

In our search, we must not loose sight of the results obtained in a former chapter.[2] It has been abundantly shown that the organization of a people for social and governmental purposes exerts a wonderful influence on their culture. Since society in ancient Greece was tribal society, we know that when we talk about a "state," we mean something altogether different from a political "state" of the present day. Long before the dawn of authenic history, owing to their limited expanse of territory, their tribal head-quarters had expanded into cities, and finally the tribe lost itself in the city. City and tribe became exchangeable terms. Hence we understand why, in ancient Greece, "city" and "state" were identical and co-extensive terms. This one point is of such importance for the whole of Greek civilization that it must not be lost sight of. In fact it is the main point.[3] It shows at once a vast difference between modern and ancient times. In Greece (as well as in the Roman empire), people did not know of any other dwelling place than a city. Every-

[1] "History of Civilization," Vol. I. chapter ii.

[2] This Series, Vol. II. chapter ii.

[3] This important point in Grecian culture has been elaborated in a recent work by Kuhn.

body belonged to a city, because city and tribe, or confederacy, were co-extensive. In the "Politics" of Aristotle, the great work on Greek state-institutions, we read of

Grove of Altis.

nothing else but of cities. This statement does not, however, exclude the existence of little settlements outside the

precincts of cities. We know the names of a number of such settlements in Attica, in Argolis, in Messene, etc. But these little "villages" (as we would call them)[1] had no existence of their own. They were incorporated into the city (of Athens, of Corinth, of Argos, etc.) as wards of the city, and they were administered by boards of commissioners whose head-quarters were invariably in the city.

The experience of all ages has proved the powerful influence of city-life on all descriptions of mental activity. The inhabitants of cities are continually subject to the stirring, suggestive, animating atmosphere of a higher developed life. They see more, they undertake and risk more, they experience more than country-people. All the energies of their souls are called forth, and almost daily, by an unceasing array of grave and less serious affairs, by meetings of all kind, by street occurrences, by shows, by business transactions, etc. It is, accordingly, a mere matter of course, that the inhabitants of cities develop more rapidly than those of country-places, villages, or hamlets. Their intellect, being taxed to its utmost capacity, responds by a more comprehensive and profound activity. Nothing can illustrate this remark more vividly than a comparison of Greek civilization with medieval culture.

In the Middle Ages, at least in the first half of the Medieval period, there were but very few cities in Northern and Central Europe. In England, in the northern part of France (the southern part was an old province of Rome), in Germany (northeastern part), in Austria only a few small cities were to be found.[2] The bulk of the people

[1] In many cases these "villages" were tribal head-quarters of subject tribes, or of tribes whose union made the confederacy whose headquarters were the city.

[2] Because in these countries, the land had become the basis of division [See Vol. II. p. 164].

lived in the country in "marks," as they were called in Germany, in "shires,"[1] as they termed them in England. The cities of Europe, at that time, were mostly in the southern part of the continent; that is to say, in the very parts where the wisdom and energy of the Romans had erected numerous bulwarks against the inroads of the barbarians. This being the state of affairs in the Middle Ages, we need not be astonished to hear, that the people of those times

Siege Machine.

display a very slow development of intelligence and enlightenment, that superstitious beliefs were rife amongst them, and that, in all higher walks of literature and art, they were sadly deficient.

Here then we come upon one important factor in the culture of Greece. Owing to their contracted area, the

[1] These had taken the place of tribes of the older period. Ibid. p. 173.

land did not become with them the basis of society at the expense of kinship. Hence their tribal headquarters grew into cities and their culture became *intense*, the social contact of mind with mind spurred them on to ever greater flights. Now let us turn to study some of the peculiarities of every day life in Greece. In reading the Homeric poems, we gain a clear and highly gratifying picture of the constitution of old Greek tribal life (1200-1000 B. C). The father is the head of the joint-family, which had become, by that time, the unit of society. The house-father was not an irresponsible despot. The house-mother seems to have lived on terms of equality with him. The people lived in single mansions, although cities are mentioned.[1] In the political life described by the Homeric poems, the tribal chief, basileus or king, rules, and his office generally passes by inheritence, though the gentes exercised the right of election if necessary. But he is not, like an eastern monarch, even practically despotic; he is bound, first, by "themistes," viz., the traditional customs of the people; he must consult the "boule," the tribal council; and lastly, his proposals require to be ratified by the "agora," or popular assembly. Many of the pictures of manners, especially in the Odyssey, have the refinement of a noble simplicity in thought and feeling and of genuine courtesy which is peculiarly Hellenic. The useful arts are still in an early stage. The use of the principal metals is known, but not, apparently, the art of smelting or soldering them. Money is not mentioned, oxen being the usual measure of value; and there is no certain allusion to the art of writing. The main occupation of the people was agriculture and war.

This picture, however, differs from historical Greece,

[1] Argos, Troja, etc.

that is to say from Greece as it developed from the ninth century B. C. to the time of the Roman conquest. Monogamy, it is true, was kept up as formerly. But in the position of women, a radical change took place, a change the explanation of which requires a thorough understanding of the whole frame of Grecian culture. In general, we seldom hear of anything else than the deeds and exploits of men. Battles, sieges, truces, adventures of all sorts are told, and all and each of them bespeak the audacity, the adroitness, the failures, or successes of men. We constantly hear of their state of affairs, of the way they governed and were being governed, of their assemblies and war-councils; of the state of women, however, we hear but little. They usually sink back into the insignificance of their households, and are not considered worth mentioning.

But such is not the method and duty of a real History of Civilization. It is a fact of all experience, that women exercise a vast although silent, and, as it were latent, influence over the destinies of men. To ignore such influence in the study of nations is equivalent to ignoring one of the most powerful factors in the development of culture.[1] Hence we have first to dwell upon the condition of women in historic Greece. Now in modern times, the social condition of women is pretty much the same all over the Christian world. Nobody thinks of curtailing their natural rights as free-born women; they obtain the same rank and positions that their husbands hold; they can move freely; they can join their fathers or brothers at public shows or other localities; they can have free intercourse with male and female

[1] Buckle writes a very elaborate chapter, showing the influence of women on civilization.

persons; they can dress as they please, etc., etc. In one word, a modern "lady" of South or North America does not essentially differ from a "lady" in Spain or Germany. As to personal demeanor, as well as to social standing, they occupy an almost identical position.

Types of Greek Women.

This, however, was not the case in ancient Greece. The position, the social standing of a women in Athens was totally different from that of a woman in Sparta, although only a few miles intervened between the two. Athenian women lived in upstairs-rooms, so that their husbands would know when they left their apartments. They were obliged to stay at home in the midst of their servants.

They were not permitted to go to theaters or other public shows, unless some very serious tragedy was given. From the social gatherings of their husbands, from the so-called symposia (which are so charmingly described in Plato's works), they were excluded; and even at family suppers, they had to sit apart. When in the streets, they were constantly attended by slaves, and nobody dared to address them, nor were they allowed to approach anybody.[1]

The choice of a wife among the Athenians was rarely grounded upon affection, and taking into consideration the secluded existence of an Athenian maid, could have been but seldom the result of previous acquaintance or familiarity. In many cases, a father chose for his son a bride whom the latter had never seen, or compelled him to marry for the sake of checking his extravagance. Nor was the consent of a female to a match proposed for her generally thought necessary; she was obliged to submit to the wishes of her parents, and receive from them her husband and lord, even though he were a stranger to her.

Sophocles, the greatest of all Greek drama writers, thus describes the lot of woman in this respect. "When we are grown up (he makes a female say), we are driven from our parents and paternal gods." So also in Euripides, Hermione,[2] a representative Greek woman, declares that it is her father's business to provide a husband for her.[3] And, for fear the father might not be strict enough, there were magistrates in Athens, the *gynae-*

[1] See "Athenaeus," Lib. vii, and Aristotle in the fourth book of his "Politics." In the Excursus "On Women," in Becker's admirable "Charicles," many instances will be found of the rigid measures adopted as to exclusion of women in Greece.

[2] Andromache, 951.

[3] But match-making among the ancients was not, in default of legal regulations, entirely left to the care and forethought of parents, for we read of women who made propositions of marriage. Pollux, iii. 31.

*conomi*, who superintended the conduct of women.[1] They, most probably, were instituted by Solon, whose regulations concerning the female sex certainly rendered some special officers necessary for their enforcement. In their official capacity, they had to see that the regulations concerning the conduct of Athenian women were observed, and to punish any transgressions of them.

Athenian women were always minors, subject to some

Home Life of Greek Women.

male—to their father, to their husband, to their brother, or to some of their male kin. Here we see the working of the joint-family in tribal society.[2] The woman were always members of some joint-family, and so under the rule of some house-father. Marriage simply transferred them to some

[1] Pollux, viii. 12. Plutarch, Solon, 21.

[2] This Series, Vol. II. p. 216,

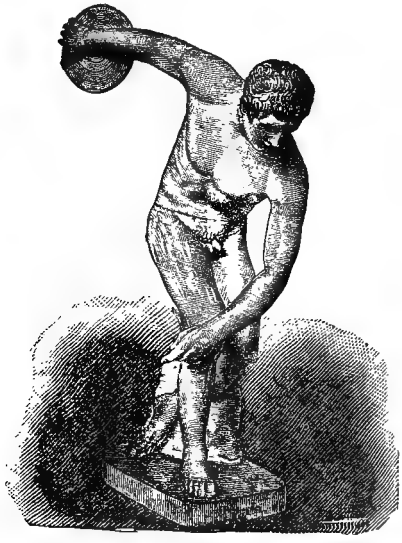
new joint-family.[1] Aristotle always classes women and children together.[2] An unfaithful woman was practically expelled from society and excommunicated. If she appeared in a temple, and even in those temples which foreign women and slaves were allowed to enter, any one might treat her as he pleased, providing he did not kill or mutilate her.[3] It is in accordance with the spirit of this treatment of Athenian women that Athens did not allow her citizens to marry with foreign women, nor conversely.[4]

This peculiar and unworthy position of women in Athens found its counterpart in Sparta, in the Laconian state. Women in Sparta were much less restricted in their personal freedom. They were not only permitted to join the social gatherings of men, and to appear alone in public, but they were simply obliged to partake in the athletic exercises of the stronger sex, proving their physical valor by wrestling and boxing matches.[5] Accordingly their flesh became developed to the statuesque beauty of marble figures; and, on their occasional visits to Athens or other cities, they roused the envious wonderment of their lady hosts. When married, they were expected to have children; and this main and principal object had to be obtained by any means. An old husband had to be supplanted by a young lover, with both the consent of public opinion and the approval of the state.[6]

In Sparta, the state, the conservation of those old, time-hallowed institutions, was the first and last consid-

1 *Vide* Hearne: "Aryan Household."
2 Aristotle, 4th book of Politics.
3 Demosthenes adv. Near. ch. 22. Aeschines adv. Tim. ch. 36.
4 Demosthenes adv. Near. p. 1350.
5 Plato, Leg. vii.
6 Limburg-Brower: "Historie de la Civil Morale et R. des Grecs," IV. 165.

eration. It is a well-known fact, that in Sparta every newly-born baby had to be submitted to a jury of commissioners, who passed an ultimate decision on the vitality of the child. In cases of an unfavorable decision, the baby was simply flung into the abyss of the Taygetus.[1] The State had no use for weak, fragile citizens.



Discus Thrower.

For the meditative mind, these facts are highly suggestive. Why did women enjoy a liberty in Sparta that was absolutely withheld from them in Athens? Can such broad facts be ascribed to mere accidental causes, to the mere whim of legislators? On the contrary, the general and determining facts of history, or, in other words, the institutions of nations do not, and never did, depend on accidental, whimsical freaks of this or that prominent man or men. They invariably depend on some broad, general cause, the working of which can not be tampered with by the interference of single individuals.

Often all, or the majority, of Athenian and Spartan institutions are attributed to the wisdom and legislative prudence of Solon and Lycurgus respectively. And no doubt, these two eminent men enacted a few very wholesome laws, and administered their states with great insight into the character and tendencies of the people. But far from being the sole originators of all Athenian or

[1] Plutarch, Lycurgus.

Spartan institutions, they found these institutions already in existence and did nothing else but simply sanction them. The institutions of a nation can not be created by municipal ordinances or by state-laws. The real root of the peculiar standing of the women of Athens and Sparta lies outside the scope of individual lawgivers. The real source will be found in the rights and duties of citizenship in these two states, and the care taken to preserve purity of blood. Let us then inquire into the rights and duties of Athenian citizenship. As we would expect, being in the advanced stage of tribal society, the city-states in Greece were thoroughly democratical states; that is to say, each citizen was called upon to take an active part in the administration of the state.

Solon.

But this, in itself, was not sufficient. Citizens may take part in the administration of their state by exercising the right of suffrage only. They elect boards of individual officials and entrust them with the administration of affairs, occasionally controlling them by some other board. This, in general, is the American system. In Greece, however, the affairs of the state were carried on, not by a few boards of offcials, but by the people themselves. The whole people, as such, took part in the government. There were several thousand judges (dikastes), several hundred councilmen, priests, civil and naval officers—and these thousands of offices were occupied by nearly every single citizen in turn.

We will form a more adequate idea of Greek civilization by representing to ourselves the daily life of an

Athenian citizen. The average citizen of Athens spent his day mostly out of his house. His material cares were reduced to a very low measure. The warm, bracing climate of his country did not require much substantial food or much or costly clothing, and his private income was considerably enhanced by the fees and compensations received at the hands of the state. Athenian citizenship was an ample source of all kinds of small revenues. In visiting the public theaters, the poorer citizens, instead of paying their entrance-fee, were, on the contrary, the recipients of a small remuneration.[1] In a lawsuit at Athens, the jury did not consist of twelve good men and true, but generally of several hundred,[2] and consequently every single citizen had frequent chances to act and to be paid as a juror.

Besides there were numerous festivities[3] of a public character, and at the expense of the state, at which every citizen could indulge in all kind of merry-making, feasting, and frolic. In addition to all these great attractions, all public halls and thoroughfares, arcades and "academies" were swarming with all sorts of orators, philosophers, "sophists," and politicians, who were continually haranguing the people, and a great number of whom were model representatives of their art or profession: like Pericles, the unique statesman; Isocrates and Demosthenes, the unrivaled orators; Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Antisthenes, Theophrastus, the philosophers; etc. Very few Athenians were so poor as to be without a slave, who was considered his legal property and who, in fact, did all the business, all the work and drudgery in his stead. Finally the nu-

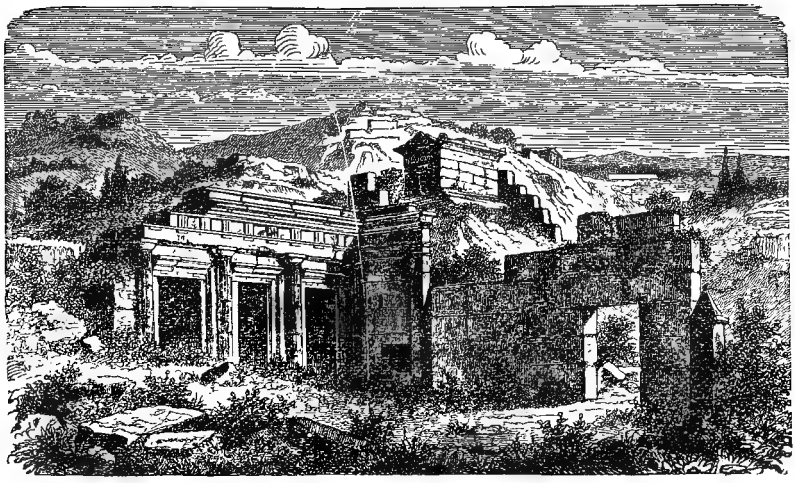
[1] Bockhs: "Publ. Econ of Athens," p. 219, 226.

[2] Maer and Schoemann: "Altisches Prozess," p. 125.

[3] The Dionysia, the Delphinia, the Eleusinia, etc., etc. These will be treated later.

merous wars of the Athenian Commonwealth were a fruitful source of revenue for the state as well as for the individual citizen.

If we now combine these features into one whole, we will readily see that a citizen in Athens did not possess any more precious good or boon than his citizenship. It was not only an honor, a high standing, as in modern states; but it was an almost sure guarantee of a safe living. Hence it is but a matter of course, that the Athe-



Graves at Cyrene.

nians looked upon their citizenship as upon a treasure, the great value of which would be greatly impaired by a lavish distribution of the same. They established, therefore, very strict and rigid laws as to the capacity of foreigners to become citizens of Athens; and, as a matter of fact, this honor was conferred on but very few outsiders.

Even a born Athenian had to undergo a great variety of inquiries into his descent, parentage, etc., before being admitted into the rank of the full citizen. The candidate, on whom the citizenship was to be conferred, was proposed

in two successive assemblies; at the second of which at least six thousand citizens voted for him by ballot. Even if he succeeded, his admission, like every other decree, was liable, during a whole year, to an indictment for propounding an illegal measure, in other words, it was liable to the question of its constitutionality. He was then registered in the gens and phratry to which he belonged. We have pointed out how the phratry, as one of the divisions of tribal society, early tends to disappear.[1] In Greece, the phratries survived, indeed, but simply to preserve a record of the descent of the citizens. Aristotle says[2] that for practical purposes it was sufficient to define a citizen as the son or grandson of a citizen, and the register of the phratry was kept chiefly as a record of the citizenship of the parents. If any man's claim were disputed, this register was at hand, and gave an answer to all doubts about the rights of his parents or his own identity.

Every newly married woman, herself a citizen, was enrolled in the phratry of her husband, and every infant registered in the phratry of its father. All who were thus registered must have been born in lawful wedlock, of parents who were themselves citizens; indeed, so far was this carried, that the omission of any of the requisite formalities in the marriage of the parents, if it did not wholly take away the right of citizenship, might place the offspring under serious disabilities.[3] If we now compare the mode of acquiring the citizenship of Athens with modern measures with regard to the same object, we can scarcely fail to see the great stress laid upon purity and legitimacy of descent. This again is a mere outcome of the pure and legiti-

[1] This Series is, Vol. I. p. 782; Vol. II. p. 148, 173.
[2] Aristotle, Pol. iii. 2.
[3] Plutarch, Pericles, chapter 37.

mate conduct of women. If the slightest doubt can be thrown on the purity of a woman's life, the purity of citizenship is also at stake. And, consequently, it was nothing but self evident, that the Athenians, in order to preserve their most precious attribute free from all stains, took recourse to the severe measure of keeping their women in the state of perfect prisoners. In doing so, they did not show much confidence in the natural bent of women towards

Wedding March.

a virtuous life; they preferred a sure lock to all specious promises.

We have so far succeeded in accounting for the peculiar state of women in Athens. But what as to Sparta? How shall we explain the freer state of women in Sparta? Did not the Spartans estimate their citizenship as highly as the Athenians? Did not it confer upon them similar emoluments and privileges? Most certainly. Why then

did they not think of debarring their women from all intercourse with the outward world? To this there is a very simple and satisfactory answer. Of all the Dorian people, the Spartans kept themselves the longest unmixed with foreign blood. So jealous were they to maintain their exclusive privileges, that they had only admitted two men into their body before the time of the historian Herodotus, (the fifth century B. C.)[1]. There being no strangers in the state, they did not dread the admixture of foreign blood, entertaining, as we remarked above, rather latitudinarian views about matrimonial exclusiveness.

In addition to this, there was another cause at work in Sparta, which illustrates the peculiar bent of the Spartan mind. The constitution of the Spartan state displayed a decided aversion to foreign immigrants; and, in order to hold out as few attractions as possible, they instituted the use of a money, that had no intrinsic value whatever. Thus their money consisted of huge iron discs, and no gold or silver was admitted into the country. The iron discs, while red hot, were dipped in vinegar to render them unmalleable and useless for any other purpose than money. Of a consequence, this kind of money was no allurement to the trading people of other communities. Market for the same was restricted to the community of the Spartans. Hence Sparta, not being pestered with the dangerous influence of foreigners, who helped to swell the population of Athens to hundreds of thousands of people, could easily dispense with rigorous measures with regard to the private conduct of women.

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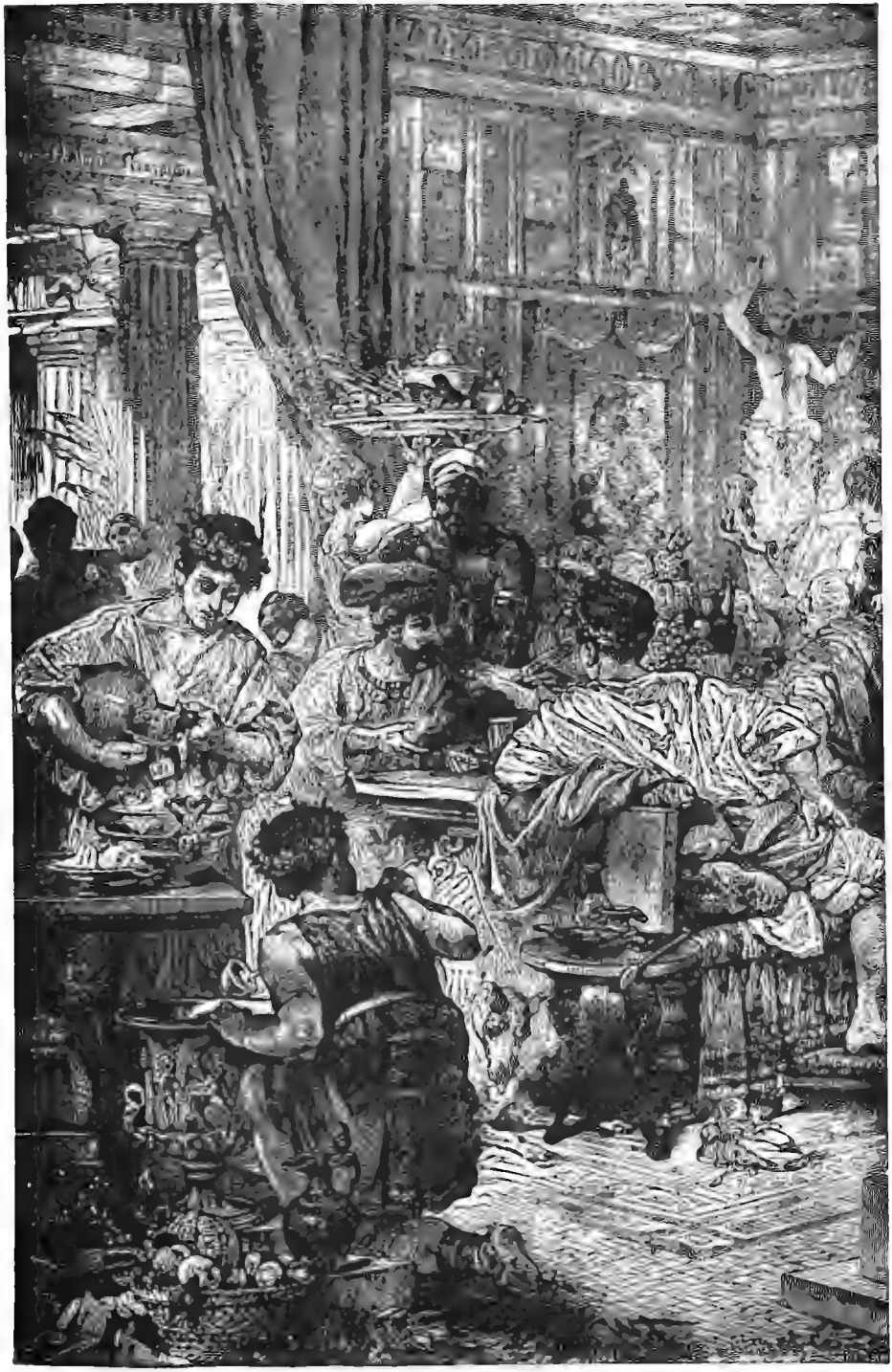
[1] Herodotus i. 33-35. Afterwards their numbers were occasionally recruited by the admission of Laconians, Helots, and foreigners, but this was done very sparingly prior to the time of Agis and Cleomenes, who created large numbers of citizens.



GREEK FESTIVAL.

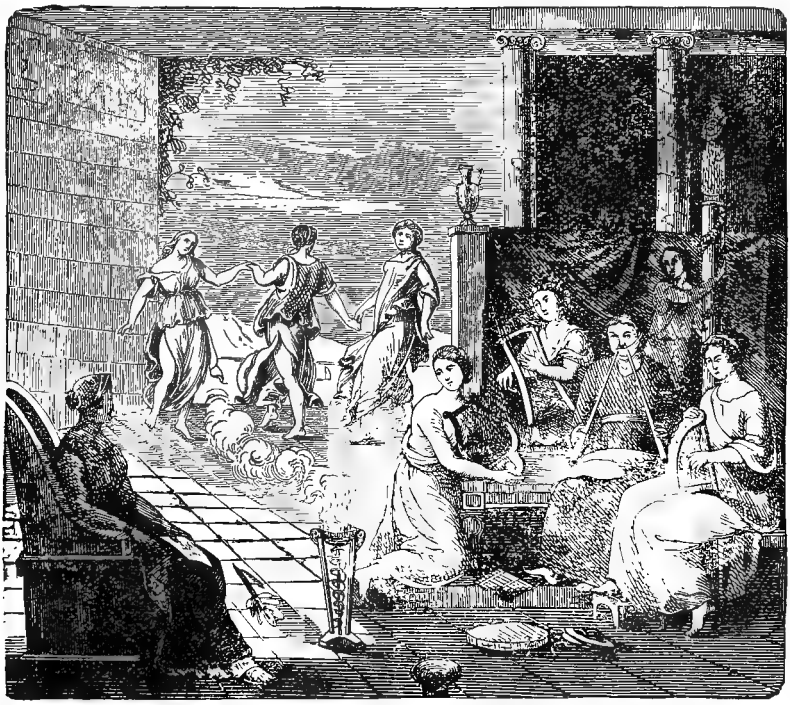
We have now gained an insight into the state of women of Athens and Sparta, and likewise into the causes of the same. Our information about women in other Grecian communities is rather scanty. But by what we occasionally read in the historians and dramatists of Greece, we may fairly infer, that the cities of Asia Minor, Sicily, Thessaly, Macedonia, and of other Greek settlements followed the example either of Athens or of Sparta.

This peculiar position of women in Greece, more especially in the cities where women were treated after the Athenian pattern, did not fail to produce national features equally peculiar and important for the historian. We mean the strange love of men for men and the "Hetairae". The eternal yearning of men for deeper emotions like love and sympathy could not be gratified by a system which regarded women as a means for maintaining the purity of citizenship rather than the sweet and consoling companions of life. As a mere consequence, men became alienated from their wives; and the tender relation between the two sexes was exchanged for the stern duties of guard and prisoner.

But the emotions, which men were unable to find and to indulge in at their homes, were sought for in other directions. Thus arose a closer intimacy between men and men than would else be explicable. Men attached themselves to their male friends with all the unalloyed force of their soul, and sought to make up for the joys of wedlock by delighting in the charms of friendship. We read of famous friends, like Epaminondas and Pelopidas, Harmodius and Aristogiton, Damon and Pythias, etc., who, to the present, serve as the model archetypes of elevated friendship. The celebrated three hundred Theban youths were all closely united by the bonds of unswerving friendship; and, as

a rule, we hear more frequently of the friendship than of the love of a Grecian.

Friendship, however, is not able to quench the passionate longing for more vehement feelings, which is so natural to humanity. And hence the Grecians, with their keen sense of beauty and their highly susceptible minds,



Music and Dance.

turned to more gratifying sources of pleasure. It is no wonder that these sources were represented by females and these females are called "*Hetairae*". They were free, emancipated women, who lived by their physical and mental charms. There were several classes of these women. The lowest were much like their equivalent class of to day, they lived in public houses (*perneia*), state-institutions,

which were first established by Solon.[1] Then comes the numerous class of freed-women, comprehending the flute-player, cithera-player, etc., who were hired to assist at the domestic sacrifices. Many in this class were probably distinguished for wit and vivacity. But those remarkable personages, who by their intellect and power of fascination, rather than by their beauty, exerted such an extensive sway over their age, and who, by the position in which they stood to the greatest men of the day, have secured an historic celebrity, were sprung from a different order.

For Aspasia and the Corinthian Lais, as well as Phryne and Pythionice were aliens, and Lamia was the daugter of a free Athenian citizen. Almost every famous man of Greece had one of these lady-companions with whom he discussed the pursuits and soothed the evils of life. Thus we read of Plato and Archaenassa, Aristotle and Herpyllis, Epicurus and Leontion, Isocrates and Metaneira, Menander and Glycera. The beauty of some, especially of Phryne, said to have been the most beautiful women that ever lived, attracted the eyes of all Greece; Apelles painted her picture, and Praxiteles made her the model for the Cidian Aphrodite, the loveliest representation of womanhood that ever the sculptor's chisel produced. Some were renowned for their musical faculty, some were celebrated painters. Socrates, the wisest of men, did not hesitate to say that he considered Aspasia his teacher.

It was not to be expected that all women would acquiesce in the general view of their rights and duties. Some of the women in Greece were aware of their unworthy social standing; and, in the seventh century, a movement began with a view to a reformation, or an emancipation of women. The center of this movement was the great

1. Athenaeus, xiii. p. 569.

poetess Sappho. She was the only women in all antiquity whose productions, by universal consent, placed her on the same level as the greatest poets of the other sex. Solon, on hearing one of her songs sung at a banquet, got the singer to teach it to him immediately, saying that he wished to learn it and die. Herodotus, the historian, Plato, and Aristotle refer to her in terms of profound respect. Plato called her the tenth muse.

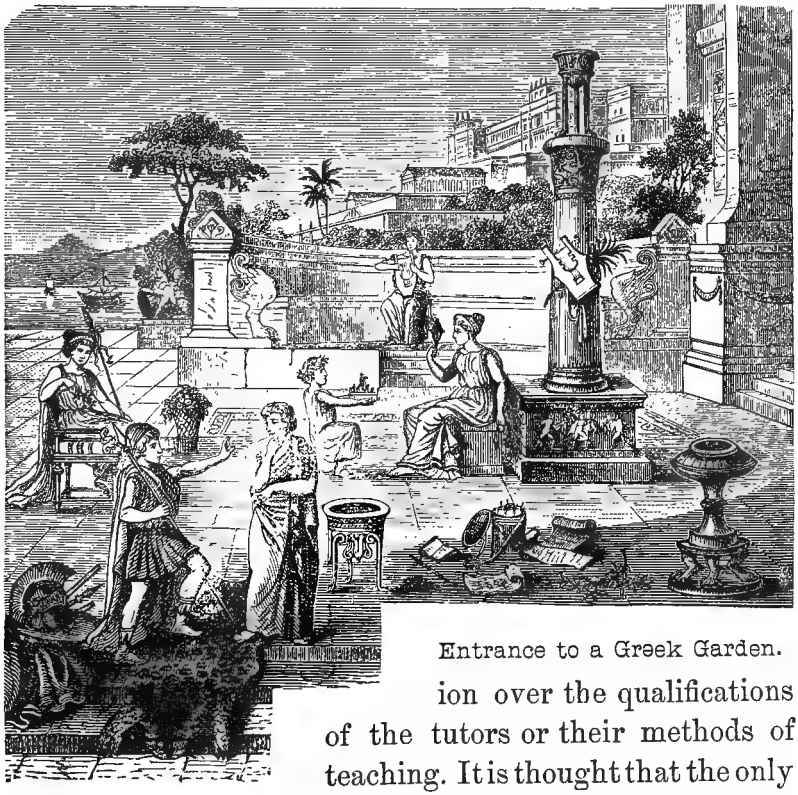
Sappho determined to do all she could in order to elevate her sex. The one method of culture open to women at that time was poetry; and, accordingly, Sappho established a school of Greek poetesses, the most celebrated of her disciples being Erinna. But this, as well as similar other efforts to raise Greek women from the stagnancy of their lives, failed entirely of its object. Their condition being a growth and natural product of deep-rooted institutions, it could not be altered or modified by the spasmodic efforts of a few individuals. Great changes are never the result of measures taken by isolated individuals, whom the near-sighted opinion of the public are pleased to call "heroes". Great national changes are brought about by new institutions or by the decay of old ones.

When we think of the great influence of political institutions in Greece, we are surprised at the lack of public schools. Very few people could do without a knowledge of reading and writing, but still they never had a system of public schools. The state never thought of erecting public institutions of that kind to be maintained at the general expense. The sort of an education that children received depended mainly on the parents' own conscientiousness. Some got none at all.[1] This however was not usual; and so necessary a thing did school-going seem, that

[1] The Sausage seller, for instance. Aristophanes, Equities, 1234.

when the women and children of Athens fled to Troezen, at the time of the Persian invasion, the inhabitants, besides supporting them, paid persons to teach the children.[1]

The selection of a teacher rested entirely with the parents. The tutors were, in some degree under the surveillance of the state, though this latter exercised, little supervis-



Entrance to a Greek Garden.

ion over the qualifications of the tutors or their methods of teaching. It is thought that the only requirement was one as to age.[2] Instruction was in three branches; grammar, music, gymnastics "Grammar" was

1 Plutarch, Themistocles, 10. See also Aelian Var. History vii. 15. Where we read that the Mytelenaeans, when masters of the sea. punished their revolting allies by not allowing their children to be taught, ddeming this the severest penalty they could inflict.

2 In our account of Greek customs, etc., we have freely drawn from Becker's "Charicles."

the most indispensible part of instruction. It comprehended reading, writing, and arithmetic. When the children could read and understand what they read, the works of the poets were put in requisition, to exercise their minds, and awaken their hearts to great and noble deeds. The study of music began somewhat later, according to Plato with the thirteenth year.[1] The Greeks knew nothing of a two-months' or four-months' summer vacation for the school-children. Attendance at school was continued till the pupils reached riper years in the Greek sense, which would generally be at the age of sixteen.

The more advanced instruction was imparted by teachers of a higher order, the Rhetoricians and Sophists, whose charges only the rich could defray. But this did not prevent the lovers of knowledge from purchasing their instruction even at the greatest sacrifices. Thus Cleanthes, Menedemus, and Asclepiades worked by night in gardens and mills, in order to be able to attend by day the classes of the philosophers. With the Spartans, however, mental culture was a secondary consideration, and Aristotle[2] justly upbraids them for bringing up their offspring like animals. We nowhere hear anything of educational institutions for girls, and indeed, they would have been incompatible with the universal training of the female sex. The lack of public state schools will more easily be understood if we consider the innumerable occasions for instruction of all kind afforded by the publicity of all proceedings in statesmanship, science, and art. To listen to the great orators of the court-hall, of the assembly, or of the philosophical "academy" was an ample resource of useful information. But perhaps the most fruitful source of general instruction was afforded by the

[1] Leg. vii. [2] Polit. viii. 4.

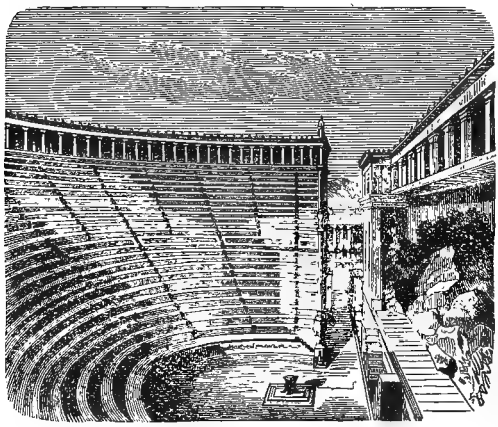
magnificent theaters and their tragedies and comedies, which comprised all that is great, profound, and suggestive.

Here, as well as in other cases, our main information refers to Athens, but we can the more readily acquiesce in it since the other cities of Greece arranged their theatricals according to the Athenian standard. The Athenians, before the time of the great tragedian, Aeschylus, 525-456 B. C., had only wooden scaffolding on which their dramas were performed. Such a wooden theater was erected only for the Dionysiac festivals, and was afterward pulled down. The first drama that Aeschylus brought upon the stage was performed upon such a wooden scaffold, and it is recorded as a singular and ominous coincidence that on that occasion[1] the scaffolding broke down. To prevent the recurrence of such an accident, the building of a stone theater was forthwith commenced on the southeastern descent of the Acropolis; for it should be observed, that, throughout Greece, theaters were always built upon eminences, or on the sloping sides of hills.

The Attic theater was, like all Greek theaters, placed in such a manner that the place for the spectators formed the upper or northwestern, and the stage, with all that belonged to it, the southeastern part, and between these two parts lay the orchestra. The seats for the spectators, which were in most cases cut into the rock, consisted of rows of benches rising one above another; the rows themselves formed parts (nearly three-fourths) of concentric circles, and were at intervals divided into compartments by one or more broad passages running between them and parallel with the benches. The entrance to the seats of the spectators was partly underground, and led to the lowest row of benches.

[1] 500 B. C.

The orchestra was a circular, level space, extending in front of the spectators and somewhat below the lowest row of benches. But it was not a perfect circle, one segment of it being appropriated to the stage. The orchestra was the place for the chorus, where it performed its evolutions and dances, for which purpose the orchestra was covered with boards. As the chorus was the element out of which the drama arose, so the orchestra was originally the most important part of a theater. It lay under the open sky. Steps led from each side of the orchestra to the stage. The machines in the Greek theatres were extremely numerous, but we are in many cases unable to form an exact idea of their nature and their effects.



Entrance to a Greek Theatre.

Theatrical representations at Athens began early in the morning, or after breakfast, and when the concourse of people was expected to be great, persons would even go to occupy their seats in the night. When the weather was fine, especially at the Dyonisiac festivals in spring, the people appeared with garlands on their heads. As it was not unusual for the theatrical performances to last from ten to twelve hours, the spectators required refreshments, and they used to take wine and cakes.

The whole of the *cavea* in the Attica theatre must have contained about fifty thousand spectators. The places for generals, archons (chief magistrates), priests,

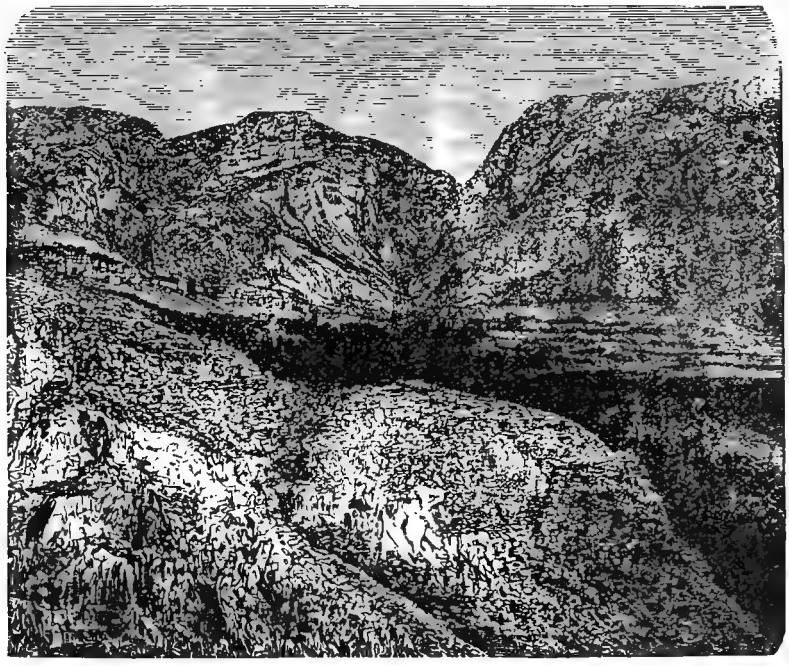
foreign embassadors, and other distinguished persons were in the lowest rows of benches, and nearest to the orchestra. On the stage the actors were playing, all of them wearing characteristic masks. It seems to us rather inappropriate that an actor should have one and the same mask all the play through. But we must bear in mind the immense dimensions of a Greek theatre, where the most distant spectators were not likely to see the features of the actors unless artificially enlarged. These

Rural Festivities among the Greeks.

masks, therefore, were a means to make up for our modern opera glasses.

The Greek theater leads us to a consideration of the Greek games. The public games of Greece were athletic contests and spectacles of various kinds, generally connected with, and forming part of a religious observance. Probably no institution exercised a greater influence in molding the national character and producing that unique type of physical and intellectual beauty, which we see

reflected in Greek art and literature, than the public contests of Greece. For them, each youth was trained in the gymnasium; they were the central marts to which poet, artist, and merchant each brought his wares, and the common ground of union for every member of the Hellenic race.



Delphi and Parnassus.

The Olympian games were the earliest, and to the last, they remained the most celebrated of the four national festivals. Olympia was a natually enclosed spot in the rich plain of Elis. There was the grove of Altis, in which were ranged the statues of the victorious athletes, and the temple of Olympian Zeus, with the chrys-elephantine (ivory and gold) statue of the god, the masterpiece of Phidias. In 776 B. C., the Eleians engraved the name of their countryman, Coroebus, as victor in the foot-race; and

thenceforward we have an almost unbroken list of the victors in each succeeding Olympiad, or fourth recurrent year. The Olympian games survived even the extinction of Greek liberty, and had nearly completed twelve centuries when they were abolished by the decree of the Christian emperor, Theodosius, in the tenth year of his reign. The last Olympian victor was a Romanized Armenian named Varastad.

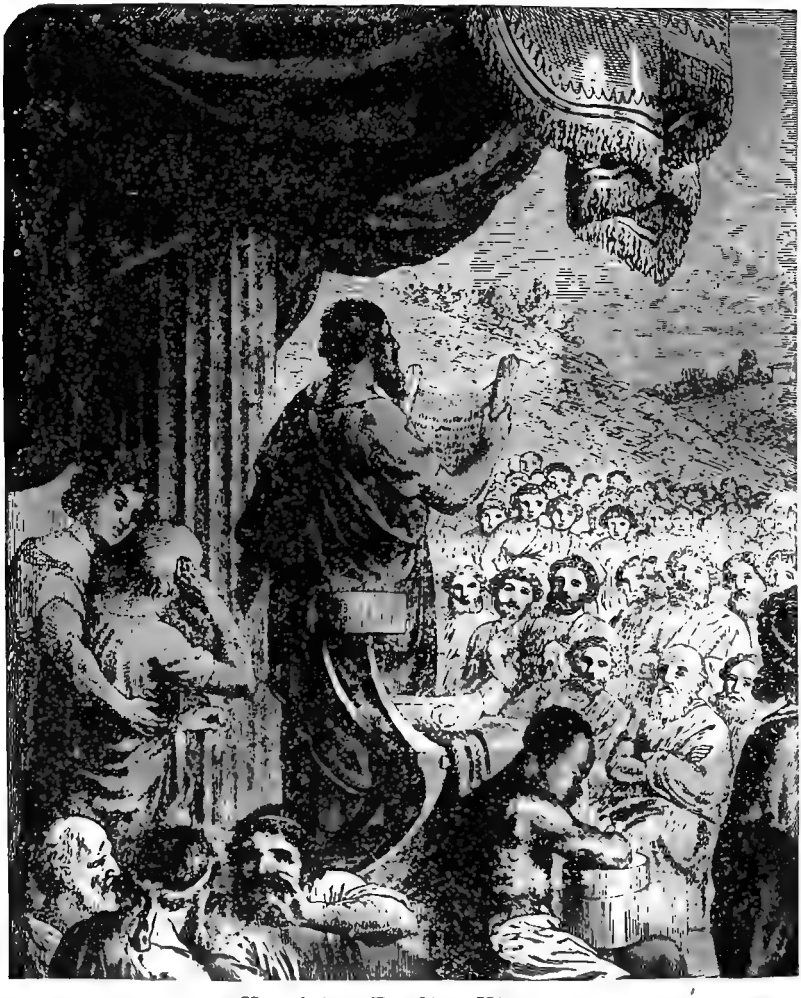
Let us attempt to call up the scene which Olympia in its palmy days must have presented as the great festival approached.[1] Heralds had proclaimed throughout Greece the truce of God, which put a stop to all warfare, and ensured to all a safe conduct during the sacred month. So religiously was this observed that the Spartans chose to risk the liberties of Greece, when the Persians were at the gates of Pylae, rather than march during the holy days. Those white tents, which stand out against the somber gray of the olive groves, belong to the *Hellanodicai*, or ten judges of the games, chosen one for each tribe of the Eleians. They have already been here ten months, receiving instructions in their duties.

All, or most, of the athletes must have arrived, for they have been undergoing the indispensible training in the gymnasium of the Altis. But along the "holy road" from the town of Elis, there is crowding a motly throng. Conspicuous in the long train of pleasure seekers are the sacred deputies, clad in their robes of office, and bearing with them in their carriages of state offerings to the shrine of the god. Nor is there any lack of distinguished visitors.

It may be Alcibiades, who, they say, has entered seven chariots; or Gorgias, who has written a poem for

[1] In the description of these games we follow Conrad Francis Stoer.

the occasion; or the sophist Hippias, who boasts that all he bears about him, from the sandals on his feet to the *dithyrambo* he carries in his hand, are his own manufac-



Herodotus Reading History.

ture; or Aetion, who will exhibit his picture of the marriage of Alexander and Rosana—the picture that gained him no less a prize than the daughter of the Hellanodicas, Praconides; or, in an earlier age, the poet-laureate of the

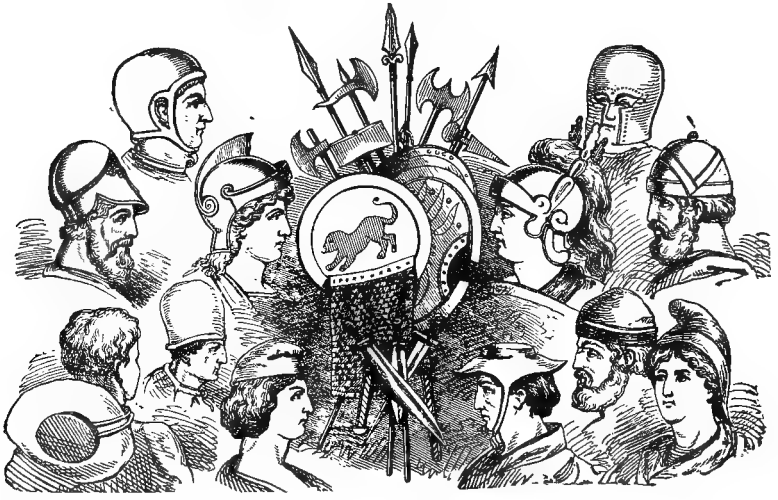
Olympians, Pindar, himself. Lastly, as at the medieval tournament, there are "scores of ladies whose bright eyes rain influence;" matrons, indeed, are excluded on pain of death, but maidens, in accordance with Spartan manners, are admitted to the show.

At daybreak, the athletes presented themselves in the *Bouleuterion*, where the presidents were sitting, and proved by witnesses that they were of pure Hellenic descent, and had no stain, religious or civil, on their character. Laying their hands on the bleeding victim, they swore that they had duly qualified themselves by ten months' continuous training in the gymnasium, and that they would use no fraud or guile in the sacred contests. Thence they proceeded to the *Stadium*, where they stripped to the skin and anointed themselves. A herald proclaimed: "Let the runners put their feet to the line," and called on the spectators to challenge any disqualified by blood or character.

If no objections were made, they were started by the note of the trumpet. The presidents seated near the goal adjudged the victory. The foot-race was only one of the twenty-four Olympian contests which Pausanias enumerates. Till the 77th Olympiad all was concluded in one day, but afterward the feast was extended to five. The following were the chief games: foot-racing, wrestling, leaping, boxing, and chariot-racing.

The prizes were at first, as in Homeric times, of some intrinsic value, but after the 6th Olympiad, the only prize for each contest was a garland of wild olive. Greek writers from Herodotus to Plutarch, dwell with complacency upon the magnanimity of a people who cared for nothing but honor, and were content to struggle for a corruptible crown. But the successful athlete received in addition to the imme-

diate gift of the crown and the congratulations of his friends, very substantial rewards. A herald proclaimed his name, his parentage, and his country; the Hellanodicai took from a table of ivory and gold the olive crown and placed it on his head, and in his hand a branch of palm; as he marched in the sacred revel to the temple of Zeus, his friends and admirers showered in his path flowers and costly gifts, singing an old song of Archilochus, and his name was canonized in the Greek calendar.



Helmets, Head Covering, and Weapons.

Fresh honors and rewards awaited him on his return home. If he were an Athenian, he received, according to the law of Solon, five hundred drachmae,[1] and free rations for life in the *Prytaneum*; if a Spartan, he had as his prerogative the post of honor in battle. Poets like Pindar, Limonides, and Euripides sang his praises, and sculptors like Phidias and Praxiteles were engaged by the state to carve his statue. We even read of a breach in the town walls being made to admit him, as if the com-

[1] $20.

mon road were not good enough for such a hero; and there are well-attested instances of altars being built, and sacrifices offered to a successful athlete.

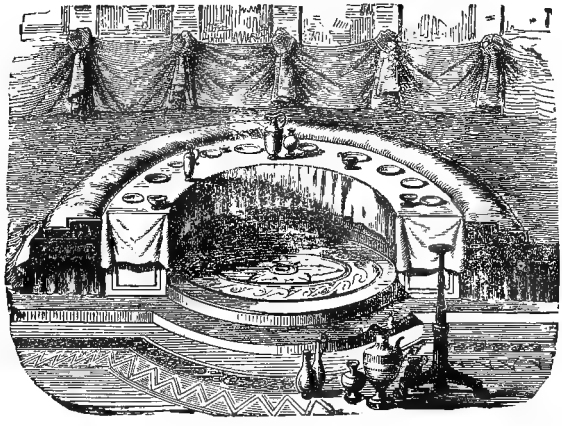
No wonder, then, that an Olympian prize was regarded as the crown of human happiness. Cicero, with a Roman's contempt for Greek frivolity, observes with a sneer, that an Olympian victor receives more honor than a triumphant general at Rome; and he tells the story of the Rhodian Diagoras, who, having himself won the prize at Olympia and seen his two sons crowned on the same day, was addressed by a Laconian in these words: "Die, Diagoras, for thou hast nothing short of divinity to desire." Alcibiades, when setting forth his services to the state, puts first his victory at Olympia, and the prestige he had won for Athens by his magnificent display. But perhaps the most remarkable evidence of the exaggerated value which the Greeks attached to athletic prowess is a casual expression which the historian Thucydides employs when describing the enthusiastic reception of Brasidas at Leione. The government, he says, voted him a crown of gold, and the multitude flocked round him and decked him with garlands, "as though he were an athlete."[1] The above description of the Olympian games will serve generally for the other great festivals of Greece.[2]

The peculiar caste of a nation's civilization manifests itself, not only in those broader and more striking institutions like political or military devices, but also in the most ordinary customs and habits of every day life. Nay, for the historian of civilization, these latter customs are the central point of attention. It is from this point of view, that we are now going to treat of the manner, in

[1] Thucydides, Bell. Pel. iv. 121.

[2] Other national games were the Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian.

which the ancient Greeks used to take and enjoy their meals. The ways in which different nations take their meals, the kind and the quality of food they use, are just as characteristic of their culture, of their degree of development, as are their language and their laws. Some people are vegetarians; and, to the present day, the peasant class in Europe, especially in the eastern part of Europe, are almost exclusively vegetarians. Other nations will be more fond of eating than drinking. Others, again, have a decided predilection for meat, using pastry but



Arrangements for a Meal.

very sparingly. In doing so, they are not prompted by mere economic reasons; it is not the scarcity or the abundance of meat or flour which regulates the wants of a people above the primitive stage of civilization. There are other causes of a purely social character. In Sparta, for instance, the inhabitants took their meals in common, in a public place, in the *Syssitia*.[1]

[1] The custom of taking the principal meal of the day in public prevailed not only at Sparta and Athens [where it was kept up until comparatively recent times] but also at Megara in the age of Theognis [ v. 305.] and at Corinth until the age of Periander [ about 620 B. C.], by

Every head of a family was obliged to contribute a certain portion at his own cost and charge; those who were not able to do so, were excluded from the public tables.[1] The guests were divided into companies, generally of fifteen persons each, and all vacancies were filled by ballot, in which unanimous consent was indispensible for election. No persons, not even the kings, were excused from attendance at the public tables, except for some satisfactory reason. Each person was supplied with a cup of mixed wine, which was filled again when required; but drinking to excess was prohibited at Sparta. The repast was of a plain and simple character. The principal dish was the "black broth" with pork. The after meal was however more varied and richly supplied by presents of game, poultry, fruit, and other delicacies which no one was allowed to purchase. Moreover, the entertainment was enlivened by cheerful conversation, though on public matters.[2] Singing also was frequently introduced as we learn, from Alcman,[3] that "at the banquets of the men it was fit for the guests to sing the paean." (a hymn).

The use and purpose of this institution are very manifest. They united the citizens by the closest ties of intimacy and union, causing them to consider themselves as members of one family. At Sparta, also, they were eminently useful in a military point of view, for the members of the *syssitia* were formed in corresponding military divisions, and fought together in the field as they lived together at home, with more bravery and a keener sense of shame than could have been the case with merely chance

whom it was abolished as being favorable to aristocracy [Aristotle, Polit. v. section 32]. Nor was it confined to the Hellenic world [Pol. vii. 9], for, according to Aristotle, it prevailed still earlier among the Venotrians in Southern Italy.

[1] Aristotle, Pol. ii. 7, 4.

[2] Xenophon, Rep. Lacon. v. 6.

[3] Fragm. 31.

comrades.[1] The refinement of private cookery was of course almost totally excluded; the bulk of the courses consisted of roughly roasted beef or venison.

Let us now cast a glance at the other meals of the Greeks. From the earliest times, it was usual to take three meals a day. The names of these were *Ariston* (corresponding to our breakfast), *Deipnon* (luncheon), *Dorpon* (supper). The breakfast was taken quite early,

Living Room in a Greek House.

directly after rising.[2] The chief meal, as among the Romans, was the third, the *Dorpon*. If a person ate alone without any company, the Grecks did not call it a regular meal. It was very common for several to club together and have a feast at their joint expense. Picnic parties were often made up to dine in the country, especially on

1 Herodotus, i. 65.

2 See Aristophanes' Birds, 1825.

the sea-shore. It was not thought a breach of good manners to bring to a friend's house an uninvited guest. It was expected that guests should come dressed with more than ordinary care, and also have bathed shortly before. As soon as the guests arrived at the house of their host, their shoes or sandals were taken off by the slaves and their feet washed. After the feet had been washed, the guests reclined on couches.

Homer never describes persons as reclining, but always as sitting at their meals; but at what time the change was introduced is uncertain. The Greek women and children, however, like the Roman, continue to sit at their meals. It was usual for only two persons to recline on each couch. In eating, the Greeks had no knives or forks but made use of their fingers only, except in eating soups or other liquids, which they partook of by means of a spoon. After eating, they wiped their fingers on pieces of bread. They did not use any cloths or napkins.

The most common food among the Greeks was the "*madra*," a kind of frumenty or soft cake which was prepared in different ways. Wheaten or barley bread was the second most usual species of food, it was sometimes made at home, but more usually bought at the market. The vegetables ordinarily eaten were mallows, lettuce, cabbages, beans, lentils, etc. Pork was the most favorite animal food; sausages also were very commonly eaten. It is a curious fact, which Plato has remarked, that we never read in Homer of the heroes partaking of fish. In later times, however, fish was one of the most favorite foods of the Greeks.

A dinner given by an opulent Athenian usually consisted of two courses. The first course embraced the whole of what we consider the dinner, namely; fish, poultry,

meat, etc.: the second, which corresponds to our desert, consisted of different kinds of fruit, sweetmeats, confections, etc. When the first course was finished, the tables were taken away and water was given to the guests for the purpose of washing their hands. Crowns, made of garlands of flowers, were also then given to them, as well as various kinds of perfumes.

Wine was not partaken of until the first course was finished; but as soon as the guests had washed their hands, unmixed wine was introduced in a large goblet, of which

Dwelling of a Rich Greek.

each drank a little, after pouring out a small quantity as a libation. This libation was usually accompanied with the singing of a paean and the playing of flutes. Then the regular *Symposion* began. The symposion was the principal part of a supper. It consisted chiefly of hard drinking, enlivened with brisk conversation and music. The Greeks, with the exception of the Spartans, Cretans, and a few other communities, were devoted drinkers. But, with the exception of the first goblet mentioned above, none but watered wine was used. To mix it half and half was considered rude, the proportion generally was three

to one; or two to one; or three to two.[1] Drunkenness was not considered a shame, and even Plato himself apologises for it.

Every Greek symposion had a *Symposiarch*, a president of the entertainment, a "master of the revels," who was generally chosen by the throw of dice. The symposiarch determined the proportion of the mixture and the number of *Kiatoi* (goblets); he could also impose fines, etc. It was customary, at least at Athens, to drink out of small goblets, or, at all events, to begin with them, afterward resorting to larger. According to Ephippus,[2] Alexander the Great drained off a goblet holding a gallon and a half. In the "Symposion" of Plato, Alcibiades and Socrates each empty an immense cup containing nearly four pints, and frequently such cups were emptied at one draught.

The cups were always carried round from right to left, and the same order was observed in the conversation. The company frequently drank to the health of one another, and they did so in a peculiar way. They drank as many goblets as there were letters in the name of their friend. Thus Alcibiades would drink to the health of Socrates by emptying eight goblets, to which Socrates would respond with a still greater number of goblets, the name of Alcibiades being composed of ten letters.

Music and dancing were usually introduced, as already stated, at symposia; and we find few representations of such scenes on ancient vases without the presence of female players on the flute and the cithera. But these symposia

[1] In this as well as in all our statements regarding the meals and symposia of the ancient Greeks, we follow chiefly the incidental remarks in Plato's dialogues, and the ample allusions in Aristophanes and other Greek comedians.

[2] Athenaeus, x.

were not wassailing excesses only. All that Athens, Corinth, or Argos could display of refined, cultured, witty people—all these choice minds used to meet at these symposia, and the most charming conversation, spiced with games of all societies, was the usual feature. The dancing of the Greeks formed quite a telling feature of their civi-

Ornamental Articles used in Greek Life.

lization. It had very little in common with the exercise which goes by that name in modern times. The fundamental notion of all Greek dancing is the bodily expression of some inward feeling, and that which poetry affected by words, dancing had to do by movement. Dancing

was originally closely connected with religion. Plato[1] thought, that all dancing should be based on religion. Accordingly the dances of the chorus at Sparta and in other Doric states were intimately connected with the worship of Apollo. All the religious dances were very simple and consisted of gentle movements of the body with various turnings and windings around the altar.

We have thus far been considering the unofficial life of an ancient Greek; before considering the official life, let us notice the absence of private home life. Public life engrossed the time and attention of every Grecian to such an extent that private life was, as it were, at the mercy of public life. Their games, religious exercises, and manner of living were public. Home life was reduced to a minimum. This constant association of men with men, mind acting on mind, contributed in no small degree to bringing about the state of culture found in ancient Greece.

Let us now consider official life in early Greece. As was the normal state in all tribal society, the ultimate power of legislation rested with the people, or, more correctly, with the legitimate assembly of the people, with the *Ecclesia*. In it, and through it, the sovereign will of the people of Athens was expressed. Here were brought before them all matters, which, as the supreme power of the state, they had to order or to dispose of; questions of war and peace, treaties and alliances, levying the troops, raising of supplies, religious ordinances, bestowing of citizenship; likewise the election of a great variety of magistrates, embassadors, commissioners, etc.

Anciently the people used to assemble once only in each *Pritany*, or ten times a year; afterward, they met every week. These were called the regular or ordinary

[1] Plato, Leg. vii.

assemblies. On what days they were held is not known; the Athenians avoided meeting on holidays or unlucky days. The assembly used anciently to be held in the market-place, Agora.[1] Afterward it was transferred to the theater of Bacchus. But it might be held anywhere, either in the city or in the Piraeus (harbor of Athens), or elsewhere. The assemblies were usually convened by the presidents of the council (senate), who published a notice four days before, specifying the day of meeting and the business to be transacted. All citizens of the age of twenty, who had been duly registered, were entitled to attend and vote.[2]

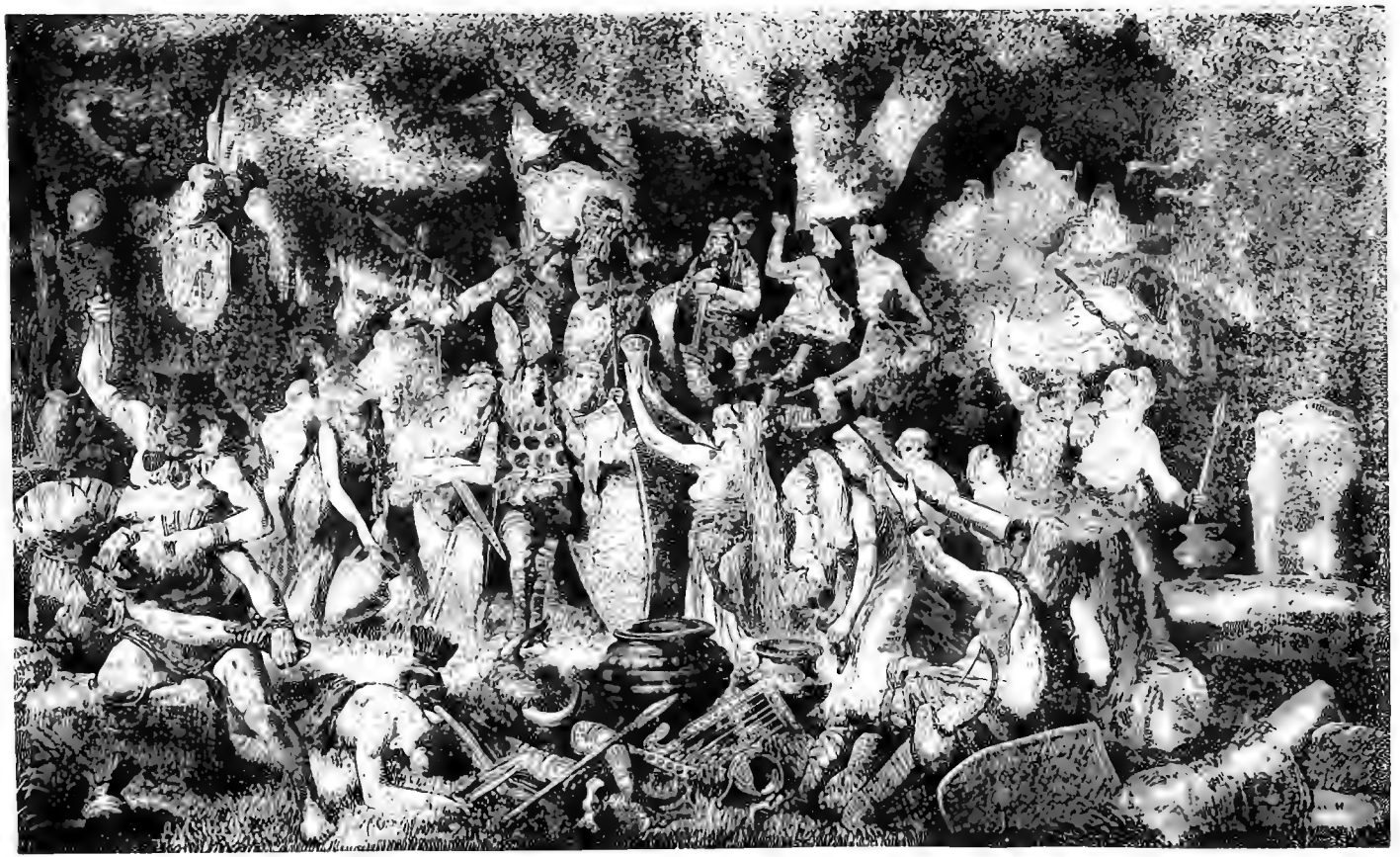
Before the business of the day commenced, a sacrifice of purification was offered. The lustral victims were young pigs, whose blood was carried round and sprinkled on the seats, while at the same time incense was burned in a censer. The cryer then pronounced a form of prayer and commination, imploring the gods to bless and prosper the consultations of the people, and imprecating a curse upon all enemies and traitors. The chairman then opened the business of the day. If any bill had been prepared by the senate, it was read by the crier or the usher, and the people were asked if it met their approbation. If there was no opposition, it passed.

Any citizen, however, might oppose it, or move an amendment. Every member of the assembly was at liberty to speak, but only once during a debate. According to the institutions of Solon, those who were above fifty years old were first called upon, and afterward the younger men. But this custom fell into disuse.[3] Although all

1 Harpocration, 5, v. Parthemos Aprodite.

2 Demosthenes, c. Neaer p. 1380. In Athens the right of suffrage began at the age of twenty.

3 Demosthenes, De Cor. p. 285. Aristophanes, Acharn. 43.



480 SCYTHIC FESTIVAL SCENE.

citizens had the right of speaking, the privilege was, of course, exercised by a few only, who felt themselves competent for the task; it was not very easy to get up after one of those matchless speeches of orators like Isacus, Lysias, Isocrates, or Demosthenes, and to address the assembly in a befitting way. Whoever rose to speak put on a wreath of myrtle,[1] as a token that he was performing a public duty, and entitled on that account to respect.

It was a breach of decorum to interrupt the speaker. When the debate was ended, the chairman put the question to the vote. The method of voting was either by show of hands (*Cheirotonia*) or by ballot.[2] Show of hands was the most common. When all the business was concluded, the crier by command of the president dismissed the assembly. A decree having been carried by the votes of the people, it was copied on a tablet, and deposited by the secretary among other public records in the temple of Cybele.

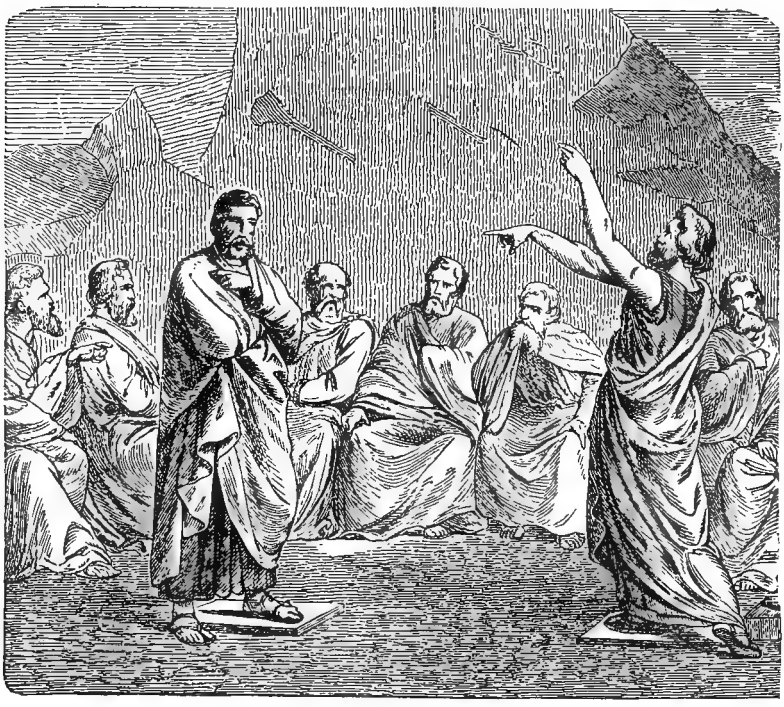
The great power of the assembly was held in proper balance by the influence of two other political and judicial institutions of the Athenians; by the Areopagus and the Senate. The areopagus,[3] so called from the Hill of Ares (Mars) where it held its sittings, near the Acropolis, was a judicial and deliberative body greatly esteemed at Athens. It was from time immemorial established as a court of criminal jurisdiction, to try cases of murder, maiming, and arson. It sat in the open air, to escape the pollution of being under the same roof with the guilty. In its proceedings the utmost solemnity was observed. Both parties were sworn to speak the truth, and the facts alone were

[1] Aristophanes, Eccles. 130. 147.

[2] Suidas, 5, v. Katecheirotonesen

[3] The find development of the council of the chiefs of the phratries, See Vol. II. p. 192.

inquired into, without appeals to the feelings or oratorial display. The Areopagus used to be taken from the noble families of Attica. But Solon introduced a new law, that the archons whose official conduct had been approved should be members of this council for life. At the same time he enlarged the power of the council, attaching to it



Gathering of the Areopagus.

political and censorial duties,[1] in order that, together with the council of five hundred (senate), it might act as a check upon the democracy, or to use Solon's own words, that "the state riding upon them (areopagus and senate) as anchors, might be less tossed by storms."

In their censorial character, the areopagites kept watch over the religion and morals of the city, maintained order

[1] Plutarch, Solon, chapter 22. Isocrates, Areip. p. 147.

and decency, looked to the education of the young, inquired how people got their living, and checked riotous excesses and debauchery. We read of their entering houses on feast days to see that the guests were not too numerous. A party in Athens consisted of either three persons, in agreement with the number of Graces, or of nine, according to the number of Muses. Any thing above that was considered excessive.

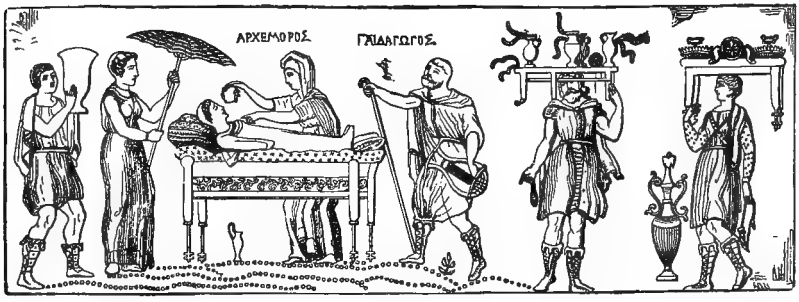
The second great and effective check on the power of the democratical assembly was the senate (boule),[1] or, as it was also called (at a later stage), the council of the five hundred. This executive and deliberative body managed various departments of the public business, more especially those which related to the public assembly. They were annually chosen by lot—in Solon's times from the first three classes only, but afterwards from the whole body of the people—with no other restriction than that they must be genuine citizens on both the father's and the mother's side and of the age of thirty. At the expiration of their year of office, they had, like all other functionaries, to render an account of their official conduct to the auditors.

For the more convenient dispatch of business, the tribes apportioned the year among them, and took the duties in rotation. The council was thus divided into ten bodies of fifty men, who were called *Prytanes*, or Presidents, and who for the time represented the whole council. This term of office was called a *Pritany*. As the lunar year at Athens consisted of three hundred and fifty-four days, it was so arranged, that there were six prytanies of thirty-five days each, and four of thirty-six. The turns were determined by lot. The council was to be, according to Solon's design, a sort of directorial committee, to assist

[1] In the first stage, the chiefs of the gentes.

the people in their deliberations and to guide and control their acts in the assembly. It was their duty to discuss beforehand and to prepare in proper form the measures submitted to the people. Besides preparing questions for the assembly, the council had a right to issue ordinances of their own, which, if not set aside by the people, remained in force for the year.[1]

The excutive duties of the council were very numerous. The whole financial department of the administration was under their control. The income of the Athenian state ranged between twelve and fifteen hundred talents,[2]




Funeral Customs Among the Greeks.

besides the tributes of dependent states. Taxes were levied, but not regularly. Neither an Athenian nor a Roman had any idea, that the first duty of a law-abiding citizen was to pay taxes. The accounts of the moneys that had been received, and of those still remaining due, were delivered to the senate by the *Apodectae*, or public treasurer. The senate arranged also the application of the public money, even in trifling matters, such as the salary of the poets, the superintendence of the cavalry maintained by the state, and the examination of the infirm supported by the state.

These are the outlines of the Athenian state. We see

[1] Herrmann: "Griechische Staats Alberthümer," ss. 125 *et seq.* Boeckh: "Publ. Econ. of Athens," p. 154 *et seq.* [2] $2,000,000.

an assembly of all citizens, meeting almost twice every week, and, apparently at least, determining and ruling every thing by a majority vote. But we perceive also powerful checks on the activity of the assembly, namely the areopagus and the boule (senate). In fact the ultimate lawgiver in Athens was not to be found in the assembly. For a bill that had passed the votes of the assembly was not considered an ultimate law, a *Nomos*, but only a *Psephisma*. It had still to pass the supervision of a board of law-revisers, *Nomothetai*, who were entrusted with the power of deciding whether a bill carried in the ecclesia (assembly) was to be considered constitutional, or whether, on account of its divergence from the fundamental laws of Athens, it was to be discarded. In this the nomothetai of Athens exercised a right of negative legislation identical with the right of the supreme courts of the states of the United States.[1]

We have now gained an idea of life, both public and private, official and non-official, in Ancient Greece; and have pointed out the tendency of the same to active, mental life. Hence, at this point, we turn to the consideration of some other department of Greek culture, and there we find the basis of the great merits of Grecian civilization. The men and women of Greece have passed away, and their political institutions no longer determine the fate of nations. But the achievements of the Greeks in other fields of mental activity are well-nigh imperishable, and thus they still continue to exercise a strong influence over the civilization of mankind.

These achievements are in the fields of philosophy, art, and science. Our review of Grecian civilization would be incomplete, were we to neglect the great works of Gre-

[1] *Vide* Vol. II. p. 190

cian writers in these fields. Their philosophy is not, like the systems of the old Egyptians, of the Persians, or of many other nations, alien and strange to our mind; it is not an obsolete product of antiquity, in no connection whatever with our modern line of thought. On the contrary, it is in intimate contact with our latest endeavors to investigate the problems of philosophy; and hundreds of treatises are being published every year, elucidating and commenting on the writings of Greek philosophers.[1]

Greek Art—Vases and Ewers.

The first real philosophers of Greece arose about the beginning of the seventh century B. C., and it is almost generally agreed that Thales was the first in point of time.[2] Thales, together with Anaximander, Anaximenes, and Diogenes of Apollonia, form what is usually called the Ionic school of Greek philosophers. These profound

1 At the twenty-six universities of Germany and Austro-Hungary, there are separate chairs for Greek philosophy, and every year turns out at least fifty new dissertations on Aristotle alone. "Statistik des Deutschen Buchhandels."

2 Zeller: "Die Philos. der Griech," Bd. I. s. 133.

thinkers turned their thoughts chiefly to an explanation of the *arche*, the origin of things, and this being their aim they speculated principally on the first principle of nature. Hence, (*physis* being nature in Greek), they were also called Physiologists. It is highly interesting to follow their peculiar train of ideas.

Thales taught, that the *arche* of all things is to be found in water.[1] In other words, he thought that water was the first principle, the first cause of nature, out of which everything arose. Anaximander taught, that the first principle was an endless, unlimited mass, subject to neither old age nor decay and perpetually yielding fresh materials for the series of beings which issued from it.[2] Out of the vague and limitless body, there sprang a central mass—this earth of ours, cylindrical in shape. Man himself and the animals came into being by transmutations.[3] Man was supposed, by Anaximander, to have sprung from other species of animals, probably aquatic.

Anaximenes taught that the air, with all its variety of contents, its universal presence, was what maintained the universe, even as breath, which is our life and soul, sustains us.[4] Everything is air of different degrees of density. By a process of condensation, brought forth under the influence of heat and cold, the broad disk of earth was formed, floating like a leaf in the circumambient air. Similar condensations produced the sun and the stars.[5] Diogenes of Apollonia adopted the teachings of Anaximenes respecting air as the *arche* of things. But he declared that

[1] Aristotle, Met. i. 3, 983; Cicero, Acad. ii. 37, 118.

[2] Aristotle, Phys. iii. 4, 203, c. 10.

[3] It is more than likely that this doctrine of Anaximander was one of the numerous precursors of Darwin's Theory.

[4] Aristotle, 984. Met. ch. i. 3, a 5.

[5] This seems an anticipation of the celebrated Kant-Laplace theory concerning the origin of our planetary system.

air was not only force, substance, but also intelligence, that it was endowed with consciousness and reason; for without reason, he said, it would be impossible for all to be arranged duly and proportionately.[1]

Hesiod.

After the Physiologists came the Pythagoreans, the head and originator of whom was the celebrated Pythagoras, equally renowned as mathematician, philosopher, physicist, and lawgiver. The central thought of Pythagoras' philosophy is "*the number.*"[2] Instead of alleging that this or that material substance was the *arche* of the Universe, Pythagoras taught, that "the number" was the essence, the first principle. Thus he accounted for the origin of the world by placing a formal cause, an ideal conception (the number), in the center of his speculations. "Number," said Philolaus, one of his disciples, "is great and perfect and omnipotent and the principle and guide of divine and human life."

Immediately connected with their central doctrine is the theory of the opposites, held by the Pythagoreans. Numbers are divided into odd and even, and from the combination of odd and even, all numbers and all things seem to result. The odd number was identified with the limited, the even with the unlimited. Following out the

[1] Mullach: Fragm. Philos. Gr. I. 259. When we come to study Hindoo philosophy we will discover the close similarity between the Ionic system of philosophy, and the Vedantic school of Indian philosophy.

[2] Aristotle, Met. i. 5.

same thought, they developed a list of ten fundamental opposites, which roughly resembles the tables of "categories" framed by later philosophers. The ten groups of opposites are as follows: Limited and unlimited; the odd and the even; one and the many; right and left; masculine and femenine; rest and motion; straight and crooked; light and darkness; good and evil; square and oblong.[1] Hence the whole universe is harmony, and the regular movements of the heavenly bodies produce the famous harmony of the spheres; the seven planets being considered as the seven golden chords of the heavenly heptachord.[2]

The holy number of the Pythagoreans was four, because it is the first square number; the number five signifies marriage, because it is the union of the first masculine and the first feminine number, namely three plus two; the number one is identified with reason, because it is unchangeable; two with opinion, because it is indeterminate. The most renowned doctrine of Pythagoras, however, is the transmigration of the soul, the Metempsychosis. The bodily life of the soul, according to this doctrine, is an imprisonment suffering for sins committed in a former state of existence. At death, the soul reaps what it has sown in the present life. The reward of the best is to enter the cosmos, or the higher and purer regions of the universe, while the direst crimes receive their punishment in Tartarus. But the general lot is to live afresh in a series of human or animal forms.[3]

Next to Pythagoras and his numerous followers, stands the subtle school of the Eleatic thinkers. Instead of

1 Ibid. i. 5, 986. 2 Aristotle, De Cocle, ii. 9.

3 Clemens-Strom, iii. 433 A. Plato, Gorg. 493 A. Everyone must see the connection between this belief and the Hindoo belief.

attempting the solution of the *arche* problem, they entered upon new lines of thought, and their profound speculations form one of the most striking features of Greek philosophy.[1] Their leading men were Xenophanes, Parmenides, and Zeno.

Euripides.

Xenophanes recognized no distinction between truth for the many (exoteric knowledge) and truth for the initiated few (esoteric knowledge), as Pythagoras did; Xenophanes thought and acted as if truth was for all men; for three-quarters of a century he wandered into many lands uttering the thoughts which were working in him. He combated the prevailing belief in many gods chiefly on account of the personification of the gods, and his doctrine was, that "the One was the All,"[2] in other words his doctrine was Pantheism. It was expanded by Parmenides, the most notable of the philosophers of the Eleatic succession.

His doctrine is, that the *Ens*, the Being (*to-on* in Greek), is one, invariable and immutable, and all plurality, variety, and mutation (viz: all the shifting, individual things and persons in existence) belong to the *Non-ens*. Whence it follows, that all the states and processes which we commonly recognize as generation and destruction, change of place, alteration of color, and the like, are little more than empty words.[3] The difference between Parmenides and his predecessors in Greek speculation is this, that he, far from assuming a corporal prin-

[1] The best resume of the Eleatic doctrine is given in Duckring's "Krit. Gesche. d. Phil."

[2] Parmenides [A fragment of his Philos. poem], v. 33.

[3] Cf. the Hindoo doctrine of Illusion.

ciple (air, water, etc.,) as the *arche* of things, declared all corporal things to be mere phantasms, teaching that all plurality is but apparent, and that all so-called individual things are merely passing modes of the One Being, the *Ens*.[1]

The third great leader of the thinkers of the Eleatic school was Zeno. In order to render the doctrine of his master, Parmenides, unassailable, he attempted to prove, that the common notions of time, space, motion, multiplicity, sight, sound, etc., are self-contradictory and unthinkable. His so-called "paradoxies" were stated with a subtlety which has forced distinguished thinkers (for instance Hamilton) who were opposed to his main position to admit that some of them were unanswerable. Against motion Zeno directed several arguments, the most celebrated being that of the well-known problem of Achilles and the tortoise.

Next in point of importance as a system of philosophy are the profound teachings of Heraclitus of Ephesus. This celebrated thinker used to clothe his ideas in extremely obscure language, and it was this quality which occasioned his surname, "the obscure." He tried to get rid of the difficulty so prominent in the Eleatic philosophy of overcoming the contradiction between the One and the phenomenal Many, by enunciating, as the principle of the universe, the process of Becoming, implying that everything is and at the same time, and in the same relation, is not. His favorite way of expressing this abstruse doctrine was as follows: "Everything is flowing." Accordingly he selects fire as the *arche*, this being the most appropriate embodiment of the principle of

[1] These speculations form the basis of two of the most important systems of philosophy of modern times, Brunoism and Spinozism.

Becoming, of simultaneous existence and non-existence.[1]

The next great Greek philosopher is Empedocles. He propounded a new doctrine. There are, according to Empedocles, four ultimate kinds of things, four principal divinities, four elements, from which are made all structures in the world—fire, air, water, earth. These four elements are eternally brought into union, and eternally parted from each other, by two divine powers: Love and Hatred—an attractive and a repulsive force, which the ordinary eye can see working amongst men, but which really pervade the whole world. Flesh and blood are made of equal parts of all four elements, whereas bones are one-half fire, one-quarter earth, and one-quarter water. Nothing new comes into being, the only change that can occur is a change in the juxtaposition of element with element.[2]

Aeschylus.

The similarity, or rather identity between modern and ancient Greek thinking is still more striking, when we approach two other schools of Greek philosophy, the Atomists and the Sceptics. The chief of the former was Democritus. The intensity of his thinking was figured by the ancients in the story that he put out his eyes in order that he might not be diver-

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1 The most elaborate treatise on Heraclitus has been written by F. LaSalle, the German Socialist. Zeller's review (in his D. Phil. d. Grich.) is highly valuable. Although he assumes fire as the *arche*, we must not connect him with the Ionic school. He uses it more as a symbol.

2 Our knowledge of Greek philosophy, anterior to Aristotle, rests largely on the philosophical works of this philosopher; as to Empedocles, see Aristotle, Metph. i. 4.

ted from his meditations. His theory of the universe is to the present the prevailing theory among physicists. He taught, that all that existed is vacuum and atoms. The atoms are the ultimate material of all things, including spirit. They are uncaused and have existed from eternity, and are in constant motion. Democritus reduced all sensation to touch, and all qualities of bodies to these two main qualities, extension and resistance.[1]

The sceptics, or Pyrrhonists, bear a still greater resemblance to modern thought. Pyrrho, their founder, asked, what is the criterion of our opinion? Reason, it is said. But what is the criterion of Reason, he again asked? And, as he could find no adequate answer, he simply inferred, that all philosophy and all science is groundless, there being no general criterion of Truth.[2] All these philosophers (with the exception of Pyrrho) lived before Socrates, and they are to be considered as the precursors of the most perfect development of Greek philosophy, as represented in the teachings[3] of Socrates, and in the writings of Plato and Aristotle.

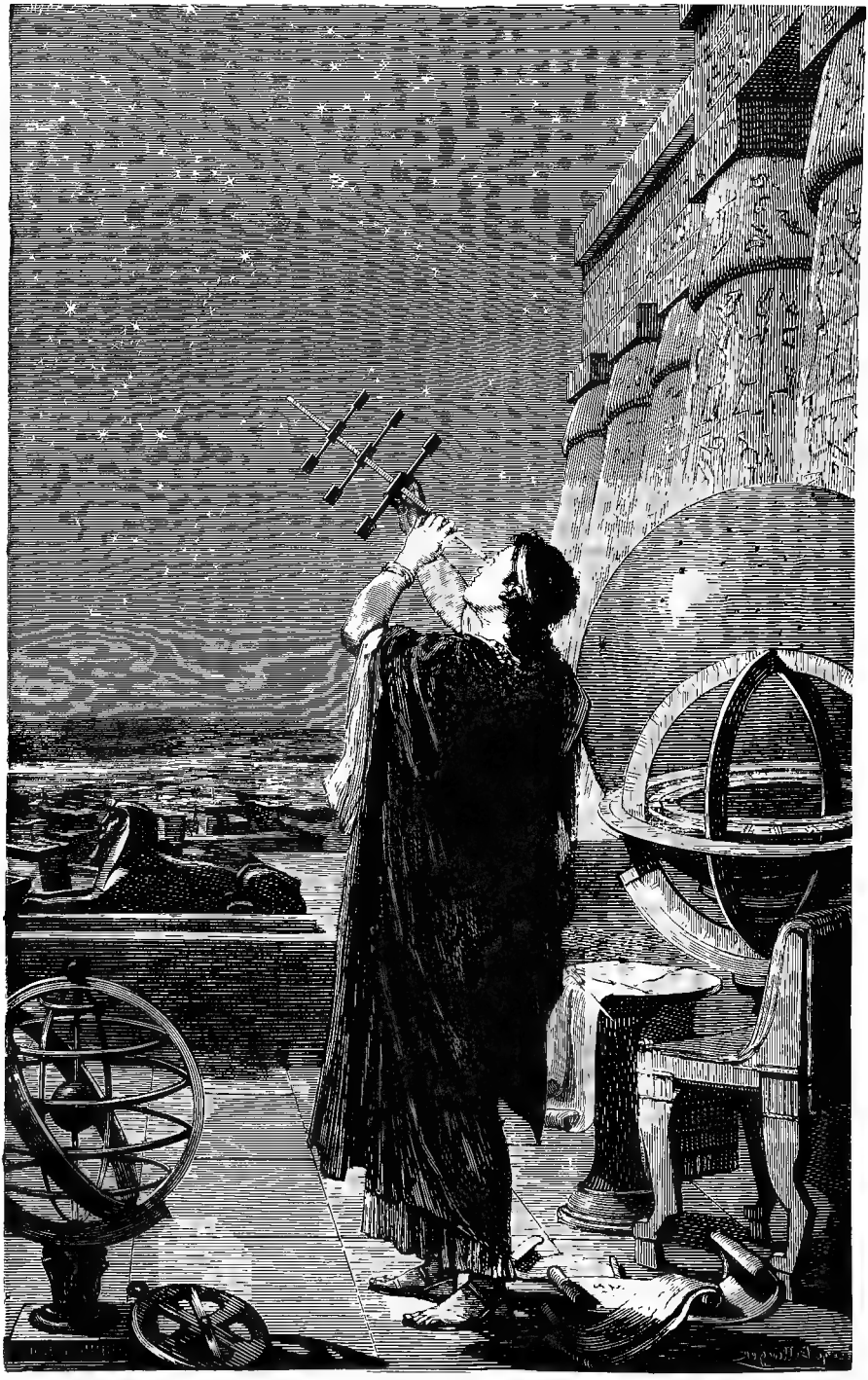
Socrates, born in Athens in 470 or 469 B. C., embraced the whole of philosophy (Ontology, Logic, Metaphysics, Psycology) with a new spirit, the spirit of self-conscious truth. The skeptical movement had confused men's notions as to the value of ethical ideas. If "right" be one thing in Athens and another at Sparta, why strive to follow right rather than expediency? Every case seemed capable of being argued in opposite ways. Even on the great question of the ultimate constitution of things, the conflicting theories of absolute immutability (Parmeni-

[1] Aristotle, De gen. et corrupt. i. 8. [2] D. Phil. d. III. Bd.

[3] Socrates has left us no writings of his own; our information about him we take from Plato and Xenophon.

des) and eternal change (Heraclitus) appeared to be equally creditable. But the faith of Socrates remained unshaken by these conflicting views. He did not ask: "Is virtue a reality?" or "Is goodness a delusion?" But with perfect confidence that there was an answer, he asked himself and others, "What is it?" or, more particularly, as Xenophon testifies, "What is a state? What is a statesman? What is just? What is unjust? etc." In this form of question, however simple, the originality of Socrates is typified; and by means of it he laid the first stone, not only of the fabric of ethical philosophy, but of scientific method. The secret of his success lay in the combination of a deep sense of human ignorance with a confidence not less deep in the power of reason. He taught, that human life and experience are the sphere of search; truth and good, regarded as identical, the end of it; universality, the test of reality, conversation the method, rational thought the means—these are the chief notes of the dialectics of Socrates.

Applying the native strength of his intelligence directly to the facts of life, he revealed their significance in countless ways, by unthought-of generalization, by strange analogies, combining what men had not combined, distinguishing what they had not distinguished—but always with the single aim of rousing them to the search after eternal truth and good. But all this equanimity, virtue, and genius could not save him from the ill-will of his countrymen, whose anger was roused by a few of his personal enemies. The great philosopher was indicted for atheism and contempt of the gods, and sentenced to the hemlock-cup. He suffered death with perfect composure of mind, sealing the tenor and activity of all his life with a glorious submission to the dictations of his fellow-citi-



AN EGYPTIAN ASTRONOMER; OR, HIPPARCHUS AT ALEXANDRIA.

zens and the doctrines of his own profound mind.[1]

This lifelong work of Socrates, in which the germ of all later philosophy was contained, was idealized, developed, dramatised, first embodied, and then extended beyond the original scope, in the writings of Plato, which may be described as the literary outcome of the profound impression made by Socrates upon his greatest follower. These writings (in pursuance of the importance given by Socrates to conversation) are all cast in the form of imaginary dialogues. The Platonic dialogues are not merely the embodiment of the mind of Socrates and of the reflections of Plato. They are the portraits of the highest intellectual life of Hellas in the time of Plato—a life but distantly related to military and political events, and scarcely interrupted by them. It is, of course, next to impossible to delineate the leading principles of Plato within the extremely limited space we can devote to a consideration of his philosophy. But we can not omit adducing some of the main ideas of his system, especially those that have an historical bearing on the course of civilization.

For very few thinkers have exercised such a vast influence on the thoughts of mankind as Plato. In fact, his influence is almost equal to that of Aristotle. Many schools were formed in Asia,[2] Africa,[3] and Europe, in which the thoughts of Plato were made the subject matter of profound study, and scarcely a treatise on philosophy ever made its appearance without showing the unmistakable traces of the Platonic philosophy. Plato was the first

[1] A whole literature treats of the sentence and death of Socrates; and some great authorities lean toward the opinion, that Socrates could have easily escaped the fatal sentence but for his high sense of obedience. See a very able discussion in Zeller.

[2] Not only in the time of the Greeks and the Byzantine empire, but in the time of the Saracens as well.

[3] Neo-Platonists in Alexandria.

to establish that fundamental distinction between the abstract and the concrete, between the rational and the empirical, between the *a priori* and the *a posteriori*, which, to the present day, pervades the whole of philosophy, and without which no philosophical thinking is deemed possible. This distinction reappears in that other fundamental division of philosophical subjects, in the division of things into universal and particular.

Plato declared that philosophy is the study of the abstract, of the *a priori*, of the universal. This is one of the pivots of his system. The particular, the empirical, the *a posteriori*, belong to the practical knowledge of the ordinary mind; it has nothing to do with the investigations of the philosopher. But this was not sufficient. Plato not only excluded the empirical, he pointed out, in a distinct and clear way, what were the proper subjects of real philosophy. He taught, that previous to all experience, and underlying it, there are innate conceptions, notions born with the mind, in one word, *Ideas*, the study of which forms the chief object of the philosopher.

These ideas (*ideai* in Greek) are divine models, eternal types of the objects in nature, and the principles of our knowledge. By propounding this theory and by his endeavor to apply it to all branches of science, to natural philosophy as well as to politics and ethics, Plato became the founder of "Idealism," that is to say, he is to be considered the founder of that truly philosophical tendency of confining our thoughts to the ideal aspect of things. He openly taught, that there is but one God, the creator of this world, the preserver of it, who governs it with providential care.[1] Virtue is the attempt at an imitation

1 The Monotheistic tendencies in Plato are evident in every line of "Timaeus." The most comprehensive work on Plato and his philosophy is by Grote.

of God, and consists of four elements, of *Sophia* (wisdom), of *Andreia* (consistency), of *Sophrosyne* (temperance), and of *Dicaiosyne* (justice). Politics is the application of the great law of morals, the state being a union of a mass of people under the same law. Its object is liberty and harmony. Beauty is the preceptible representation of moral and physical perfection. Being one and the same with truth and with "the good," it inspires *Eros* (Platonic love) which leads to virtue.

The greatest of all Greek philosophers was Aristotle, the disciple of Plato. He was born in 384 B. C., at Stagira in Macedonia, and this circumstance gave rise to his surname, the Stagirite. His works cover the whole ground of both philosophy and science. In order to illustrate his merits, we will select his works on Logic. The matter of the "Prior Analytics" has become the common property of all modern books on logic; and what he wrote upon the syllogism, the mode of inference, has scarcely been altered. Both Kant and Hegel, two of the greatest of German thinkers and scholars, acknowledge, that from the time of Aristotle to their own age (nineteen centuries), logic made no progress. His was the proud distinction of having discovered and fully drawn out the laws under which the mind acts in deductive reasoning. That in deduction the mind proceedes from some universal proposition, and how it proceeds, these were amongst the most important things which Aristotle had to tell the world.

Sophocles.

We have now begun to exhaust the list of Greek

philosophers, we have, however, only space to name some of the great leaders and founders of schools of philosophy in post-Aristotelian times. Foremost in the ranks of these was Epicurus, born 341 B. C. The scene of his philosophic life and teaching was a garden in Athens which he bought at the cost of about eighty minæ.[1] There he passed his days as the loved and venerated head of a remarkable society, such as the ancient world had never seen. The mode of life in this community was plain. The general drink was water, and the food barley bread; half a pint of wine was considered an ample allowance. The company was held in unity by the fascinating charms of Epicurus' personality, and by the free sociality which he inculcated and exemplified.

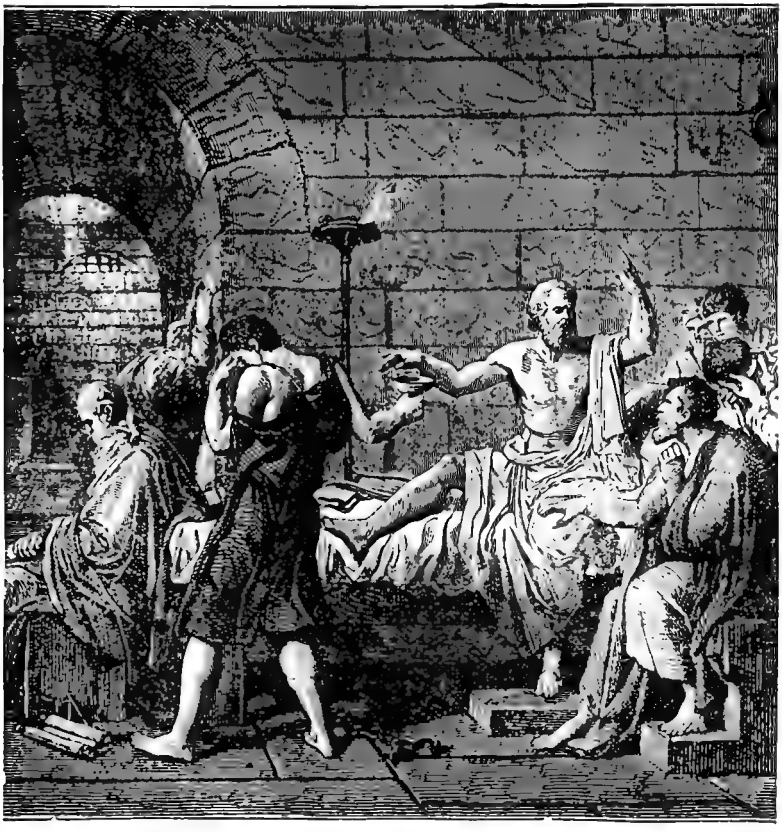
Aristophanes.

All that exists, says Epicurus, is corporal; the intangible is non-existent, or empty space. If a thing exists, it must be felt; and to be felt, it must exert resistance. But all things are not intangible, which our senses are not able to detect. The fundamental postulates of Epicureanism are atoms and the void. This universe of ours is only one section out of the innumerable worlds in infinite space; other worlds may present systems very different from the arrangement of sun, moon, and stars, which we see in this. In the sphere of human action Epicurus would allow of no absolutely controlling necessity. There is much in our circumstances that springs from mere chance, but it does not over-master man. With a latent optimism he asserts

[1] $1500.

that, though there are evils in the world, still their domination is brief at their height, and there are many consoling circumstances while, on the other hand, it is easy to attain the maximum of pleasure.[1]

Toward the close of the fourth century B. C., another



Death of Socrates.

school of Greek philosophy was founded by Zeno of Citium. The disciples of this school were named Stoics, from the *Stoa*, or painted corridor on the north side of the

[1] *Vide* Gasendi's works on Epicurus and Steinthal's article in Ersch., Gruber.

market-place at Athens, where its chief members were delivering lectures on the problems of philosophy. But, though it arose on Hellenic soil, the school is scarcely to be considered a product of purely Greek intellect, but rather as the first-fruits of that inter-action between the West and the East which followed the conquests of Alexander the Great. Hardly a single stoic of eminence was a citizen of a city in the heart of Greece, unless we except Aristo of Chios, Cleanthes of Assus, and Panaetius of Rhodes. Nor did Stoicism achieve its crowning triumph until it was brought to Rome, where the grave earnestness of the national character appreciated its doctrines. For two centuries or more, it was the creed, if not the philosophy, of all the best of the Romans.

Aristotle.

One of the grandest of the stoics was Chrysippus, who lived from 280 to 206 B. C. He was the author of a great number of works, of which, however, but small fragments have come down to us. He taught that, as the sole aim of philosophy is to discover man's duty, ethics is the only science that is of real importance in itself, while physics (*i. e.* the study of nature) is to be regarded merely as an aid to this study. The explanation of the universe

adopted by Chrysippus is that of the stoics in general. The real is the corporal; man and the world are all that exist. In each there is that which is inert, and also the informing soul, or vivifying fire. The soul of the universe is God, or destiny. Each human soul is part of the universal soul, in which the souls of all, except the wise, are again swallowed up at death. The universe is perfect. So-called physical evil there is none. Moral evil is the necessary complement of good, and is turned by Providence into good. All is the result of perfect law. Perfect unanimity of life can only be achieved through the unrestricted dominion of right reason, that is, by our reason not only ruling unconditionally over our other energies and circumstances, but also coinciding with the Universal Reason—the reason which governs nature.[1]

The achievements of the Greeks in the field of philosophy were equalled, if not excelled, by their productions of a strictly scientific character. In fact, the Greeks must be considered as the real originators of modern, as well as of all science. They were the first to reduce a mass of observed facts to a coherent, lucid, and well arranged system of science. Their power of generalization and an innate delicate perception of fitness kept them free from the wild plays of imagination, in which, amongst others, the Indian masters of science used to indulge. To the present day, we have no better examples of scientific reasoning than Euclid's works, or the writings of Archimedes and Ptolemy. They continue to form the foundation of our studies, and all modern trials to supersede them have proved abortive.

[1] The sources of Stoicism are the seventh book of Diogenes' Laertius, the philosophical books of Cicero [especially De Finibus] Stobaeus and Plutarch. The most exhaustive modern treatise is that by Zeller.

The scientific achievements of the Greeks are chiefly concerned with mathematics (arithmetic as well as geometry); mechanics, astronomy, geography, and medicine. They founded both elementary arithmetic and the most important portions of plain and solid geometry. In mechanics, they laid the foundations of statics and hydromechanics. In astronomy, they discovered some of the

Greek Art—Phidias in his Studio.

most important and fundamental laws of the heavenly bodies. Pythagoras as well as Philolaus and Nicetas of Syracuse taught, that the earth is a planet revolving around the sun. Copernicus himself confesses his great obligation to the Pythagoreans.[1]

[1] In the preface of his work: "De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestum."

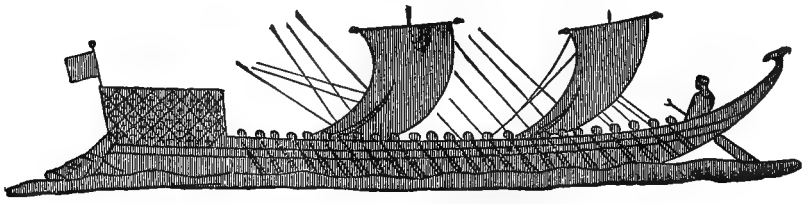
Aristarchus of Samos, who left us a very valuable treatise on the magnitudes and distances of the sun and moon, measured the diameter of the sun, and his results do not differ very much from the calculations of modern astronomers. Eratosthenes determined the magnitude of the earth by a most ingenious method, and Hipparchus[1] added the most essential discovery—the precession of the equinoxes. Hipparchus, furthermore, discovered the eccentricity of the solar orbit. He accounted for the apparent inequality of the sun's motion by supposing that the earth is not placed exactly at the center of the circular orbit of the sun, and that, consequently, his distance from the earth is subject to variations. When the sun is at his greatest distance, he appears to move more slowly, and when he approaches nearer, his motion becomes more rapid. The attention of that great astronomer was also directed to the motion of the moon, and, on this subject his researches were attended with equal success. From the comparison of a great number of the most circumstantial and accurate observation of eclipses recorded by the Chaldeans, he was enabled to determine the period of the moon's revolution relatively to the stars, to the sun, to her nodes, and to her apogee. These determinations are among the most valuable results of ancient astronomy, since they corrobo-

Hippocrates

1 Of the life of this, the greatest of all Greek astronomers, we know but very little. Suidas, the lexicographer, placed him at from B. C. 160 to 146, but without naming these epochs as those of his birth and death.

rate one of the finest theoretical deductions—the acceleration of the mean lunar motion—and thus furnish one of the most delicate tests of the truth of Newton's law of gravitation. Hipparchus, likewise, approximated to the parallax of the moon. Besides he drew up a catalogue of ten hundred and eighty fixed stars.

In the 130th year of our era, Ptolemy, the prince of astronomers, as he was called, flourished in Alexandria, a man who did inestimable service to astronomy. Although his system of astronomy has been supplanted by the system of Copernicus, his merits, nevertheless, entitle him to the esteem and admiration of mankind. His works are a perfect treasury of astronomical dates



Fifty-oared Greek Boat.

and theories; and all civilized nations took their first information on astronomy from the "Almagest" of Ptolemy.[1] If we were to characterize the scientific labors of the Greeks in the shortest and still most effective manner, we would sum up all points into the one remark, that the Greeks pre-eminently possessed the rare power of generalization, the ability to rise above the immediate wants of practical life, and to soar to the abstract relation of ideas.

It is strange that the Greeks did not invent the so-

[1] The original Greek name of Ptolemy's work was Syntaxis or Megas Astronomos (the Great Astronomer). To designate this valuable work, the Arabs used the superlative "Megiste" (Greatest), to which the Arabian article 'al' being prefixed, the hybrid name Almagest, by which it is now universally known, is derived.

called Arabian (properly speaking Indian) way of denoting numbers. They used the letters of the alphabet, as did the Hebrews and other Semites, and this extremely clumsy way of figuring formed a check on the free development of Grecian arithmetic. Some of the simplest problems of arithmetic (especially those where fractions come into play) become, in Greek letter-denotation, so complicated that, amongst others, some of the arithmetical writings of Archimedes, wherein he used letters instead of digits, are almost unintelligible. The Greeks had a decided bent for

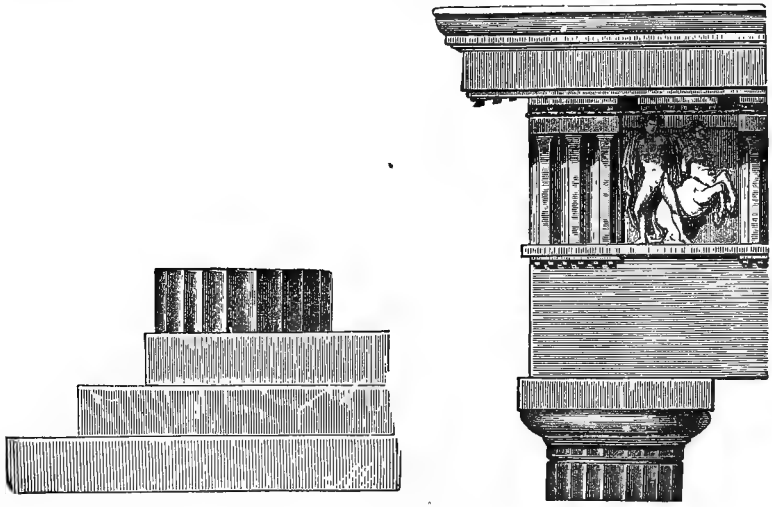
Greek Art—Hector Taking Leave of Andromache.

geometrical investigations, in preference to arithmetical ones. Their geometry remained a model presentation of geometrical truths for twenty centuries, and, in all likelihood, will never be surpassed.[1]

We are now to approach one of the most attractive

1 Modern Geometricians (especially Steiner, Plücker, Grassman), almost unanimously concede the greater perfection of form and system in Greek geometry.

and most enduring features of Grecian civilization, one which will never loose its sway over the ideas and thoughts of civilized mankind. We refer to Greek art. The achievements of the Greeks in this field of culture apparently laid the foundations of all that is beautiful and in keeping with harmony. Greek art continues to be the study of the artists of all nations who spend years



Doric Column.

in obtaining a mastery of the rules laid down by the artists of ancient Greece. The Greeks possessed charming freedom of mind, and superabundance of inventive ingenuity. Delicacy of preception, an aptitude for seizing nice relationships, the sense of proportions are what enable an artist to construct a unity of forms, colors, sounds, and incidents—in short, elements and details—so closely united among themselves by inward dependencies, that their combination brings to pass a result, surpassing in the imaginary world the harmony of the actual world.

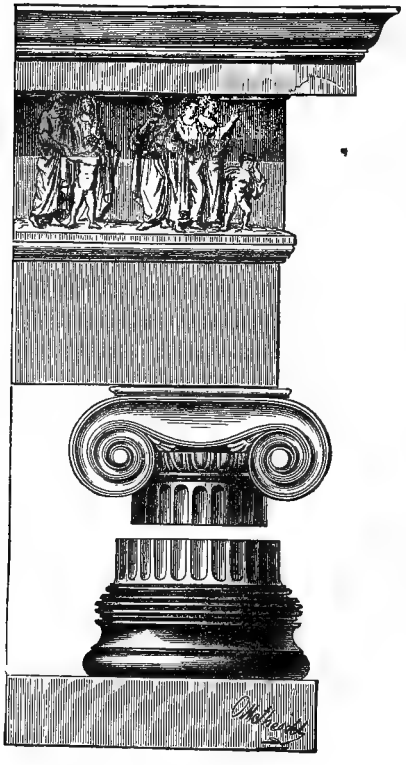
Let us take an object exposed to the eye, and that which first attracts attention on entering a Greek city.

We refer to the temple.[1] It stands usually on a height, called the Acropolis, on a substructure of rocks, as at Syracuse; or on a small eminence which, as at Athens, was the first place of refuge and the original site of the city. It is visible from every point on the plain and from the neighboring hills; vessels greet it at a distance on approaching the port. It stands out in a clear and bold relief in the limpid atmosphere.[2] It is not like our medieval cathedrals, crowded and smothered by rows of houses, secreted, half concealed, inaccessible to the eye save in its details and its upper section. Its base, sides, entire mass, and full proportions appear at a glance. We are not obliged to divine the whole from a part.

In order that the impression may be clear and distinct, they give it medium or small dimensions, that bear no resemblance to the vast monuments of India, Babylon, or Egypt; the storied and crowded palaces, the masses of avenues, enclosures, halls, and colossi, so numerous that the mind at last becomes disturbed and bewildered. On the contrary, the Greek temple is so simple that a glance suffices to comprehend the whole. The edifice has nothing complicated, quaint, or elaborate about it. It is a rectangle, bordered by a *peristyle* (range) of columns; three or four of the elementary forms of geometry suffice for the whole. The crowning of the pediment, the fluting of the pillars, the abacus of the capital—all the accessories and all details—contribute yet more to show in stronger relief the special character of each member; while the diversity of colors serves to mark and define their respective value.

1 In the description of the architectural beauties of a Greek temple, we follow mainly the accurate and well expresssed statements in Taine: "L'Art en Grece." 2 See the restoration, accompanied with essays, by Tetar, Paccard, Boitte, and Garnier.

In other respects, Greek art was equally excellent. A school of sculptors in marble existed in Chios as early as 660 B. C., and there also Glaucus is said to have discovered the art of welding iron. as to the remains of Greek sculpture, which may with more or less certainty, be assigned to the period in which Glaucus, Dipoenus, Scyllis, and other noted sculptors were at work, there are the metopes from some of the most celebrated temples in .the island of Sicily, which up to the present have been regarded as furnishing the first authentic, and as yet, the clearest glimpses of that early stage of Greek art. There are also some other authentic remains, especially the sculptures from the temple of Athene at Aegina, now in Munich.



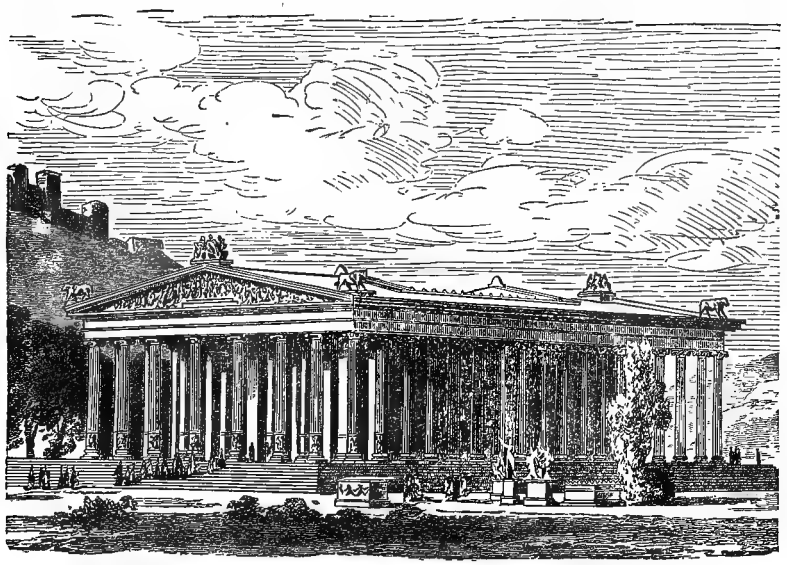
Ionic Column.

Greek painting, or rather coloring, as it would be more properly described in its earliest phase, in which it was entirely subservient to architecture and ceramography, is said to have been first elevated to an art by Cleanthes of Corinth,[1] who introduced the drawing of figures in outline; by Telephares of Sicyon,[2] who improved on this by indicating the principal details of anatomy; and Eumaras of

[1] Pliny: "Historia Naturalis," xxxv. 5. [2] Ibid.

Athens, who is said to have first distinguished in his paintings men from women, probably by the means adopted in the early vases, that is, by painting the flesh white in the case of women. Like their followers down to the time of Apelles, these painters used only the simple colors, white, yellow, red, and bluish black, greater attention being paid to the drawing than to the coloring.

In temple architecture, the principles of both the Doric and Ionic orders were already fully established; the latter in Asia Minor, and the former in Greece proper.



Temple of Diana at Ephesus.

Among the remains of Doric architecture assignable to this period, are, amongst others, the two temples of Paestum. Of the Ionic order during this period (the sixth century), the principal example was the temple of Diana at Ephesus, the construction of which, begun by Theodorus of Samos, was carried on by Chersyphron of Crete and his son Metagenes, and completed by Demetrius and

Paeonius about the time of Crœsus. It is said that from first to last, one hundred and twenty years were consumed on the work. This temple having been burned by Herostratus was restored under the directions of Alexander's architect, Dinocrates.

We have reached the time of Phidias, and have now done with imperfections in sculpture, so far at least as they originated in want of knowledge either of the human form or of technical means. Phidias, the son of Charmides, was an Athenian, and must have been born about 500 B. C. When Pericles succeeded to the administration of affairs, and it was determined to erect new temples and other public buildings worthy of the new glory which Athens had acquired in the Persian wars, it was to Phidias that the supervision of all these works was entrusted, aided by an army of artists and skilled workmen. By 438 B. C., the Parthenon was completed, with its colossal statue of Athene, in gold and ivory, by Phidias himself, and with its vast extent of sculpture in marble, executed at least under his direction, and reflecting in most parts his genius. After the completion of the Parthenon, Phidias accepted the invitation of the people of Elis to exert his highest power in fashioning for their temple of Zeus at Olympia a statue worthy of the majesty and grandeur of the supreme god of Greece.

His workshop was near the Altis, or sacred grove, where through successive centuries down to the second century of our era, it was preserved and pointed out with feelings of reverence. The finished work was over forty feet high, and represented the god seated on his throne. On his head was a wreath of olive. The drapery was of gold, richly worked with flowers and figures in enamel. On the footstool was inscribed the verse: "Phidias, the

son of Charmides, an Athenian, has made me." The throne was mostly of ebony and ivory, inlaid with precious stones, and richly sculptured with reliefs, and in parts painted.

Pallas Athene, after Phidias.

All Greece made a pilgrimage to this marvelous statue and every one who had seen it was pronounced happy. Most affectingly is the unsurpassable character of the work expressed in that beautiful legend, which tells how that Phidias, after the completion of his statue, when he stood thoughtfully contemplating his work, raised his hands in prayer to Jupiter, and implored a token whether his work was well pleasing to the god. Then suddenly, through an opening in the roof, a lightning flash glanced from the sky upon the temple floor, as an unmistakable sign of the perfect satisfaction of the Thunderer.[1] We possess, in the sculptures of the

[1] Pausanius, Deser. Gr. v. 10.

Parthenon, a large series of works in marble, at least designed or modeled by Phidias and executed under his immediate care, if not in many cases finished by his own hands.

Olympian Zeus, after Phidias.

The mantle of Phidias fell on his pupil, Alcamenes, an Athenian, the lofty conception in his figures of deities was highly praised, while in point of gracefulness in womanly form he appears to have excelled his master. His most celebrated work was a statue of Aphrodite for her temple, of which, however, the merit of the last touch was ascribed to Phidias. Her cheeks, hands, and figure

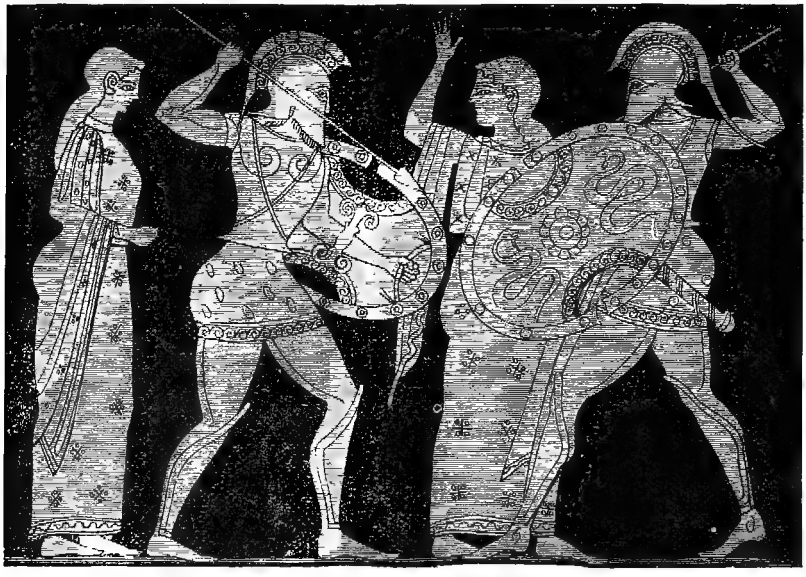
were specially admired; but as to the attitude and general effect we have no information, and are not justified in accepting the Aphrodite of Mino in the Louvre at Paris as a copy of it, much less as the original work.

Amongst the painters of this period, Polygnotus deserves particular notice. He found favor with Cimon, to whose zeal the new impulse for the improvement of Athens was due, and was employed to execute wall paintings for the Stoa Poecile, the Theseum, and the Anaceum, or temple of the Dioscuri. For his services, and especially for the disinterestedness of his character, Polygnotus received what was then regarded as the highest distinction—the freedom of the city of Athens. As regards the style of Polygnotus, we have the distinction drawn by Arisotle between it and that of Zeuxis (another celebrated Greek painter), a distinction which he expressed by the words *ethos* and *pathos*. By ethos, as applied to the paintings of Polygnotus, we understand a dignified bearing in his figures and a measured movement throughout his compositions, such as the Parthenon frieze presents, compared with the pathetic rendering of scenes in the frieze from the temple of Apollo at Phigalea, or in the frieze of the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus. The sculptures of the latter monument were made by Scopas, a native of Paros, who settled in Athens about 380 B. C., where for thirty years he maintained a reputation for an unparalleled power of rendering the human or divine figure, especially in a state of excited feeling. When considerably advanced in years, he was invited by Artemisia, the queen of Caria, to direct the sculptors for a monument that she was erecting at Halicarnassus in memory of her husband Mausolus.[1] The

[1] Cicero, Tusc. Quaest. iii. 31; Strabo, Geog. xiv.; Pliny, Hist. Nat. xxv.

site of the Mausoleum, one of the seven wonders of antiquity, was discovered and excavated by C. T. Newton in 1856-7, the result being the recovery of an important part of these celebrated sculptures.

More celebrated still than Scopas was Praxitèles. The scene of his labors was mostly Athens and the neighboring towns. His model was Phryne, the courtezan. Like Scopas he had little taste for bronze in comparison



Greek Art—Fight of Achilles.

with marble, with its surface finely sensitive to the most delicate modulation. Unsatisfied with even this, he endeavored to soften the asperity of the marble in the crude parts by a process of encaustic. That he was peculiar in thus tinting the marble and an exception among other Greek sculptors can not be meant in the face of so many instances of coloring in the remains of Greek sculpture and architecture. Of his works, the number of which was unusually large, the most celebrated were the following

ones: The marble statue of Aphrodite at Cnidus, a statue of Aphrodite at Thespiae, a statue of Phryne, and a statue of Eros.

In painting, a great step in advance was made by Zeuxis and Parrhasius of Ephesus. An interesting tale describes their contests. Once Zeuxis painted some grapes so perfectly that birds came to pick at them. He then called on Parrhasius to draw aside the curtain and show his picture; but, finding that his rival's picture was the curtain itself he acknowledged himself to be surpassed, for Zeuxis had deceived birds, but Parrhasius had deceived Zeuxis.[1] The next great painter was Timanthes. But it is Apelles, in whose person were combined, if we may judge from his reputation, all the best qualities of the hitherto existing schools of painting. The best part of the life of Apelles was probably spent at the court of Philip and Alexander the Great. Many anecdotes are preserved of Apelles and his contemporaries, which throw an interesting light both on his personal and his professional character. He was ready to acknowledge that in some points he was excelled by other artists, as by Amphion and by Asclepiodorus in perspective. He first caused the merits of Protegenes to be understood.

By the general consent of ancient authors, Apelles stands first among Greek painters. To the indiscriminating admiration of Pliny, we may add the unmeasured praise which Cicero, Varro, Ovid, and other writers give to the work of Apelles and especially to his Venus Anadyomene.[2] Apelles is said to have made great improvements in the mechanical part of his art. His principal

[1] Pliny, Hist. Nat. xxxv. 9. 36, 3.

[2] Cicero, Brutus 18, de Orat. iii. 7; Varro, de Lingue, Lat. ix. 12; Ovid, Art Amandi, iii. 401.

discovery was that of covering the picture with a very thin black varnish, which, besides preserving the picture, made the tints clearer and subdued the more brilliant colors. That he painted on moveable panels is evident from the frequent mention of *tabulae* with reference to his pictures. Pliny expressly says, that he did not paint on walls.[1]

Greek Art—Capture of Helen.

We have now made a short study of Grecian Civilization. We have seen how, owing to their contracted area and their mode of life, the mental activity of the Greeks was wrought up to a high pitch; and we have traced the results of this in the fields of philosophy, science, and art. Taking a general view of this whole matter, regarding Greece as simply the first point where Aryan civilization

[1] Hist. Nat. xxxv. 37.

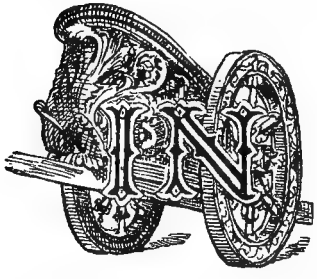
came to its fruitage, we are now to turn to the study of Roman Civilization. And here we are to notice that the waves of Aryan culture are swinging in a greatly wider circle than in Greece. This is but a prophesy of the time when all Aryan Europe was to glow refulgent with the light first focussed in Ancient Hellas.

Bacchus.

# CHAPTER VII.

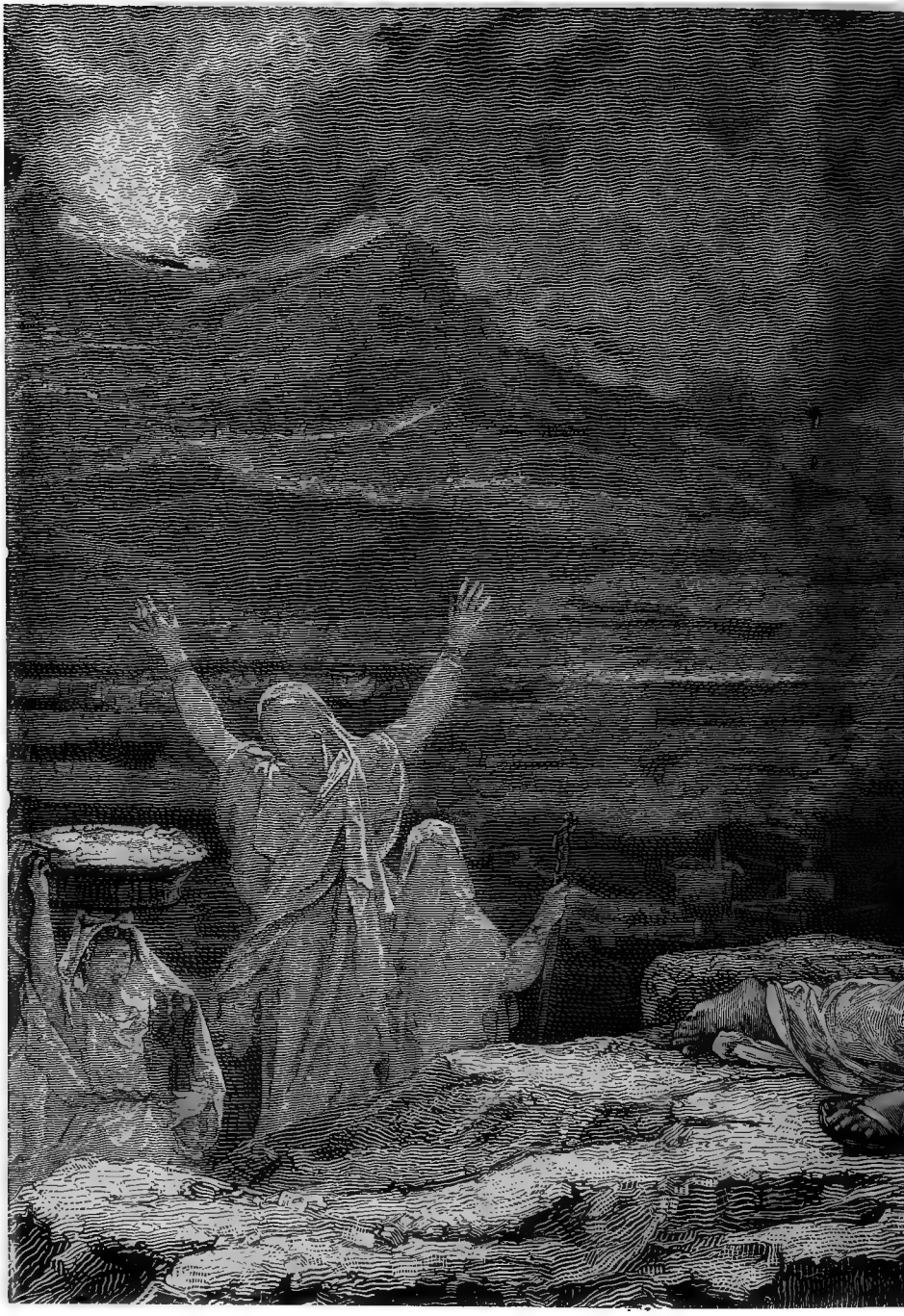
## ROMAN CIVILIZATION.

INFLUENCE of the City of Rome—First History of Rome—Description of Rome—The Houses—The Fora—Slavery in Ancient Rome—Different Classes of Slaves—Treatment of Slaves—Manumission of Slaves—The House Sons—House Daughters—Marriage in Ancient Rome—The Status of Married Women—Ceremonies of Marriage—Education in Rome—Compared with Greek Education—Public Life in Rome—Public Games—Races—Gladiatorial Games—The Coliseum—The Gladiators—Influence of these Games on the People—The "Ludi Magni"—Public Baths—Meals and Foods of the Romans—Use of Wine in Rome—The Dress of Romans—The Toga—The Tunica—Special Articles of Dress—Female Dress—Roman Literature—Cicero—Tacitus—Finances in Rome—Taxes—Commerce—The Government in Ancient Rome—Normal Development of Tribal Government—Roman Civil Law—The Vast Influence on Our Civilization—Conclusion.



OUR delineation of Grecian Civilization, we dwelt, to a considerable extent, on the general fact, that it developed in cities; and thus we reduced quite a number of the most important features of that civilization to one far-reaching cause. This feature of city life is not peculiar to Grecian civilization. It applies in a still greater degree to the civilization of Rome. For, though in Greece civilization radiated from cities, there were many such centers distributed over the mother country and Asia Minor, the southern part of Italy and Sicily.

As a rule, Athens is considered the head and the



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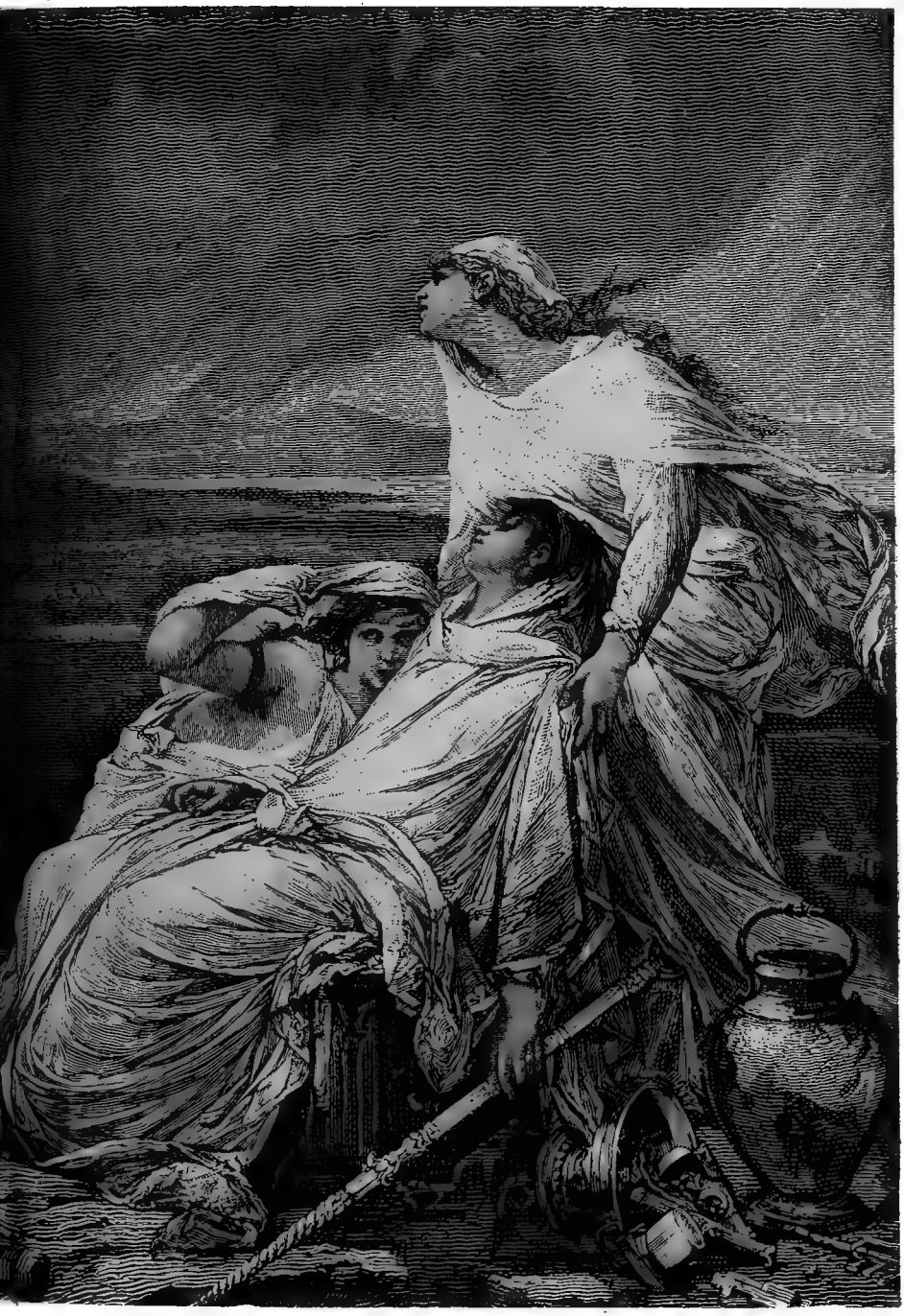


N OF POMPEII.

H. LEROUX

leader of Grecian civilization, but this holds good only with respect to a few departments of the mental development of Greece; and, even here, the cities of Sicily and Asia Minor contributed considerable, and so, to the great name of Athens, we have to add those of Crotona, Elea, Syracuse, Halicarnassus, etc. Thus Greece displays the spectacle of a de-centralized mental development. This de-centralization was carried to a still greater extent in the political life of the Greeks.

With regard to Rome, however, there was no room for de-centralization. Rome was the exclusive center of Roman civilization. Neither the political, the intellectual, nor the moral life of the Roman Empire had its roots elsewhere than in Rome. It was from Rome, that all the functions and activities of the vast empire radiated. The great Roman jurists were educated in the city of Rome. They might have been Phoenicians, like Ulpian; or Greeks, like Gajus; but their development as jurists was completed in Rome. It was likewise there, that the great generals and heroes of Rome found their instruction, their object, and their success. This one city decided the affairs of Italy, Spain, Greece, Egypt, Asia Minor, Palestine, and Macedonia. Political success was sought for in this city; thus, when Cicero wished to be consul, his brother Quintus advised him to gain first the votes of the city of Rome, for, in comparison with these votes, the balance of the Italian votes would scarcely count.

That the civilization of a vast empire should be, as it were, dependent on one city is one of the most singular facts in history. There have been large cities, possessing millions of inhabitants, cities commanding great influence over the destinies of countries; but the influence of vast cities, like Babylon or Nineveh, London, Paris, or Berlin,

is far from being an exclusive one. In addition to these large cities, there are others which exercise similar influence and prevent the civilization of those countries from depending exclusively on the development of one single point.

The city of Rome is situated on the Tiber. At the time when the seat of Rome was building, there were many other small cities in Italy, which belonged to the Etruscans and the various Aryan tribes of the peninsula.[1] These cities were really each the headquarters of a tribe, and consequently, as a rule, they were independent of one another. Inter-tribal wars were, of course, frequent, but in spite of their feuds, they had many things in common. Thus, in the first place, their language, with the exception of the Etruscans, evidently pointed to a common origin. Their religious rites were more or less the same. Their social and political institutions show a general resemblance; and thus we are enabled to explain many of the Roman institutions by some hints, and remnants found in the districts of the Umbrians and Oscans.

We have had occasion to point out that almost nothing is known of the early history of Rome. The mass of fables on which it rested has been swept away before the destructive criticism of modern scholars.[2] This, however, will not prevent us from a description of the political and social institutions of Rome in the Regal period, as well as in the first part of the Republican times, because those criticisms are directed more against the chronology of battles and similar military affairs, than against those quiet and peaceful institutions, the contemplation of which forms the prominent part of a history of civilization. In order

[1] Above page 268.

[2] This Series, Vol. II. p. 195 *et seq.*; This Vol. p. 274 *et seq.*

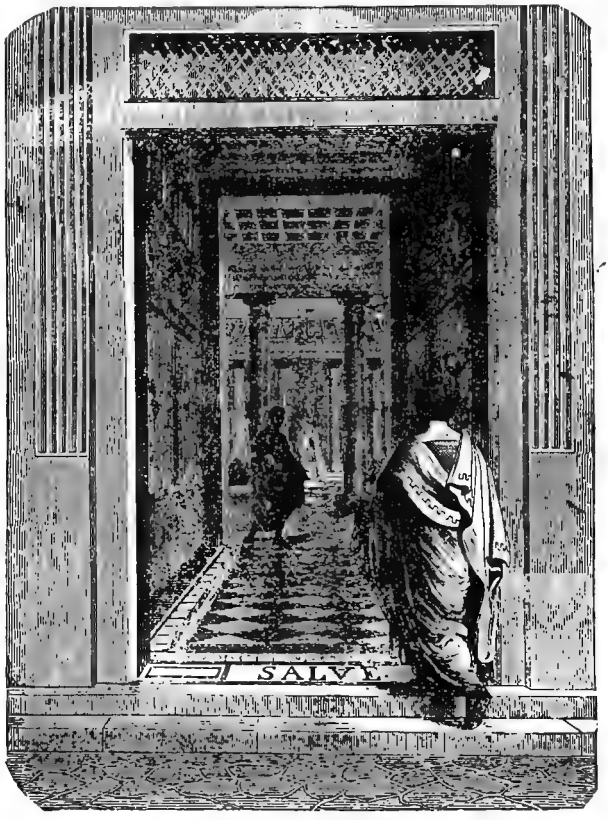
to form a clear picture of Roman civilization, we will begin with the description of the city, of street life, and of public and private life in Rome. Accordingly we will imagine a visit to Rome in the second century B. C., when the Republican institutions were not yet destroyed, and the institutions of the Regal period were still more or less active. It is a mistake to suppose that the institutions of the Regal period differed essentially from those of the Republic.[1] In every respect, these two periods were, of one and the same cast and tenor, save that the life-kings of the first period were replaced by the year-kings of the second. Even the city of Rome herself did not appear much different in the second century B. C., than she did in the times of the kings.

The oldest part of the city was called Roma Quadrata; and in the second century B. C., as well as now, the huge walls, attributed by tradition to king Servius, were extant. The streets of the city, with the exception of two, were narrow and short. The pavement was a privilege of very few streets. Houses were divided into two classes. The regular private house of a wealthy Roman citizen was called *domus*. It consisted of a one-storied building, with a flight of three or four large halls opening into one another. The first of these halls was called the *atrium*. The adjoining hall was called the *tablinum*, and the third was called the *perystylium*. The domestic life of a Roman house centered in the atrium. It was there, where the family took their meals, where they sacrificed to the gods, where the family council was held, and where the matron of the house cooked the meals. In addition to these three large halls, there were small compartments for the slaves of the house, for the children, and for bed-rooms. A Ro-

[1] This Series, Vol. II. p. 304.

man private house had no windows facing the street. They had only sky-light arrangements, so that the house resembled a castle more than a private residence.

The number of houses of this kind, in the times of Augustus, is given as seventeen hundred and eighty. The



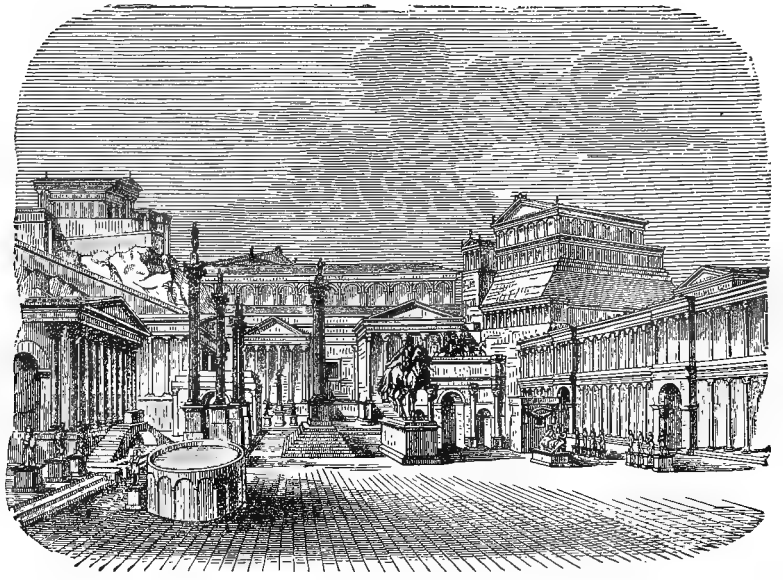

Entrance to a Roman House.

second kind of house was the so-called *Insula*, which is identical with our tenement house There were about forty-four thousand in the time of Emperor Augustus. They had several stories and hundreds of persons were living in them. The real estate business in Rome was conducted on a very large scale, and millionaire Crassus

gained most of his fortune in *insula* speculations. In spite of the narrow streets, there were, comparatively speaking, few cases of house-burning; and this fact may be accounted for by the circumstance that tenement houses were perfect blocks, apart from one another, so that small lanes separated them, and danger from spreading fire was thereby lessened. In the streets, no carriages were to be seen, with the exception of those of high dignitaries, or of public conveyances for city purposes, before four o'clock in the afternoon. Private conveyances were not permitted to drive in the streets of Rome before that hour. The carriages afforded a very interesting show for the lover of sport. They were two-wheeled, three-wheeled, and four-wheeled; and the horses were of the very best race, having been imported from the most beautiful breeds of Numidia and Arabia.

Early in the morning, the life of the city began its course. There were several large market halls, one for pork, another for sweets, a third for meats of all kinds; and these market-halls were under the strict surveillance of the *Aediles*. These market-places were called *Fora*. But the most important forum in Rome was the one that was properly called "the Forum." It was situated between the Palatine and Capatoline hills, and its extent was seven *jugera*. It was originally a swamp or marsh, but was said to have been filled up by Romulus and Tatius, and to have been set apart for a place of administration of justice, for the assemblies of the people, and for the transaction of other kinds of public business. In its widest sense, the Forum included the *comitium*, or the place of assembly for the *Curiae*, which was separated from the forum, in its narrower sense, or the place of assembly for the *Comitia Tributa* by the *Rostra*.

These rostra were elevated places of ground, from which on a stage, the orators addresssed the people. They derived their name from the fact that after the subjugation of Latium their sides were adorned with the beaks (*rostra*) of the ships of the Antiates. The orators addressed the people from the rostra, and from thence the tribunes of the people, in the early times of the Republic, used to confront the comitia and the curiae. In 300 B. C., the



The Forum.

Romans adorned the Forum with gilt shields, which they had taken from the Samnites; and, subsequently, this custom of adorning the Forum was observed during the time of the public Roman games, when the magistrates rode in their chariots in procession around the Forum. After the victory of Duillius over the Carthagenians, the Forum was adorned with the celebrated *Columna Rostrata.* In the principal part of the Comitium the laws of the twelve tablets were exhibited for public inspection. Besides the

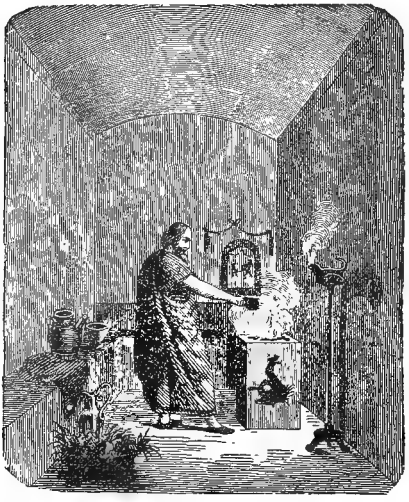
ordinary business which was carried on in the Forum, we read that gladiatorial games were held there, and that there prisoners of war and faithless colonists were put to death.

The second forum was built by Julius Cæsar, and was called Forum Julii. The leveling of the ground alone cost him about a million of *sesterces*, and he adorned it besides with a magnificent temple of Venus Genitrix. A third forum was built by Augustus, and called Forum Augustium, because the two existing ones were not found sufficient for the great increase of business which had taken place. Augustus adorned his forum with a temple of Mars and the statues of the most distinguished men of the Republic.

Besides these fora, were the numerous temples in Rome dedicated to the gods and goddesses of Greece and Rome, and even to the gods and deities of foreign nations. The distinctive feature of a Roman temple was, that it was considered the abode of the god and not the place of devotion. The people never thought of going to church as we do. The temple was the residence of the god, his private dwelling place, and people prayed and observed their devotional exercises in their own houses. There were of course religious processions, which frequently filled the streets of the city, but they were generally such as exerted an influence on political factors. The city of Rome had a suburb, as we might say, in the neighboring cemeteries. The most splendid tomb-stones and burial monuments adorned both sides of the magnificent Via Appia, and made the impression of a city of its own. Rome had a most excellent system of sewerage of which there are considerable remnants left. There were, besides, several aqueducts conveying water to the city. The whole territory

of Rome was divided by Augustus into fourteen regions, as it were wards, and at the head of every ward there was an official directing its internal affairs.

Interesting though the architectural and monumental appearance of ancient Rome may be, the people who inhabited that city afford a still greater interest. It was the sturdy and energetic, relentless and shrewd, painstaking and severe people of Rome, which presented the spectacle of men, who were at once the best conquerors and rulers and the best obeyers known in general history. To obey, to stand by the command of a superior, was engrafted on the mind of every Roman from his childhood; and, even in the times of the wildest licentiousness, we do not hear of a Roman who ventured to revolt against the authority of his father, or against the principal magistrates of the city.



Household Chapel.

The population of Rome was divided into three parts. In the first were the free-men; second, the freedmen; and third, the slaves. But if we consider the condition of a son who was still in the household of his father, and if we notice the utter dependence in which he was left on the good will of his parent, we might say that, practically, there were only two classes of people in Rome, that is to say, Free-men and Slaves. For the son, as long as he was not emancipated by his father, was legally unable to earn his living, to acquire a fortune, or to live independently. In

everything necessary to support himself, he had to depend on his father, with one exception; as far as political life was concerned, he was considered a free, independent man, and it was there that the power of his father ceased.

The slaves in Rome formed over two-thirds of the city. Of course we speak of the later times of the Republic, for in the beginning of Rome, there were comparatively few slaves in the city. The slaves, forming such an overwhelming part of the population, claim our close attention; let us therefore describe their condition in detail. The most fruitful sources of slavery were the continual wars of the Romans. The number of captives brought home into slavery sometimes appears incredible. The captives were divided with the spoils upon the battlefield, and each soldier provided for the slaves allotted to him. It became common for the slave-dealers, or as they were called *Mangones*, to accompany the armies for the purpose of purchasing the captives. Prices at such times became very trifling. Sometimes as small as four *drachmae*.[1] According to Josephus, ninety-seven thousand captives followed the destruction of Jerusalem. Men of the highest rank in Rome engaged in this horrible calling and constituted a powerful organization. Children of slaves followed the condition of the mother. There were great slave markets in Carthage and in Delos, but the center of the trade was at Rome. Slaves, generally, were sold at auction, standing upon a stone so that they might be closely scrutinized. Slaves of peculiar beauty and rarity were kept separate and sold privately.

Newly imported slaves had their feet whitened with chalk. Those from the East had their ears bored. Each of them had a scroll suspended around his neck, giving

1 About 75 cents.

his age, birthplace, qualities, health, etc., and the seller was held to warrant the truth of this statement. He was bound to discover all defects, especially as to health, thievishness, disposition to run away, or to commit suicide. If the seller was unwilling to warrant, instead of a scroll, he placed a cap (*pileus*) upon the head of the slave. A crown

Roman Slave Market.

upon the head indicated a captive taken in war. The seller would cause the slave to run, leap, or perform some other act of agility. They possessed the art of causing their limbs to look strong, their flesh young, and to retard the appearance of age. The nationality of the slave gave some indication of his qualities. Thus the Phrygian was

timid; the African, vain; the Sardinian, unruly etc. The private slaves of the rich Roman were divided into two classes, the country and the city slaves. Any number of them, owned by the same master, were called respectively *familia rustica* and *familia urbana*.

The slaves were still further classified according to their occupations, such as *Ordinarii*, *Vulgares*, *Mediastini*, *Literati*, etc. They were chiefly employed in agricultural pursuits or the mechanical arts. Many, however, were used as personal attendants, it being considered discreditable for a person of rank to be seen without a train of slaves. From the moment a stranger entered the vestibule of the Roman house, through the hall, in the reception room, at the table, everywhere he was attended by different servants, each taking his name from his occupation. The number of slaves at any given period can not be accurately ascertained. That they were very numerous, in fact more numerous than the free population, is indisputable; and, it is further known, that the numbers increased during the latter days of the Republic and under the emperors. The number sometimes owned by a single individual is almost incredible. A Greek writer, Athæneus, says, that some persons owned as many as twenty thousand.

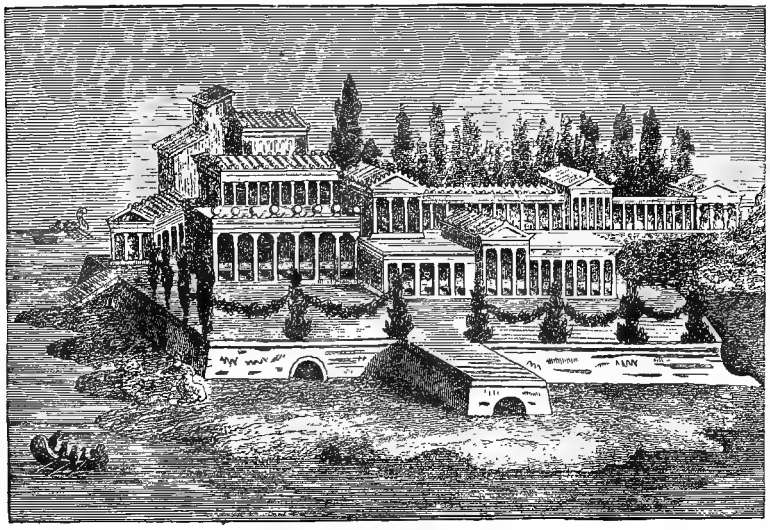
The same system was in use in every part of the household. The female slaves were distinguished in like manner. Every conceivable want being attended to by a separate slave. The smallest service had its slave. Thus the holding of the umbrella, of the fan, of the sandals, etc., gave names to particular slaves. Similarly the arranging of dress, the setting of the teeth, and the painting of the eyebrows, required separate attendants. A prominent Roman always had a *nomenclator*, that is to say, a slave who told

him the names of the passers-by on the street, for it was considered gentleman-like to address everybody by his name. The wife, upon her marriage, received a confidential slave, *dotalis servus*. He belonged to her, the master had no control over him. He frequently had the confidence of the wife more than her own husband. Even the schoolboy was followed by his little slave to bear his satchel to school. The old and luxurious were borne in sedans or chairs by special slaves. Slaves were even trained for gladiatorial contests, especially was this the case under the emperors, who encouraged the sports in order to disengage the thoughts of the people from their own bondage. We should not, however, judge the Romans too hashly for this cruelty, as frequently free men, knights, senators, and even emperors, for instance Commodus, descended into the arena and engaged in the fatal encounter. Sometimes even women joined in the conflict.

The price of slaves in Rome varied much at different times and according to the qualities of the slave. Under the Empire, immense sums were paid for beautiful slaves and such as attracted the whim of the purchaser. We have accounts of their selling as high as from five thousand to ten thousand dollars. In the time of Horace, about a hundred dollars was a fair price for an ordinary slave. Clowns, jesters, and pretty females brought high prices, although females generally sold for less than males. Hannibal, after the battle of Cannæ, being encumbered with his prisoners, suffered the knights to be ransomed at seventy-five dollars; the legionary soldiers, at fifty dollars; the slaves, at twenty dollars.

There were certain feasts, during which, for the time being, slaves were allowed perfect liberty. Of these, the most remarkable were the *Saturnalia*, when such perfect

equality existed that the master waited on the slaves at table. This feast was in the latter part of December and lasted seven days. Another was a feast in honor of king Servius Tullius, he being himself, according to tradition, the son of a captive and a slave. This feast lasted from the Ides of March, the date of his birth, to the Ides of April, the date of the inauguration of the temple of Diana.



A Roman Villa.

The punishment inflicted upon slaves for offenses were various and some very severe. They necessarily differed from those prescribed for the same offenses when committed by free men. Minor misdemeanors were submitted to the correction of the master. Cato the censor, instituted upon his farm, a kind of jury-trial among the slaves themselves, and submitted to them the guilt and the punishment. The courts took cognizance of graver charges. The removal of the urban slave into the *familia rustica* was a mild and yet a much dreaded penalty,

for in such cases they worked in chains. The hand-mill was also a place of punishment. Sometimes they were scourged, after being suspended with mancles to the hands and weights fastened to the feet. Another mode of punishment was a wooden yoke upon the neck and bound to the arms on either side. Upon every Roman farm there was a private prison in which refractory slaves were confined. They were, however, abolished in the time of Hadrian. In some cases very severe punishments were resorted to, such as cutting off the hands for theft, and death by the cross. These however were very rare. To protect the master, the Roman laws were very stringent and provided that, where the master was found murdered in his house and the perpetrator was unknown, all the domestic slaves should be put to death.

There was no distinctive dress for slaves. It was once proposed in the senate to give slaves such a costume, but it was rejected since it was considered dangerous to show them their number. Male slaves were not allowed to wear the *toga* or *bulla*, nor females the *stola*, but otherwise they were dressed nearly in the same way as poor people, in clothes of dark color and slippers. The rites of burial, however, were not denied to slaves, for as the Romans regarded slavery as a political institution, death was held to put an end to the distinction between free-men and slaves. In view of the many false opinions as to the treatment of slaves, in the times of the Romans, we will add a few well established facts, concerning the treatment accorded them in some instances.

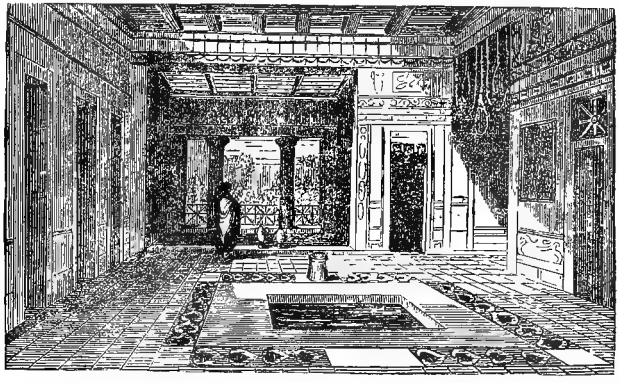
Cato ate and drank the same course of victuals as his slaves, and even had the children nourished by his wife, that they might imbibe a fondness for the family. He allowed the marriage of male and female slaves at the

price of a money payment from their savings. Columella, another Roman writer, regarded the gains from the births as a sufficient motive for encouraging these unions, and thought that mothers should be rewarded according to the number of their children. The immense extension of the majority of Roman real estates made it impossible for masters to know their slaves, even if they were disposed to do so. In the *familia urbana*, the favorites of the master had good treatment and exercised extensive influence over him. Doubtless there was often mutual affection. Slaves sometimes, as in noted instances during the civil wars, showed a noble spirit of devotion to their masters. Those who were common inmates of the household, but were employed outside of it as keepers of a shop or boat; chiefs of workshops or clerks in the mercantile business, had the advantage of greater freedom of action. One proof of the generally humane treatment of slaves in Rome, may be found in the fact, that conspiracies and rebellions against the masters belonged to the rare and exceptional features of Roman history.

Blair, in comparing the Greek and Roman systems of slavery, points with justice to the greater facility and frequency of emancipation as the great superiority of the Roman system. "No Roman slave," he says, "need despair of becoming both a free-man and a citizen." Manumission, or emancipation, took place in either of two general ways, *Justa*, and *Minus Justa*. Of the last form, there were four modes. First, by *adoption*, rarely resorted to; second, by *testament*; third, by *census*, which was of exceptional use and did not exist later than the time of Vespasian; and, fourth, by *vindicta*, which was the general form. In the last method, the master turned the slave around with the words "liber esto," in the presence of the prætor, that

officer with his lictors, at the same time, striking the slave with his rod.

The manumissio justa was effected by a sufficient manifestation of the will of the master; as by letter, by words, by putting the cap of liberty on the slave, or by any other formality which had by usage become significant of the intention to liberate, or by such an act as making the slave the guardian of his children. The free-man, unless he became such by operation of law, remained client of his master and both were bound by the mutual obligations arising out of that relation. These obligations existed



The Atrium.

also in the case of freemen of the state, of cities, temples, and corporations. The free-man took his former master's name, he owed him deference and aid, and neglect of these obligations was punished, in extreme cases, even with the loss of liberty. Conditions might be annexed by the master to the gift of freedom, such as continued residence with him, or of general service, or some particular duty to be performed, or of a money payment to be made.

In the second century of the Greek era, we find a marked change with respect to the institution of slavery, both in the region of thought and in that of law. Al-

ready the principles of reason and humanity had been applied to the subject, as by Seneca, who, whatever we may think of him as a man, deserves our gratitude for the just and liberal sentiments he expressed respecting slaves, who, he says, should be treated as humble friends; and especially for his energetic reprobation of gladiatorial combats and of the brutality of the public who enjoyed these sanguinary shows. The military vocation of Rome was now felt to have reached its normal limits, and the emperors, understanding that, in the future, industrial activity must prevail, prepared for the abolition of slavery, as far as was then possible, by honoring freemen, by protecting the slave against his master, and by facilitating manumission.

The state granted to public slaves the right of bequeathing half of their possessions, and private persons sometimes permitted similar dispositions even to a greater extent, though only within their *familiae*. Hadrian took from masters the power of life and death and abolished the subterranean prisons. Antonius Pius punished him who killed his own slave, as if he had killed another's. Already in the time of Nero, the magistrates had been ordered to receive the slave's complaint of ill-treatment and the *Lex Petronia*, belonging to the same or an earlier period, forbade masters to hand over their slaves to combat with wild beasts; and Antonius Pius directed that slaves treated with excessive cruelty, who had taken refuge at an altar or imperial image, should be sold; and this provision was extended to cases in which masters had employed a slave in a way degrading to him or beneath his character. Marcus Aurelius gave to masters an action against their slaves for any cause of complaint, thus bringing their relation more directly under the surveillance of law and public opinion. A slave's oath could still not be

taken in the court of war. He was interrogated by the torturer, but the emperor and jurists limited in various ways the application of torture.

We learn more about the private and intimate relations between Roman slaves and their masters from the numerous mortuary inscriptions found all over Italy and, in fact, all over the Roman Empire, and which have been most carefully collected and compiled. In these inscriptions, we find numerous allusions to the relations of Roman slaves to their masters; and it is both pleasing and instructive to see how frequently the relation between master and servant assumed the form of real friendship. On many tombstones, we read of the master's will to let his slave be the sole heir to his fortune. On others, he expresses a desire to lie beside his slave, who was his only and most trusted friend. On others, again, he expresses his deep gratitude for all the beneficial work that his slave had bestowed upon him. These and similar testimonials bespeak the real condition of slavery in Rome in a much clearer and in a more unequivocal way than the text of Roman laws, which by their very nature, had to be harsh and severe. In the real life of the Romans, the slaves formed a very considerable constituent of the comfort, of the industry and commerce, of the instruction of the people. The slaves were the trades-people; they were the agents, commissioners, representatives; they carried on a brisk trade for their masters; they were the private tutors and instructors of the master's children; they were the physicians of the house, and to them the lives of noble Romans were trusted daily and hourly.

The second class of people in Rome, technically known as free-men, comprises those persons who were free, and yet, as being members of a joint-family, were under the

control of a house-father. Here it is of the utmost importance for us to keep in mind the results of previous inquiry into Ancient Society and especially as to the rights and duties of the various members of a joint-family. Many of the laws and institutions of ancient Rome admit of easy explanation when we once recall the peculiar standing of the joint-family.[1]

We have seen, that wherever ancient society has had a normal development the joint-family invariably made its appearance. Every known branch of the Aryan race achieved its development. Now in ancient Rome, when the other institutions of ancient society were fast breaking down, when we can only dimly make out the tribe, phratry, and gens, we find the joint-family still enjoying a vigorous life. The constant tendency of advancing civilization, which is to break up this form of the family, had made but slight inroads upon the joint-family among the Romans. Recall to mind that, in the developed form of the joint-family, the house-father or house-chief owned and controlled all its

A Roman Citizen.

[1] This Series, Vol. II. p. 217 *et seq.*

property, voted for it in the general assemblies, was its judge and general executive.[1]

We have further seen how most people made arrangements for liberating the sons from the control of the house-chief. But in Rome this step had not been taken. Hence a house-son had no public civil rights whatever. He could not acquire a cent's worth of property, he could not call his own the minutest thing in the world, and anything that he acquired belonged to his father. He could not marry without his consent and, when married, he had to ask for the means of his sustenance, and he remained dependent just as in the days of his childhood. His father could punish him, nay, more than this, in point of law, his father could put him to death, and we have several records in the Roman and Greek historians of Roman fathers who executed their sentence of death, and did not hesitate to sacrifice their own sons to their stern morality. But within the family he probably did have some rights. He was entitled to maintenance, and could probably be punished only in accordance with the decree of the family council.[2]

The position of the female members of this joint-family were, in the first stage, even more dependent than the house-sons. Theoretically they were always members of some joint-family, and always under the power of some house-chief. Marriage, in the first stage, simply transferred her to a new joint-family, of which her husband was chief. Legally she was in the same relation to him as was her daughter. On the death of a house-father, the female members did not thereby gain their liberty. They simply passed under the control of the new house-father. There-

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[1] Ibid. 218. [2] Ibid.

by the mother might come under subjection to her own son, sisters to their brother.[1]

Such was the joint-family among the Romans. It was not something peculiar to them, but it long retained its archaic rights and privileges; the reason of which retention is probably to be found in the peculiar surroundings of the Patrician tribes. By skillful management, these three tribes had gained enormous power, and acquired great wealth. We have also seen how from the very earliest times they were called upon to exert all their skill, power, and diplomacy to keep their Plebeian population in subjection and how many centuries went by before they were finally vanquished in this matter. Of necessity, such a people became very conservative of old customs. Nearly every change was forced from them. It is not strange, then, that the joint-family was one of the very last to be attacked.[2]

Yet we detect the entering wedge. If the process of civilization be the bringing to the front of individuals and individual rights, the joint-family must disappear in time. So in Rome, sons in the service of the state were in a measure released from the control of the house-father. What they gained in such service they did not turn in to the family treasury. And, of necessity, the public officers were released from this control, at least as regards all official acts.

We have just pointed out that women were always considered members of a joint-family and hence under the control of a house-father. It becomes then of interest to consider marriage in Rome and the transferrence from one joint-family to another. When the joint-family as-

[1] Hearn: "Aryan Household," p. 89.

[2] This Series, Vol. II. p. 229.

sumed the highly artificial form that it did in ancient Rome, we would naturally expect to find many ceremonies attending the transferrence of a female from one joint-family to another. Hence arose the solemn and stately form of marriage known as the *Confarreatio*. This was largely a religious act. The woman was about to renounce the household gods of one family, and henceforth worship another set. She was to break all legal connections with one family, and unite herself with another. Hence the set words to be spoken before ten witnesses, and the religious ceremonies, in which the eating of a symbolic meal occurred, and from which this form of marriage was derived.[1]

Roman Matron.

As we would expect, this form of marriage long survived among the conservative Patricians, and when it had died out in common use, was still employed in the marriage of priests.[2] But there were other forms of marriage in use, which were not so solemn and stately, and which may have been the older forms.[3] One was *Coemptio*. It was effected by a formal sale of the woman, in the same manner and form as the sale of any article of personal property. Still a third form was that

1 *Vide* Hearn: "Aryan Household," also Coulanges: "Ancient City."

2 Becker: "Gallus," Excursus i.

3 Wood: "Wedding Day in all Ages," p. 51. McLennan: "Primitive Marriage," p. 8.

of *Usus*, in which marriage was implied by the living together of the parties for one year, though should the woman absent herself for three whole nights this legal presumption would not follow.[1]

Besides these legal forms, there were many ceremonies at which we will glance. After the parties had agreed to marry and the house-fathers, in whose dominion they were, had consented, a meeting of friends was sometimes held at the house of the maiden for the purpose of settling the marriage contract, which was written on tablets and signed by both parties. The woman, after she had promised to become the wife of a man, was called *Sponsa* or *Pacta*. The man put a ring on the finger of his betrothed as a pledge of his fidelity. This ring was probably, like all rings at this time, worn on the left hand and on the finger nearest to the smallest. The last point to be fixed was the day on which the marriage was to take place. Towards the close of the Republic, it became customary to betroth young girls while they were yet children. Augustus put a check on this custom. Girls, before they had completed their tenth year, could not be betrothed. The Romans believed that certain days were unfortunate for the performance of the marriage rites, either on account of the religious character of those days themselves, or on account of the days by which they were followed, as a woman had to perform certain religious rites on the day after her wedding, which could not take place on a *Dies ater* (a black day). Days not suitable for entering upon matrimony were the first, ninth, and fifteenth of every month. Furthermore, the whole months of May and February were excepted, as well as a great number of festivals. Widows,

1 Wood, L. C.: Becker: "Gallus," Excursus i.

however, might marry on days which were inauspicious for maidens.

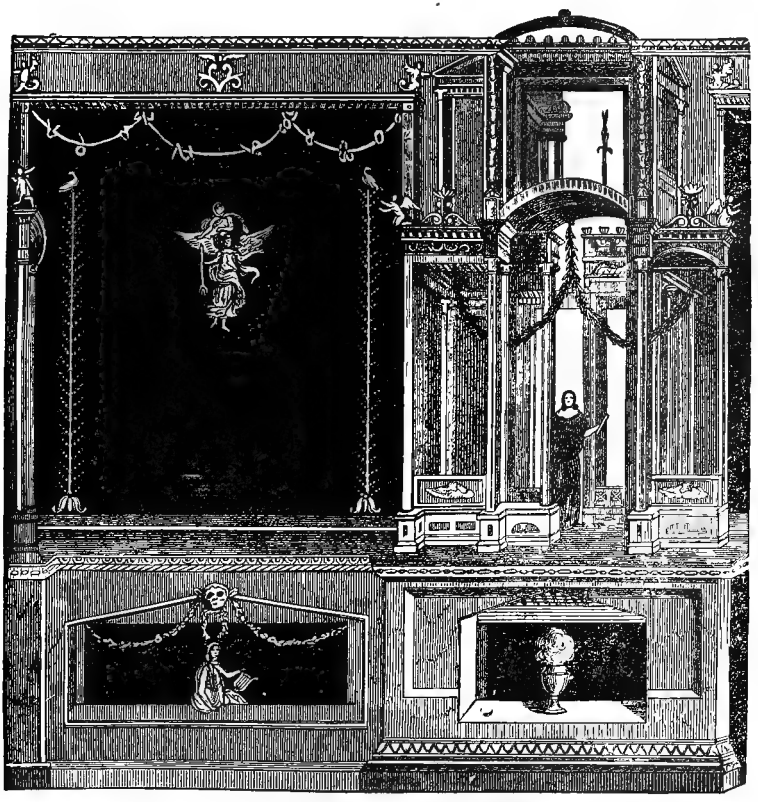
On the wedding day, the bride was dressed in a long white robe, with a purple fringe adorned with ribbons. This dress was called the *Tunica recta* and was bound round the waist with a girdle, which the husband had to untie in the evening. The bridal veil was of a bright yellow color, and her shoes likewise. Her hair was divided, on this occasion, with the point of a spear.[1] The only form of marriage which was celebrated with solemn religious rites was that by confarreatio. Then a sheep was sacrificed and its skin was spread over two chairs, upon which the bride and bridegroom sat down with their hands covered. Hereupon the marriage was completed by pronouncing a formula or prayer, after which another sacrifice was offered. The bride was conducted to the house of her husband in the evening. She was taken with apparent violence from the arms of her mother or of the person who had to give her away.[2] On her way, she was accompanied by three boys dressed in the *Praetexta* and whose fathers and mothers were still alive. One of them carried before her a torch of white thorn, or according to others, of pine wood. The two others walked by her side, supporting her by the arm. The bride herself carried a distaff and a spindle with wool. A boy called *Camillus* carried, in a covered vase, the so-called utensils of the bride and playthings for children.

Besides these persons who officiated on the occasion, the procession was attended by a numerous train of friends, both of the bride and the bridegroom, whose attendance

[1] A probable survival of marriage by capture. This Series Vol. II. p. 126.

[2] Notice the survival of capture.

was called *officium.* When the procession arrived at the house of the bridegroom, the doors of which were adorned with garlands and flowers, the bride was carried across this threshold by men who had been married to only one woman, that she might not knock against it with her foot,



Wall Ornament at Pompeii.

which would have been an evil omen. Before she entered the house, she wound wool around the door-posts of her new residence and anointed them with oil. The husband received her with fire and water, which the woman had to touch. The bride saluted her husband with the mystic words, "Ubitu Caius, Ego Caia." After she had entered

the house, she was placed upon a sheepskin, and here the keys of the house were delivered into her hands. A repast given by the husband to the whole train of relatives and friends who accompanied the bride generally concluded the solemnity of the day.[1]

These strict forms of marriage, which we have described, all had, as one result, the adoption of the wife into the joint-family of her husband; and, consequently, she came under his power, or as the Romans expressed it *in Manum Mariti*. From a very early time, there existed a less binding form of marriage, in which the wife did not become a member of the joint-family of her husband.[2] She remained in the family of her father. Instead of being dependent on her husband, and instead of loosing all her individuality, she kept her independence and freedom to an extraordinary degree. She did not even share the name of her husband, and instead of being called by his family name, she kept her old maiden name as before. So we see that Roman wives were either in a kind of legal bondage, which seems to be utterly repulsive to our modern feelings, or they were independent to an extent which seems to clash with the natural and religious tendencies of matrimonial life. On the one hand, a Roman wife was considered a babe, a minor, a ward, a person incapable of doing or acting anything according to her own individual taste, a person continually under the tutelage and guardianship of her husband. On the other hand, she was considered

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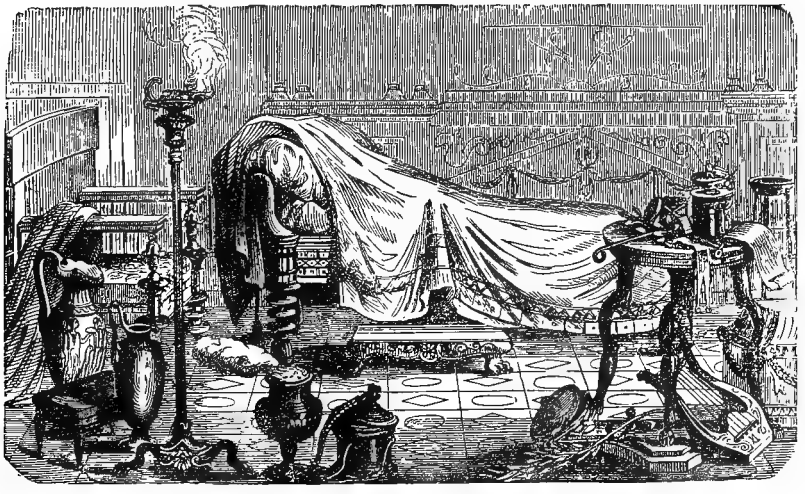
1 These various ceremonies are largely extracted from Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities. Article "Matrimonium."

2 This was *Matrimonium justus without conventio in manum*. Here we have followed Becker: "Gallus." Some think that only the first form of marriage *confarreatio* placed the wife in *manum*. Yet if *coemptio* and *usus* be the older forms, of necessity they must, at least in the first place, have placed the wife in the power of the husband.

capable of exercising a freedom of action which seems out of place with our ideas; and her life with her husband was anything but that intimate and religious companionship which forms our ideal of wedded life.

We need only remark that this form of marriage grew in favor. Property considerations largely conduced to this result. Marriage, thus loosely contracted, could be as loosely dissolved. Thus toward the close of



Furniture, etc., in the Room of a Rich Roman.

the Republic, the marriage tie was looser in Rome than in almost any other Aryan community. Against this merely nominal marriage, a reaction set in under Christianity. We must observe how greatly this change must have affected the old joint-family, and this doubtless had a great deal to do in effecting its dissolution, and so bringing on the stage the modern family.[1]

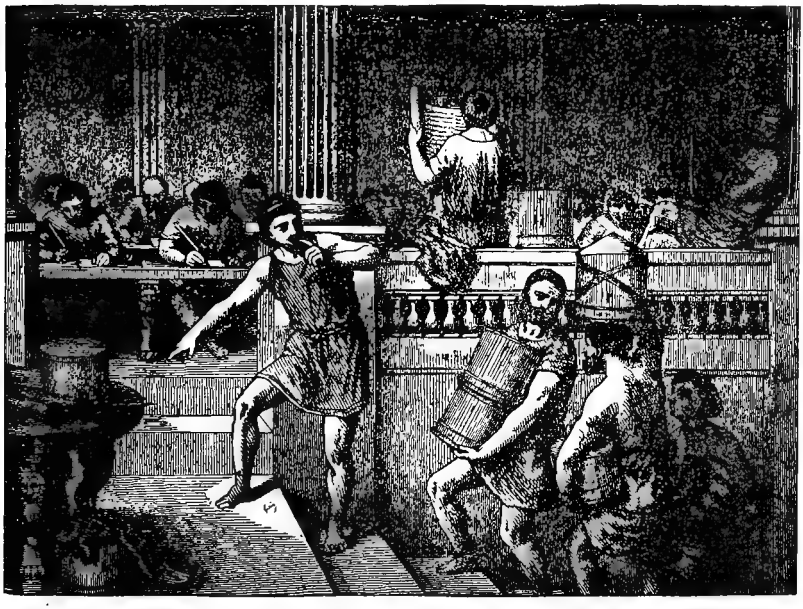
However restricted the legal rights of women were theoretically, practically they enjoyed a great amount of

1 *Vide* Hearn: "Aryan Household," p. 479.

freedom. The legal enactments were disregarded, and the social position of a Roman woman was as free, honored, and as high as the social position of any woman in any other country. In fact, the women of Rome enjoyed a far greater social liberty than the women, for instance, in Greece. In the latter country, as we have seen, women were not permitted to join the meals and associations of men; whereas the Roman matrons could freely mingle with gentlemen and enjoy the evening parties of their husbands or sons. They could go to theaters; they could appear in the assembly hall of the Senate; they could go to the arena, and their influence on the education of children was decisive. In fact, their great influence made itself manifest, in the first two centuries of our era, in that they were mostly instrumental in starting the new religion, which, under the name of Christianity, had commenced to exert its beneficial influence.

In spite of the republican and more or less democratical character of their state, the Romans never thought of establishing public schools, and, least of all, of making them free. A home education was all that a Roman child received, and the range of this studies was rather narrow. Tuition was left entirely in the hands of private tutors who, as we have observed, were mostly slaves or freedmen. The Roman boy learned to read and to write; and, as far as our historical knowledge of Rome goes, the art of reading and writing was known almost generally even from the earliest times. It would have been almost impossible to do without a knowledge of these arts; for, according to Roman usages and Roman exigencies, it was almost indispensable for every citizen to know the art of writing, and, consequently, that of reading. For instance, every house-father was compelled to keep a strict account of his

income and of his outlays. In modern times, such accounts are generally incumbent on merchants only, but in Rome the house-books, as they were called, were of great value as evidence in cases of litigation. In addition to reading and writing, a little arithmetic was taught; but, in this respect, the Romans were greatly deficient. Even in times when the Romans had conquered the whole civilized world, they still displayed a curious ignorance of mathe-



Copying Manuscripts in Rome.

matics, and they were obliged to resort to the help of Greek mechanics and engineers. The last part of a Roman education was a knowledge, or at least a smattering of the fundamental law of Rome, in other words the so-called twelve tablets.

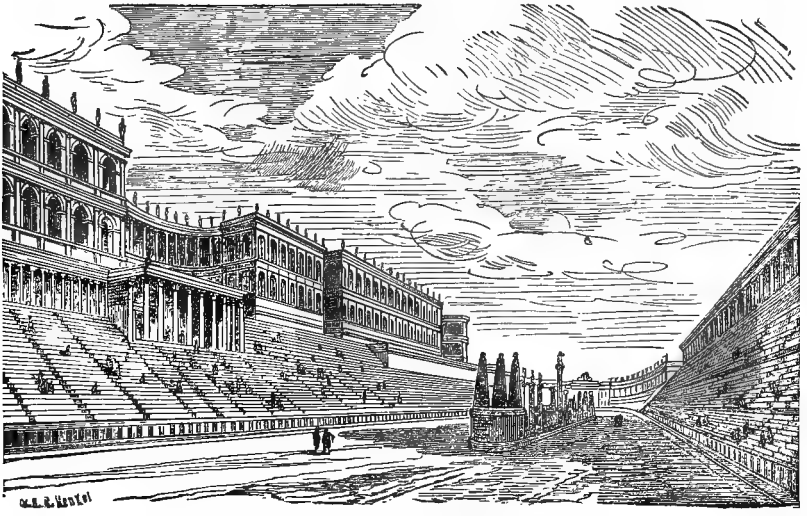
If we compare the amount of knowledge imparted to a young Roman boy with that to a young Grecian, we will readily see the great difference in the character of these

two nations. From his early childhood, every Grecian was compelled to learn by heart the poems of Homer, which gave him a treasure of poetical knowledge as well as a stock of practical wisdom. Accordingly we find that the Grecians had a decided inclination to a more elevated conception of life, to a more poetical, tender, sympathetic love for their fellow beings and for the world in general. The bent of a Roman's mind, on the contrary, was thoroughly practical, stern, unbending; his life was not filled with images of poetry, with high strung conceptions of fancy. He was taught to struggle for what is immediate, for earthly goods, for money, and for power. It was only in later times, that the Romans were accustomed to go to Greece and spend several years in Athens and Rhodes, in order to acquire part of that noble and philosophical knowledge, which the Greeks, even in their decadence, did not fail to teach. Down to the latest times, Roman education was mainly a practical one, shunning all the higher and moral ideal objects which were so fervently embraced by the Greeks. In the times of the emperors, the Romans devōted an undue amount of attention to the art of oratory, but even then they neglected the science of philosophy, as well as mathematical and astronomical speculations, by the cultivation of which the Greeks immortalized their names.[1]

The education of a Roman resembled, in its main features, the education of the majority of the people of our land, who, after having laid a foundation of general knowledge, rush into real life, and the experience there obtained completes what the schools omit. Public life was the domineering factor in Roman education. Their

[1] "As the twig is inclined, the tree is bent." The difference here pointed out characterized the two people throughout, and left indelible marks on history.

men were public men, men who either yielded to public opinion, or who tried to wield the opinion of the public. We will fail to understand the spirit of Roman civilization, unless we represent to ourselves the great importance of public life as opposed to private life. Without exaggeration, we can say that there was little private life in ancient Rome. Rome knew only of public life, the life of the streets, of the forum, of the campus, of the army and navy, and every Roman was more or less engaged in these



Circus Maximus.

public activities. Hence, all the sports, games, amusements, etc., of the people, were of a public character. This point must be steadily kept in view, if we would understand Roman institutions. These general reflections will help us to understand the public amusements of the people, and in the first place, the amusements of the circus.

The circus was a place for athletic contests and for chariot and horse races. When Tarquinius Priscus had taken the town of Apiolæ from the Latins, he commemorated his success by an exhibition of races and pugi-

listic contests in the Murcian Valley, between the Palatine and Aventine hills, around which a nnmber of temporary platforms were erected by the *patres* and *equites*, each one raised a stage for himself upon which he stood to view the games. This course, with its surrounding scaffoldings, was termed "circus." Previous to the death of Tarquin, however, a permanent building was constructed for such games, with regular tiers of seats in the form of a theater. To this the name of "Circus Maximus" was subsequently given to distinguish it from other similar buildings, which it surpassed in extent and splendor, and hence it is often spoken of as *the* circus, without any distinguishing adjective.

Of the Circus Maximus, scarcely a vestige now remains beyond the palpable evidence of the site it occupied and a few masses of rubble work in the circular forum, which may be seen under the walls of some houses in the Via de Cerchi, and which retain traces of having supported the stone seats of the spectators. This loss is fortunately supplied by the remains of a small circus on the Appian Way, commonly called "the circus of Caracalla," the ground-plan of which, together with much of the superstructure, remains in a state of fair preservation. The seats, termed collectively the *cavea*, were arranged as in a theater. The last rows were separated from the ground by a *podium*. The tiers of seats were divided longitudinally and diagonally by passage ways. Toward the extremity of the upper branch of the *cavea*, the general outline is broken by an outwork which was probably the *pulvinar* or station for the emperor, as it is placed in the best situation for observation and in the most prominent part of the circus.

In an opposite branch is situated another interrup-

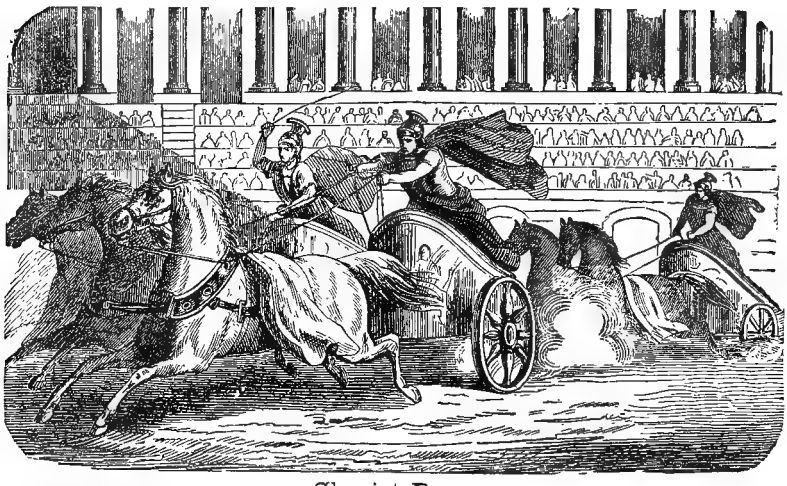
tion to the uniform line of seats, showing also from its construction a place of distinction, which might have been assigned to the person at whose expense the games were given. In the center of the area, was a low wall running lengthwise down the course, which, from its resemblance to the position of the dorsal bone in the human frame, was termed *spina.* At each extremity of the spina, were placed upon a post three conical, wooden cylinders like cypress trees, which were called *metae* (the goals). The most remarkable objects upon the spina were two columns supporting seven conical objects, which, from their resemblance to eggs, were called *ova.* Their use was to enable the spectators to count the number of rounds which had been run, for which purpose they were first introduced by Agrippa. They were, therefore, seven in number, such being the number of circuits made in each race, and as each round was run, one of the ova was put up or taken down.

At the other extremity of the spina, were two similar columns, sustaining seven dolphins, which do not appear to have been intended to be removed, but only placed there as corresponding ornaments to the ova. At the extremity of the circus, in which the two horns of the cavea terminated, were placed the stalls for the horses and chariots, commonly called *carceres.* The number of these carceres is supposed to have been usually twelve. They were vaults, closed in front by gates of open wood work, which were opened simultaneously, upon a signal being given, by removing a rope attached to pilasters placed for that purpose between the stalls.

The games in the circus embraced six kinds. First, the races; second, the Trojan games; third, the equestrian battles; fourth, the gymnastic contests; fifth, the chase; and, sixth, the naval battle. The games com-

menced with a grand procession, in which all those who were about to exhibit in the circus, as well as persons of distinction, took part. Statues of the gods, paraded upon wooden platforms, formed the most conspicuous feature in the procession.

They were borne upon the shoulders as the statues of saints are carried in modern processions. The races (*cursus*) formed the most common games. The chariots, employed in the races, were drawn by two or four horses. The usual number of chariots entered for each race was



Chariot Race.

four. The drivers were also divided into four companies, called *factiones*, each distinguished by a different color, to represent the four seasons of the year. The driver stood in his car within the reins, which went around his back. This enables him to throw all his weight against the horses by leaning backwards, but it greatly increased his danger in case of an upset; to avoid this peril, a sort of knife or bill-hook was carried at the waist, as is seen in some ancient reliefs, for the purpose of cutting the reins in the case of emergency.

When all was ready, the doors of the carceres were flung open, and the chariots were formed abreast of the *alba linea.* The signal for the start, sometimes the sound of trumpet or, most generally, the fall of a napkin, was then given by the person who presided at the games. The alba linea was then cast off and the race commenced, the extent of which was seven times around the spina, keeping it always on the left. A course of seven circuits was termed *unus missus*, and twenty-five was the number of races run each day. The victor descended from his car at the conclusion of his race, and ascended the spina, where he received his reward, consisting of a considerable sum of money, which accounts for the great wealth of Roman charioteers. A single horseman attended each chariot, the object of which arrangement seems to have been twofold—to assist his companion by urging on the horses, when his hands were occupied in managing the reins, and, if necessary to ride forward and clear the course.

The enthusiasm of the Romans for these races exceeded all bounds. Lists of the horses with their names and colors and those of the drivers were handed about, and heavy bets made upon each faction; and sometimes the contests between two parties broke out into open violence and bloody quarrels. The Emperor Justinian nearly lost his crown in consequence of disputes which originated in the circus. The Trojan games were sort of sham fights, said to have been invented by Aeneas, performed by young men of rank on horseback. As to the other kinds of games, their names show their nature.[1]

A most important class of games yet remains to be described; the gladiatorial combats. These games were

[1] This account is extracted from Smith's Dictionary, "Greek and Roman Antiquities," art. Circus.

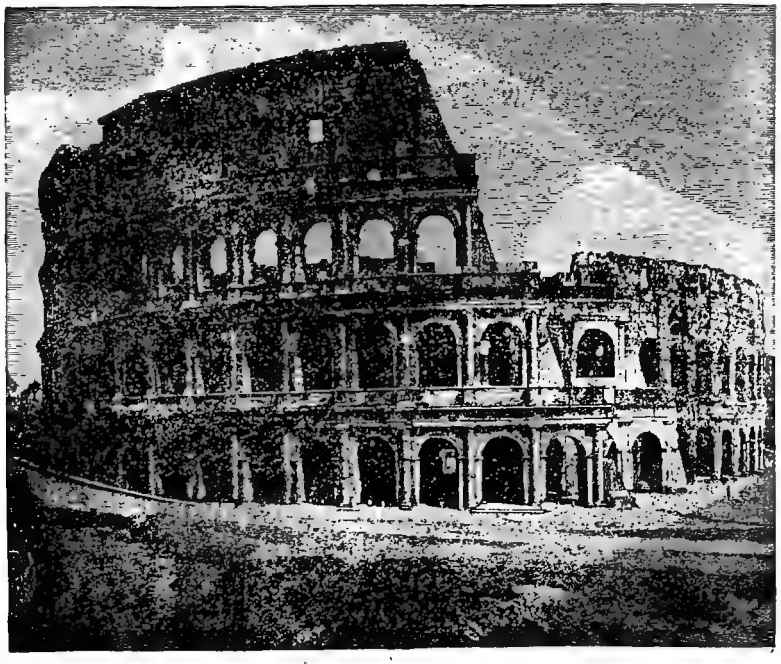
generally executed in the amphitheater. There were several amphitheaters in Rome at different times, and it was among the designs of Augustus to erect an amphitheater in the midst of Rome in keeping with the magnitude of the city. It was not, however, until the reigns of Vespasian and Titus, that the design of Augustus was carried into effect, by the erection of the Amphitheatrum Flavium, or as it has been called the Colosseum. This wonderful building, which for magnitude can only be compared to the pyramids of Egypt, is perhaps the most striking monument of the material greatness of Rome under the empire. It was commenced by Vespasian, but at what precise time is uncertain. It was completed by Titus, who dedicated it in the year 80 A. D., on which occasion five thousand animals of different kinds were slaughtered. The Flavian amphitheater became the place where princes and people met together to witness those sanguinary exhibitions, in which the Roman people delighted. In the reign of the emperor Macrinus, it was struck by lightning, by which the upper rows of benches were consumed, and so much damage was done to other parts of the structure, that the games were for some years celebrated in another locality. Its restoration was commenced by Emperor Elagabalus, and completed by Alexander Severus. It was again struck by lightning in the reign of Emperor Decius, but was soon restored and the games continued to be celebrated in it down to the sixth century. Since that time, it has been used sometimes in war as a fortress and in peace as a quarry. Whole palaces, such as the Cancellaria and Polazzo Farnese, were built out of its spoils. At length, the popes took steps to preserve it.[1]

Notwithstanding the damages of time, war, and spolia-

[1] Consult Smith's Dictionary, art. Amphitheater.

A ROMAN TRIUMPH.

tion, the Flavian amphitheatre still remains complete enough to give us a fair idea, excepting in some minor details, of the structure and arrangement of this kind of buildings. The very site of the Flavian amphitheater, as of most others, furnishes an example of the prodigal contempt of labor and expense, which the Roman emperors displayed in their great works of architecture. The Greeks, in choosing the sites of their theaters, almost always availed them-



Colosseum at Rome.

selves of some natural hollow on the side of a hill; but the Roman amphitheaters, with few exceptions, stand on plains. The site of the Colosseum was in the middle of the city, on the marshy ground which was previously the pond of Nero's palace. Figures can not give an adequate conception of this vast structure. Its dimensions and arrange-

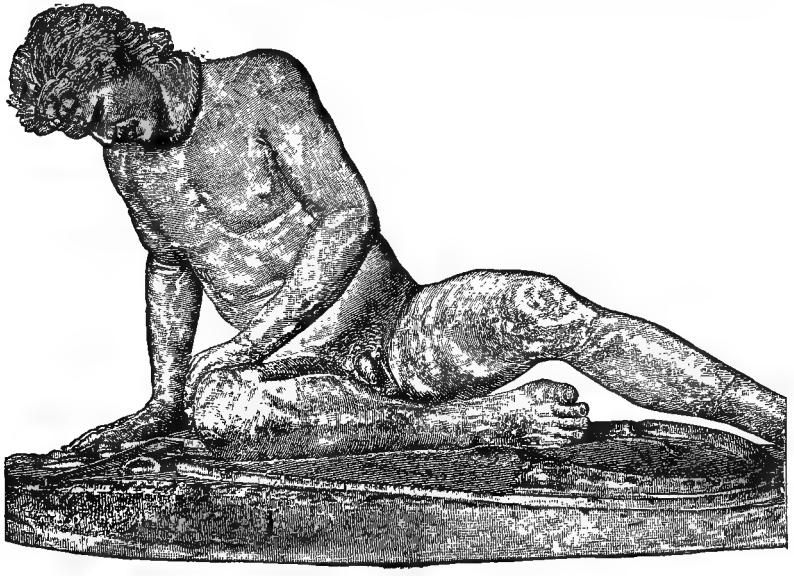
ments were sufficient to furnish seats for eighty-seven thousand spectators; it inclosed an arena large enough to afford space for the combats of several hundred animals at once, or that sufficed for the evolution of mimic sea-fights and the exhibition of artificial forests. Its passages and staircases gave ingress and egress without confusion to the immense mass of spectators, and for those who fought in the arena. There were dens for the thousands of animals devoted to destruction. There were also channels for the rapid influx and outlet of water, when the arena was used for the naval battle; and the means for the removing of the carcasses and the other abominations of the arena. We need simply add, that the wealth and luxury of Rome were exhausted in adorning this enormous building.[1]

The gladiators who fought in this arena, were men who were trained to fight either with their fellow men or with wild beasts. The origin of such contests is thought by some to be the practice among savage people of immolating slaves and prisoners on the death of illustrious chieftains, a practice recorded in Greek, Roman, and Scandinavian legends, and even much later in the Indian suttee. Even at Rome, they were for a long time confined to funerals and hence the older name for gladiators was *bustuarii*; but in the later days of the Republic, their original significance was forgotten and they formed as large a part of the public amusements as the theater or the circus. The first gladiators are said to have been exhibited at Rome by Marcus and Decimus Brutus, at the funeral of their father, B. C. 164. On this occasion only three pairs fought, but the taste for these games spread rapidly and the number of combatants grew. Julius Caesar engaged

1 An admirable picture of the magnitude and magnificence of this amphitheater is drawn in the latter part of Gibbon's twelfth chapter.

such extravagant numbers for his aedileship, that his political opponents took fright and carried a decree of the Senate imposing a certain limit of numbers; but notwithstanding this restriction, he was able to exhibit no less than three hundred couples.

During the later days of the Republic, the gladiators were a constant element of danger to the public peace. The more turbulent spirits among the nobility had each his band of gladiators to act as a body-guard, and the armed

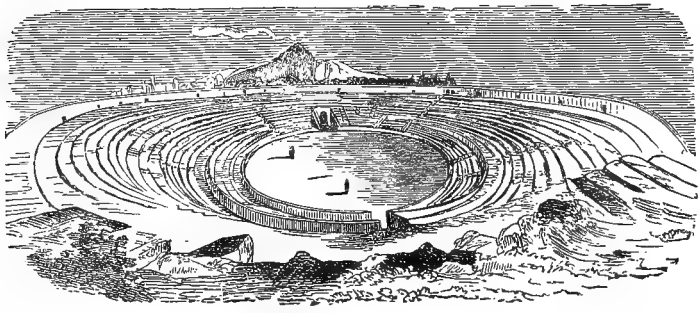


Dying Gladiator.

troops of Clodius, Milo, and Catilina played the same part in Roman history as the armed retainers of the feudal barons or the *condottieri* of the rebellious republics. Under the Empire, notwithstanding sumptuary enactments, the passion for this species of games steadily increased. Augustus limited the shows to two a year and forbade a praetor to exhibit more than a hundred and twenty gladiators; but many allusions in the Roman poets, show that a hun-

dred pairs was the fashionable number for private entertainments. In a description still extant, the emperor states that more than ten thousand men had fought during his reign. The Emperor Claudius was devoted to this pastime and would sit from morning until night in his chair of state, descending now and then to the arena to coax or force the reluctant gladiators to resume their bloody work.

Under Nero, senators and even well born women appeared as combatants. Emperor Titus ordered a show which lasted one hundred days, and Trajan, in celebration of his trumph over Decebalus, exhibited five thousand pairs of gladiators. Domitian instituted chase by torch-



The Amphitheater in Pompeii.

light, and at a festival, in the year 90 A. D., he arranged a battle between dwarfs and women. Even as late as 200 A. D., an edict was passed forbidding women to fight. How widely the taste for these sanguinary spectacles extended throughout the Roman provinces is known by monuments, inscriptions, and the remains of those amphitheaters. From Britain to Syria, there was not a town of any size that could not boast its arena and annual games.

Gladiators were drawn either from prisoners of war, slaves, or criminals condemned to death. In the first

class, we read of tattooed Britons in their war chariots, Thracians with their peculiar bucklers and cimeters, Moors from the villages around Atlas, and Negroes from Central Africa. Down to the time of the Empire, only great malefactors, such as highway robbers and incendiaries, were condemned to the arena; but by Caligula, Claudius, and Nero, this punishment was extended to minor offenses, such as fraud and peculation, in order to supply the growing demand for victims. In the first century of the Empire, it was lawful for masters to sell their slaves as gladiators, but this was forbidden by Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius. Besides these three regular classes, the ranks were recruited by a considerable number of freedmen and Roman citizens who had squandered their estates and voluntarily took the profession of gladiators. Even men of birth and fortune frequently entered the lists, either for the pure love of fighting or to gratify the whim of some dissolute emperor, and one emperor, Commodus, actually appeared in person in the arena.

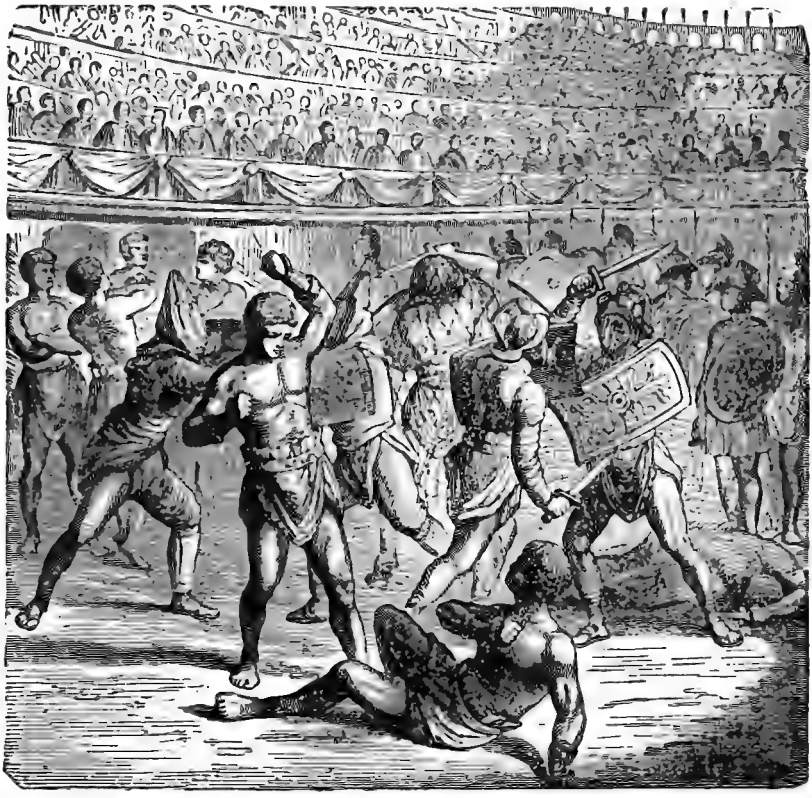
Gladiators were trained in schools, owned either by the state or by private citizens; and, though the trade of a *lanista* (a trainer of gladiators) was considered disgraceful, to own gladiators and let them out for hire was reckoned a legitimate branch of commerce. Cicero in his letters to Atticus, congratulates his friend on the good bargain he had made in purchasing some gladiators, and urges that he might easily requite himself by consenting to let them out twice. Men recruited mostly from slaves and criminals, whose lives hung on a thread, must have been more dangerous characters than modern galley-slaves or convicts; and, though highly fed and carefully attended, they were, of necessity, subject to an iron discipline. In the school of gladiators discovered at Pompeii, of the sixty-

three skeletons buried in the cells, many were in irons. Still, hard as was the gladiator's lot, so hard that special precautions had to be taken to prevent suicide, it had its consolations. A successful gladiator enjoyed far greater fame than any modern prize-fighter or athlete. He was presented with broad-pieced chains and jeweled helmets, such as may be seen in the museum at Naples; and poets, like Martialis, sang his praise, and his portrait was multiplied on vases, lamps, and other articles, and (human nature is so persistently the same) high-born ladies contended for his favors. Mixed, too, with the lowest dregs of the city, there must have been many noble barbarians condemned to the vile trade by the hard fate of war. There are few finer characters in Roman history than the Thracian Spartacus, who, escaping with seventy of his comrades from the school of Lentulus at Capua, defied the legions of Rome. After the Emperor's defeat at Actium, the only part of his army that remained faithful to his cause was the gladiators, whom he had enrolled to grace his anticipated victory.

There were various classes of gladiators, distinguished by their armor or the modes of fighting. The Samnites fought with their national weapons, a large, oblong shield, a visor, a plumed helmet, and a short sword. The Thracians had a small, round buckler and a dagger curved like a scythe. They were generally pitted against the *mirmillones*, so-called from the fish which served as the crest of their helmet. In like manner the *retiarius* was matched with the *secutor*. The former had nothing on but a short tunic or apron and sought to encircle his pursuer, who was fully armed, with the cast-net that he carried in his right hand, and if successful, he dispatched him with the trident that he carried in his left. We may also mention the *andabatae* who wore helmets with closed visors.

The *essedarii* who fought from chariots like the ancient Britons, and the *laqueatores* who tried to lasso their antagonists.

The estimation in which gladiatorial games was held by Roman moralists deserves notice, and so also the influence that they exercised upon the morals and genius of



Fighting Gladiators.

the nation. The Roman was essentially cruel, not so much from spite or vindictiveness, as from callousness and defective sympathies. This fact may be easily explained by the daily habits of the Roman people. If a people are accustomed to move in masses, in aggregates of

men, they will quickly loose those delicate emotions which the individual private life requires and which, as a rule, are entirely stifled in the movements of masses. We may easily observe the change of feelings which comes over us when we stand in the midst of a large mass of people. Our finer sentiments become obtuse and we lose our sense of delicacy, which is entirely supplanted by the rougher, coarser, and also more cruel kinds of sentiments natural to a mass of people. That the sight of blood-shed provokes love of blood-shed and cruelty is a common-place of morals.

To the horrors of the arena, we may attribute in part the frequency of suicide among the Romans. It is one of the finest remarks of Lessing that the Romans were unable to produce a great dramatic writer because of their love of the arena. People, who could see, unmoved, real agony and the real unmitigated horrors of death could not be satisfied with the imitation of agony on the tragical stage; and, accordingly, we find that the Romans, while they produced a few good writers of comedies, as Plautus and Terentius, never produced a great writer of tragedy. In connection with this fact, we remind the reader that the Greeks, as remarked above, abhored the games of the arena and, by thus retaining all the delicate, subtle nature of their feelings were enabled to write the most touching tragedies.

But we must not exaggerate the effects or draw too sweeping inferences from the prevalence of gladiatorial or similar amusements in Rome. Human nature is happily illogical, and we know that many of the Roman statesmen who gave these games and themselves enjoyed these sights of blood were in every other department of life irreproachable. They were indulgent fathers, humane

generals, and mild rulers of provinces. In the present state of society, it is difficult to conceive how a man of taste could gaze upon a scene of human butchery: yet we should remember, that it is less than half a century since bear-baiting was prohibited in England; and we are only now attaining that stage of morality in respect to cruelty to animals that was reached in the fifth century, by the help of Christianity, in respect to cruelty to men.

We shall not, then, be greatly surprised if few of the Roman moralists be found to raise their voices against this amusement, except on the score of extravagance. Cicero, in a well-known passage, commends the gladiatorial games as the best discipline against the fear of death and suffering that can be presented to the eye. The younger Pliny, who perhaps of all Romans approached nearest to our ideal of a cultured gentleman, speaks approvingly of them. Marcus Aurelius, though he did much to mitigate their horrors, yet, in his writings, condemns the monotony rather than the cruelty. Seneca is indeed a splendid exception, and his letters to Lentulus are an eloquent protest against this inhuman sport. In the Confessions of Augustine there occurs a narrative, which is worth quoting as a proof of the strange fascination which the games exercised even on a religious man and a Christian. He tells us how his friend Alipius was dragged against his will to the amphitheater; how he strove to quiet his conscience by closing his eyes; how, at some exciting crisis, the shouts of the whole assembly aroused his curiosity; how he looked and was lost, grew drunk with the sight of blood, and returned again and again, knowing his guilt, yet unable to abstain. The first Christian emperor was persuaded to issue an edict abolishing gladiatorial games in the year 325 A.D., yet, in 404, we read of an ex-

hibition of gladiators to celebrate the triumph of Honorius over the Goths, and it is said that they were not totally extinct in the West until the time of Theodoric.

Besides the gladiatorial games and the races, there were the *Ludi Magni*. They were originally a votive feast to Capitoline Jupiter, promised by the general when he took the field and performed on his return from the annual campaign. They thus presented the appearance of a military spectacle, or rather a review of the whole Burgess force, which marched in solemn procession from the capitol to the forum and thence to the circus. First came the sons of Patricians, mounted on horseback; next the rest of the Burghers, arranged according to their military classes; after them, the athletes, naked save for a girdle around their loins; then the company of dancers with the harp and flute players; next the priests in colleges, bearing censors and other sacred instruments; and, lastly, the images of gods, carried aloft on their shoulders or drawn in carts. The chase in the circus was the baiting of wild animals, which were pitted either with one another or with men. The taste for these spectacles grew until the most distant provinces were ransacked by generals and pro-consuls to supply the arena with rare animals, giraffes, tigers, and crocodiles.

Roman Lictors.

The other great public amusement of the Romans was the theater. Plays given in the Roman theaters were not national plays, representing the types and figures of Ro-

man life, but they were mostly composed after Grecian patterns. The two most celebrated writers of Roman plays, Plautus and Tarentius, modeled their plays almost exclusively according to their Grecian masters. The actors and actresses were despised by the public, and thus theaters were far from forming a part of the nation's life as they did in Greece. There successful writers of plays, as Sophocles, were honored with a military leadership; or, in modern times, great actresses and dramatic authors were generally the recipients of great honors. The peculiarly stern and rigid character of the Romans is well shown by their abhorrence of dancing. In the words of one of their great writers (Cicero), no sober man will dance. They considered dancing a consequence of intemperance and could not conceive of a man enjoying the pleasure of dancing in a decent way. Among them all, dances were performed by hired people, mostly servants or profligate women.

The Romans attributed great importance to the cultivation of bodily exercises and bodily purifications. Almost every city in the vast empire, possessed bathing-houses with the most luxurious, practical, and beautiful arrangements, where, in addition to the lotion of the body, all possible amusements were offered. It was in their public bath-houses where the Romans met; where they generally discussed the events of the day; where they listened to the arts of great reciters, to the lectures of jurists, of philosophers, and of all kinds of scientists. Frequent bathing, was a necessity for the Romans, since as they did not know the use of shirts, cleanliness demanded a constant purification of the body.

The Romans had only two meals a day or, if we take it in a strict sense, only one. The breakfast consisted of

a piece of bread and dried fruit. Many people did not take it at all. Then followed a very light luncheon and, after the bath, the meal proper, the *coena*. The table, which in rich houses was made of citron, maplewood, or even ivory, was covered with a table-clothe (*mantele*); and each of the different courses, sometimes amounting to seven, was served upon a waiter. But the dinner usually consisted of three ourses only. First the *promulsis*, called also *gustatio*, made up of all sorts of stimulants for the appetite. Eggs were considered so indispensable to the first course that they almost gave a name to it. Of birds, the Guinea hen, the pheasant, and the thrush were most in repute. The liver of the capon steeped in milk and becaficoes, dressed with pepper, were considered delicacies. The peacock acquired such repute among the Roman gourmands, that it was commonly sold for fifty *denarii*. Other birds are mentioned, such as the duck, especially its head and breast, the woodcock, the turtle, and flamingo, the tongue of the latter especially commended itself to the delicate palate of Roman nobles. Of fish, the variety was still greater. The charr, turbot, sturgeon, and mullet were highly prized and dressed in the most various fashions. Of solid meat, pork seems to have been the favorite dish, especially sucking pigs. The paps of a sow, served up in milk, the flitch of bacon are mentioned by Roman writers. Bear's flesh and venison were also in high repute.

Roman Soldier

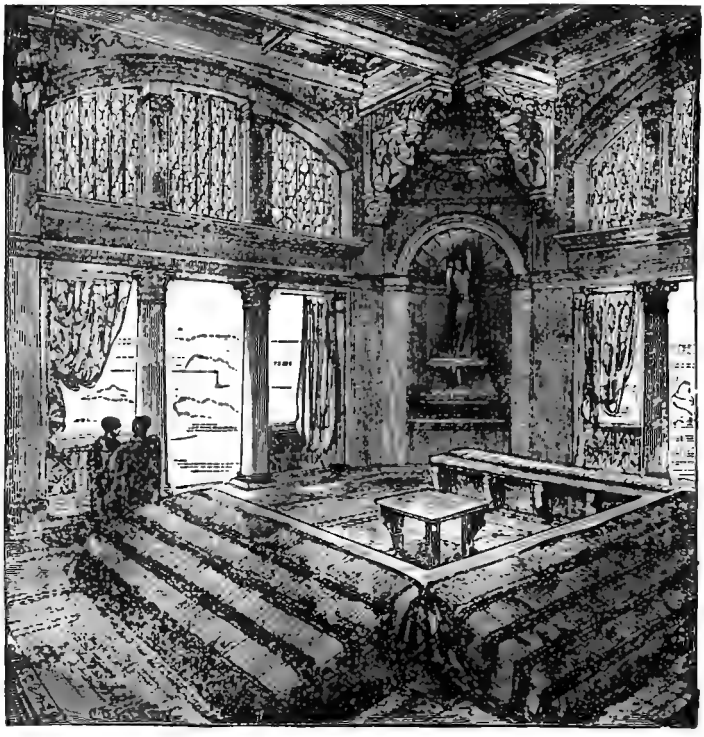
Condiments were added to most of the dishes. Such

was the *muria*, a kind of pickle made from the tunny fish. Another condiment was made from the intestines of the mackerel. Several kinds of truffles and mushrooms are mentioned, which either made dishes by themselves or formed the garniture for larger dishes. It must not be supposed that the cooks of imperial Rome were at all behind ourselves in the preparation and arrangement of the table. In a large household, the functionaries, to whom this important part of domestic conomy was entrusted, were four—the butler, the cook, the arranger of the dishes, and the carver. Carving was taught as an art, performed to the sound of music with appropriate gesticulations.

We will now suppose the table spread and the guests assembled, each with his *mappa* or napkin, and in his dinner dress, usually of a bright color and variegated with flowers. First they took off their shoes for fear of soiling the couch, which was often inlaid with ivory or tortoise shell and covered with a cloth of gold. Next they lay down to eat. They reclined on the left elbow, supported by cushions. There were usually, but not always, three on the same couch, the middle place being the most esteemed and honorable. Around the table stood the servants clothed in tunics. Some removed the dishes and wiped the table with a rough cloth. Others gave the guests water for their hands or cooled the room with fans. Here stood a servant half behind his master's couch, ready to answer the noise of the fingers, while others bore large platters of different kinds of meat to the guests.

The coena, in Cicero's day, at all events, was an evening meal. A dinner was set out in a room called *Coenatio*. The coenatio, in rich men's houses, was fitted up with great magnificence. The historian Suetonius mentions a supper-room in the golden palace of Nero, constructed like a thea-

ter, with shifting scenes to change with every course. The Greeks and Romans were accustomed in later times, to recline at their meals, but even in the time of the early Roman emperors, children, in families of the highest rank, used to sit together at an inferior table while their fathers and elders reclined on couches at an upper part of the room.



Roman Dining Hall.

Roman ladies continued the practice of sitting at the table, even after the recumbent position had become common with the other sex.[1]

The Romans, as well as the Greeks, indulged in very hard drinking. In their time, as well as at present, Italy

[1] This account of the dining customs of the Romans is extracted from Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, article "Coena."

produced some of the most delicious wines of the world. It is a remarkable fact, however, that the places celebrated for very delightful grapes in antiquity are nowadays entirely deprived of good vine-yards and do not furnish a drinkable wine. The Romans made all kinds of fruit-wines from the various fruits of their orchards, but they never indulged in beer. At their meals they accepted the Greek custom of electing a "master of the revels," who

Taking the Toga Virilis.

directed the number of goblets to be emptied by each guest. In addition to this, they generally drank the health of their friends according to the Greek fashion, that is to say, they drank as many goblets as there were letters in the names of their friends. They never drank wine without a mixture of water; to do so was considered barbarous. We seldom or never hear of Roman women joining the drinking parties of men, and even the frequent exaggerations in Roman satirists, like Martial and Juvenal, show their exaggerated character but too evidently.

The chief dress of a Roman was the toga. This was a nearly elliptical piece of cloth, its greatest length being three times the height of the person who wore it and its greatest breadth equal to at least twice the height of the wearer. It was of thin, woolen stuff, and, as to color, was always white for the ordinary citizen. A white toga with a purple border was worn as a distinction by those holding public offices, entitling them to the *curule* chair (made of ivory) and the *fasces* (a bundle of twigs with an ax); by the great college of priests (*Flamenes Diales*, *Pontifices*, *Augurs*, *Arvales*), but in this case only during the act of performing their offices; and by boys up to their sixteenth year, when they assumed the *Toga Virilis*. The tribunes and aediles of the Plebeians and the quaestors were denied the right to wear the purple bordered toga. A purple toga was always the mark of high office and as such was worn by the magistrates of republican times, though only on public occasions, as well as by the emperors. It was sometimes embroidered with gold and it could only be worn with an under-dress of the same color. The toga with a purple border could only be worn over a white tunic with a purple stripe. It was laid aside when the wearer retired from office, but the purple stripe on the tunic was retained, and became, in consequence, the distinguishing mark of the senatorial order.

The *tunica* was the other dress of the Romans. It reached half-way down the thigh and was girt around the waist. The people generally wore two tunicas; some, like the Emperor Augustus, even wore four. The one next to the skin was known as the *subucula* and the other as the *intusium*. Only the latter had sleeves and over it passed the girdle. The tunicæ of the senatorial order were adorned with a broad purple stripe down the front, while

those of the knightly order had two narrow stripes of the same color. This garment was usually of linen, and the national color, for ordinary purposes, was white. Poor persons, were doubtless content with the natural color of the linen or wool; and, when in mourning, the higher classes generally wore a dark colored one though this was not always the rule.

More convenient than the toga, but retaining a general likeness to it, was the *pallium*. Some toilet articles were worn only by certain classes, or at certain times. The *trabea* formed the official dress of the seers (*Augurs Salii*) and was purple. The *paludamentum*, worn by the emperor as head of Rome, was also purple in color, though white was allowed. The *sagum*, similar to the last, was worn only by soldiers. The *paenula*, was worn, in rainy weather generally, to cover the dress. It was made of thick, flaxen material or of leather, with or without a hood. It was elliptical in shape with a round hole in the middle for the head to pass through. The *lacerna*, formed of expensive materials and colors, was worn in the theater or circus in the presence of the emperor. As regards covering for the head, there was the hood of the pænula in rough weather, or the toga could be drawn up over the head, or there was a separate article, called *ricinium*, in the form of a veil. Workmen and others wore hats or caps. As an ornament for the head, the diadem was only occasionally used by the emperors before the time of Constantine. It was declined by Caesar. After Caracalla, the most usual mark of an emperor was a crown of rays.

The heavy garments worn out of doors were replaced at dinner, as we have said above, by garments of thin material. Trousers were not worn until comparatively late, and even then only by soldiers, who were exposed to

northern climates. The Romans ridiculed the tight trousers and pants of northern nations, and they could not understand how people of sense could prefer tight garments to the comfortable ample dress of the toga or tunica. The legs were protected by flat bands, laced around them up to the knees. On the feet, senators wore shoes of red leather, ornamented with knobs of ivory or brass and having a

Household Utensils.

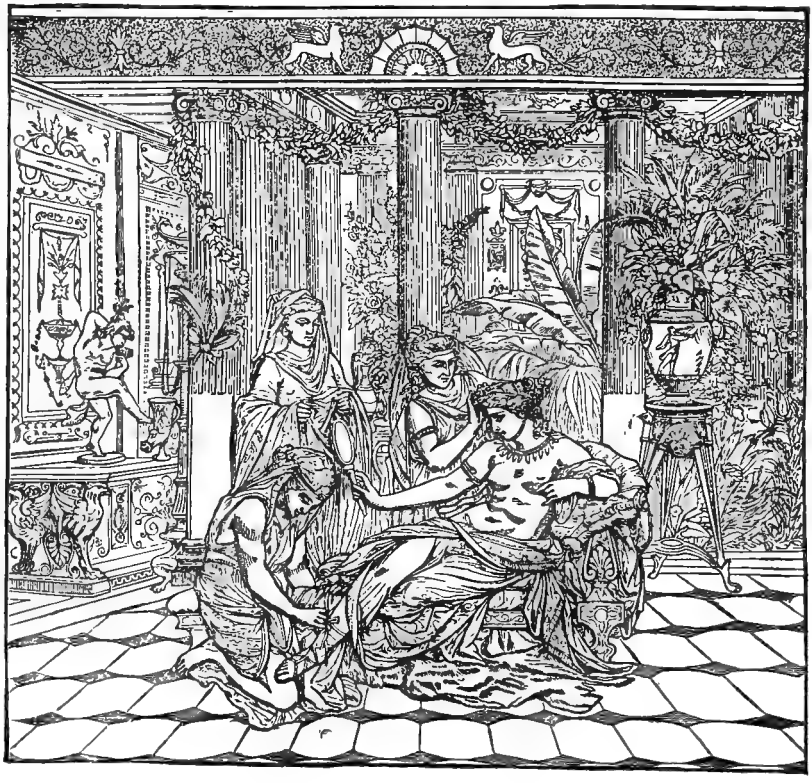
high sole. The Patrician order wore shoes of black leather, ornamented with an ivory crescent for non-official occasions. Persons not belonging to these orders wore sandals. The *compagus*, said to have been introduced from Etruria, appears to have been a sort of shoe.

For personal ornament, finger-rings of great variety of material and design were worn, sometimes to the extent

of one or more on each finger. Many persons possessed small cabinets of them. At first the Roman citizen wore only an iron ring as a signet, then a gold ring was introduced for persons sent on foreign embassies, but by degrees the right of the golden ring was extended to all classes of citizens. In the case of baldness, a wig was allowed to men as well as women during the Empire. The hair and the beard were allowed to grow long until about 290 B. C. From that time, shaving the hair short was the fashion, but, under Hadrian, long beards again came into fashion.

For the lady's toilet we may mention first, the *tunica interior*, loose and without sleeves. Across the breasts passed the *mamillare*, then came the tunica proper, generally called *stola*, girt at the waist, and having sleeves fastened down the arms as in the Greek *chiton*. Over this was thrown, for out-door wear, the *palla* or plaid. A veil over the back of the head was the mark of a well-to-do matron. In rainy weather, a hood like the Etruscan *cucullus* was worn. To cover or hold up the hair, nets were used; but this simple article was far from common among the Roman ladies, whose chief characteristic inworking of art is the elaborateness of their manner of braiding and twining the hair. Subsequently a blonde color of hair became fashionable, and to produce this color dying was resorted to. Nor were the ladies of ancient Rome unacquainted with various innocent means of increasing their charms. Generally the eyebrows and eyelashes were painted. Even the veins on the temples were sometimes touched with delicate blue color. The complexion was improved by various powders and waters. The teeth were carefully looked after, false ones making up the deficiency of nature. For the feet, sandals, but, by preference, shoes were made use of, generally of bright colors

and embroidered with gold or pearls. Socks or stockings were confined to ceremonial occasions. Personal ornaments consisted of brooches, bracelets, armlets, ear-rings, necklaces, wreathes, and hair-pins. The torques, or cords of gold, worn around the neck, were introduced from Gaul. A profusion of precious stones was used. Roman jewelry



Roman Lady at her Toilet.

was distinguished from Greek or Etruscan by the absence of skill and refinement in workmanship, but not in character of designs.

From what we have had to say of Roman education and manner of life, we would not expect to find them in the possession of a very extensive literature unless it be

on some intensely practical subject; such for instance, as law. Yet, as wealth and luxury increased, it became fashionable to gather together libraries. The books were rolls; the material used varied, but that most generally employed was papyrus. *Librarii*, or publishers, supplied the demand for books. The only way in which books could be duplicated was by laboriously transcribing the contents. The scribes who performed this work were either slaves or free-men who worked for hire. Probably one person dictated to several scribes at once.

Roman Books and Rolls.

We will mention only a few of the authors of Rome. We will speak first of Cicero and his writings. Cicero, as a statesman and politician, acquired a vast knowledge of the factors and working causes of Roman civilization; and, consequently, in his writings we find the reflections of a mind richly stored with the treasures of both Greek

and Roman thought. These consist of fifty-six orations, several books on the art of oratory, philosophical treatises private letters and a few historical books. In his orations, we have the most perfect examples of oratory. Every oration is lucid; the diction is fluent and always appropriate. He never indulges in redundant phrases; he is always simple, always naive; he saves all the strength of his oratory for certain points, toward which he is constantly working; and so the whole of any of his orations is so well balanced and well proportioned, that we seldom leave him without being convinced, if not of the justice of his cause, at least of the magnificence of his defence. The most perfect of all his orations are those directed against Catiline and Verres. The daring courage of his orations against Catiline and the wonderful composure which he keeps up amidst the most furious onslaughts of political enemies will forever remain the delight of the reader and the dispair of the imitator.

In the domain of history, Rome can boast of several very great authors. There is, in the first place, the masterwork of Livy. It is, or rather it was at the time of its appearance, a complete history of Rome in one hundred and forty-four books,[1] of which we at present possess but thirty-five and a few abstracts of the rest. But even these fragments suffice to show us the great value, the fascinating style, the vast store-house of facts, the beautiful arrangement and general fairness and reliability of the work. Although he may lack the profoundness of Greek historians, he is still a most interesting narrator and one of the most instructive teachers. All are pleased with the pictures of the lives and actions of those heroes of Rome,

[1] The Romans divided their work according to books. A book corresponded to our modern chapter.

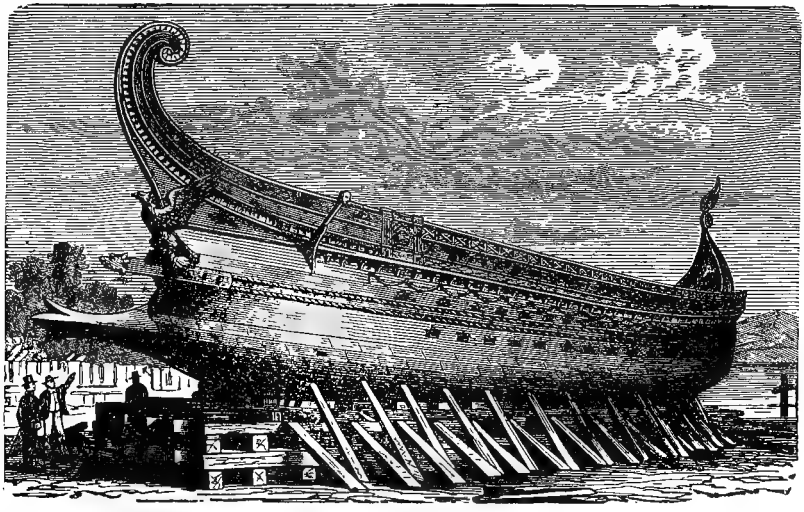
for in this form is told the history of Rome. Modern critics, it is true, have pointed out many a deficiency, especially in the first books of Livy, but Livy himself confesses that the first five books of his work are more poetical legends than sober history.

A second great historian of Rome is Tacitus. His works, the "Annales" and the "Historiæ," treat of the times of the first emperors with the exclusion of Augustus. He is full of deep reflections, although his temper is rather soured with the despondency of an old republican, who hates to see those institutions succumb to the encroachment of the emperors. His style is a work of art. It is so precise, so terse, that but seldom a word can be omitted without upsetting the fabric of a sentence. But he sometimes expresses a variety of ideas in two or three words, and this frequently leads to a certain darkness of expression; and, besides, many of his sentences admit of several explanations. But his meditations on the characters of individual emperors, or as he called them tyrants, his investigations into the constitution of a free people, his scathing remarks on the weakness and frailty of courtiers and of the people in general, are subjects of deep interest to the reader of all times, and more especially to the people of this country, where the republican system has been developed to a greater extent than ever before, and where, therefore, the dangers of loosing it are equally great.

Sallust

We had occasion to remark, a few pages back, that

the Romans did not produce any great writers of tragedy. Owing to the workings of the same law, perhaps, poetry was never a very favorite branch of literature among the Romans, and they do not rank as high as the poets of Greece. Every one knows the classical value of Virgil's writings. There is also a charm in the writings of Horace. In his poems, we find the composure of a well-balanced mind, the quietude, not of a dead intelligence, but of a philosophy, which, as the usual saying is, "takes things easy" and finds a blessing where the majority of people



Ancient Roman Ship.

find nothing but injury and misfortune. His writings exhale, as it were, the soothing odor, the quieting flavor of one of those Eastern aromatic compounds, of which, it is said, it allays all plaints and relieves the most violent attacks of pain.

Money and the mechanism of exchange play a very important part in the culture of all civilized nations of the present day. We have also pointed out the very great

influence of commerce in developing civilization.[1] We must therefore inquire as to the standing of the Romans in this matter. The passages in Roman writers treating of this topic are very obscure, admit of different explanations, and frequently have no co-herence with one another. Thus it was taught that the Romans, for several centuries, had no other money than the heavy, copper *as*; and it is related by Pliny, that a large debt in ancient Rome could be defrayed only by using several vehicles to transport

Funeral Ceremonies.

the money. As to the time when silver money came into use, the ancient authors have different reports; and, although we still possess a large number of silver coins of the time of the Republic as well as of the Empire, we can not fix the exact date of their introduction into the commerce of the city.

One point has, however, been made clear; that is that

[1] This Series, Vol. II. p. 230, 732.

the copper as was a representative money analogous to the use of paper in our times. Many people suppose, that paper money is an ingenious invention of the last few centuries, and that the ancient nations had no idea of the contrivance by which value is ascribed to a valueless thing and by which, in the opinion of some people, we could make ourselves independent of the products of silver and gold mines. But the idea of representative money goes back to the second millennium before Christ, the difference being that those nations did not use paper, and this for a very simple reason, they had no paper. They used iron bars or copper bars or leather, and they had a very distinct and precise idea about the commercial functions of such money. The Romans however had a complete banking system, and, through the excavations in Pompeii, we are pretty well acquainted with the inner machinery of the Roman banks. Their business consisted more or less in what it does to-day, in exchanging, advancing, loaning money, mortgaging property etc. Even their commercial books resembled ours to a great extent, although they were much simpler and much was trusted to the memory.

The Roman state, as such, never incurred debts; and, consequently, the modern ideas of "state debts" were entirely unknown. The Romans did not have the modern idea of taxing every citizen as high as possible, and of having a regular annual tax levy upon every household, in order to cover the expenses of the state. On the contrary, taxes were considered as an irregular, almost accidental thing. Booty from conquered people rendered the levying of taxes unnecessary. In the times of the Macedonian war, the immense booty from the conquered Greeks was sufficient to meet all demands of the state for many years. The income of the provinces, as well as the management

of the different mines, was leased out to corporations, and thus the whole system of the state was reduced to its simplest form of management.

Roman ideas about riches differed very extensively from our modern ideas. None of the Romans was as rich as some of our great bankers or railroad magnates, and the largest fortunes we occasionally read of, like that of Crassus or some of the savings of the Roman emperors, amounted to fifteen or twenty million dollars; but the trouble in Rome was, that riches and poverty were so unequally divided. The small land holders, at the time of Augustus, were almost entirely extinct; and in the time of the elder Pliny, that is in the latter part of the first century, almost all the land of Italy was concentrated in the hands of a few powerful land-owners. The Romans did not fail to notice this element of danger in the economical structure of their country, and the author just mentioned confesses that the *latifundia*, or the large estates as he calls them, would be the ruin of the state.

Although there were all necessary conditions for a brisk trade and an extensive commerce, the Romans as a rule were adverse to mercantile transactions. It is very easy to account for this fact. The Romans, in the first place, were soldiers, and military pride disdains the occupation of trading. The average Roman preferred to gain his wealth by plundering weaker people rather than trusting to the more prosaic chances of trade and commerce. Consequently the commerce of Rome was more or less in the hands of non-Romans, especially of Greeks, Jews, and Egyptians. Our ideas of commerce, as being a great interchange of necessaries, does not apply to the commerce of the Romans. The merchants generally rushed to those departments of trade, which promised big returns; jew-

elry, eastern pearls, opals, and eastern silk found a ready market in the imperial city.

Amongst the Romans many ceremonies attended the burial of the dead. Believing, as all ancient people did, in the worship of ancestors, the tomb was a sacred spot. Every important family had its own burial place. It was generally believed that the shades of the departed could not rest if the body were allowed to remain unburied. Hence non-burial was considered a great calamity. Should

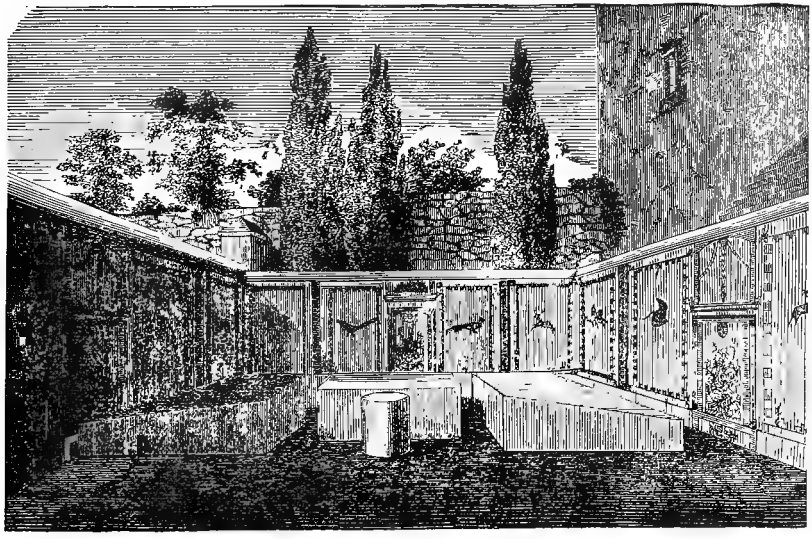
Specimens of Roman Art.

strangers chance to find an unburied body, they were expected to throw earth on it at least thrice.

Many little incidents of death-bed scenes show the survival of bits of primitive superstition. Such was the loud calling on the dead to return.[1] After death the undertakers, *Libitinarii*, were called, who took charge of all arrangements for burial. The body, when prepared, lay in

[1] Cf. Vol. II. p. 269.

state in the atrium on the *Lectus funebris*. Here friends brought leaves and flowers, and had the deceased when alive acquired the right to wear a crown, it was placed on his head. By the side of the lectus, a censer was placed; and, near the door of the house, a pine or cypress was planted, symbolical of death, and also serving as a warning to those persons who were forbidden on religious grounds to enter a house where there was a dead body.



Place of Eating the Funeral Meal.

When the day of burial arrived, a strange procession accompanied the body. In front there marched officers to preserve order, musicians, hired mourners, and *Mimi* or people who undertook to represent the traits of character of the deceased. Then followed a ghastly company, people wearing the masks of the deceased ancestors of the dead. Thus symbolically, the deceased ancestors accompanied the body of their recently dead kinsman to his grave. Then came the body, borne on the lectus, followed by mourning relatives and friends. The procession wound its way to

the Forum, and the funeral oration was delivered from the tribune.

Nine days after the burial, there came the last sad, sacrificial meal. It consisted of simple dishes, partaken of near the grave, for which purpose sometimes special triclinia (*triclinia funebra*) were built. Sometimes games were provided for the general multitude, who were likewise regaled with food and presents of money.

Offerings to Mars.

We have now tried to describe the home life, both public and private, of the Roman citizen. We must observe that the whole tendency of such a life was in the direction of immediate, practical ends. They were not, like the Greeks, discussing questions of deep philosophical and scientific import, or deciding points in fine art; but more practical questions engaged their attention; how conduct this war; how govern that province; how get the most tribute from such a people. They examined every question from such a stand point. And to their credit, be

it said, that every subject they had to settle they generally settled in a most enduring manner. To make foreign conquests, disciplined soldiers were needed; accordingly the Roman army was drilled as soldiers never were before. To get the most good out of conquered provinces, something more was necessary than to simply extort a vast tribute; accordingly, for the first time in the history of the world, an intelligent attempt was made to fuse the various conquered people into a homogeneous whole. To attract commerce to the shores, it was necessary to treat foreigners justly, extend to them the protection of laws, an idea unknown to the older tribal law; hence in Rome we find the law for foreigners, or equity, taking its rise.[1] When the time at length arrived for the old tribal customs to be codified and enlarged to suit new ideas, we find the Romans evolving that splendid product of their genius, the Roman Civil Law.

The statements just made will go far to explain the sudden rise to power of the Roman commonwealth. If we recall the political history of Rome,[2] we find that in a short time, comparatively speaking, the Romans reduced to their dominion the then known world. It is no easy matter to explain this fact. A mere knowledge of the progress of the various conquests, of the successive campaigns, of victorious battles, of the deeds of this or that general, will afford no explanation of the sudden splendor of the Roman conquest and civilization. This same phenomenon attracted the attention of ancient writers as early as the second century before Christ. At that era, we find Polybius, a Greek historian, who, as a statesman, was frequently engaged in settling political affairs with Roman generals, and who, besides, was the personal friend of Scipio Afri-

[1] This Series, Vol. II. p. 231.

[2] Above ch. iv.

canus, writing a large work on the history of the then known world with the express intention of accounting for the sudden growth of the Roman commonwealth—that growth being by far the most striking fact of classical antiquity.

It is a common-place statement, that the wisdom, the valor, the self-restraint, in one word, that the domestic virtues of the Romans were chiefly instrumental in bringing to pass the great facts of their history. In almost every hand-book of history, we find the author pointing to the virtues of a Cincinnatus, Regulus, Fabius Cunctator, Camillus, Scipio, Cato, etc., etc., as the real main-spring of Roman greatness. Now, while far from denying the beneficial influence of domestic virtue, although nobody will deny the great advantage accruing to a nation that can boast of such men, yet it is clear that these virtues, in themselves, are not sufficient to produce results equal to those that we find in the history of Rome. For every Roman who excelled in virtue of any kind, we can find a Greek who cultivated the same kind of virtue with equal success.

The Romans, themselves, taught their children to look to the heroes of Greece as their models and ideals, and the noblest Roman youth had no higher ambition than to copy the glorious king of Macedonia, Alexander the Great. The Roman historians, especially Livy and Cornelius Nepos, constantly hold up the warriors and sages of Greece as the patterns of morality, of all social and political wisdom. The Romans, themselves, therefore, never hesitated to confess that, as far as virtue and morality are concerned, other nations were on a par with them. We must look, then, for other causes, which are more or less independent of private morality, for an explanation of the

sudden and great rise in power of the Roman commonwealth.

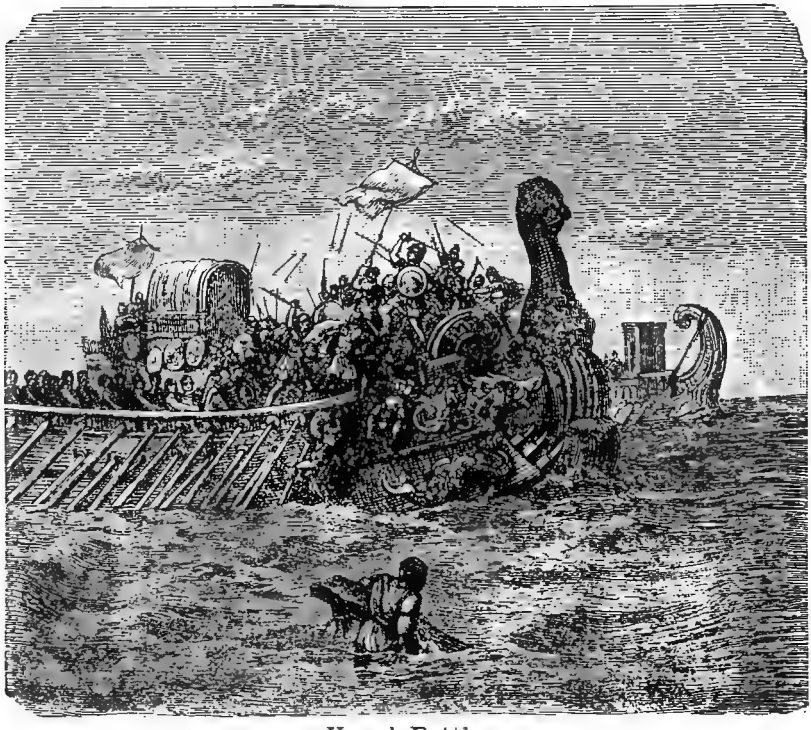
Polybius, writing as we have observed in the second century B. C., found an answer to this query in the form of government adopted by the Romans. In attempting to follow Polybius in his reasoning, we will be struck with the conservatism of the old Patrician tribes of Rome and their practical, sound sense. They indeed clung tenaciously to their rights, but were ready to yield when they saw that further resistance was useless. And, in thus yielding gracefully, they not only made the best terms for themselves, but they effected a compromise, which in turn led to the form of government which attracted the admiration of Polybius.

We must recall the constitution of tribal society in a normal state. There is first the tribal chief, an elected officer, but whose office tends to become hereditary, and whose powers, especially in times of war, are very great. Next, the tribal council, composed of the chiefs of the various phratries and gentes—all elected officers—who advised the head chief on all important matters, and whose decision even he is bound to obey. Finally, the general assembly of the people, which must be convened to discuss all laws and all proposed measures.[1] Now, as civilization advanced, the natural tendency would be for each of these departments of government to develop at the expense of the other two. The result would be, that, in the course of time and among different people, we would find representatives of the three different forms of government known to the ancients. If the office of head-chief developed at the expense of the other departments until the powers of government were absorbed by this one office, the result

[1] This Series, Vol. II ch. ii.

was a monarchy. If the council thus developed, the result was an oligarchy; or, if the general assembly absorbed these powers, the result was a democracy.

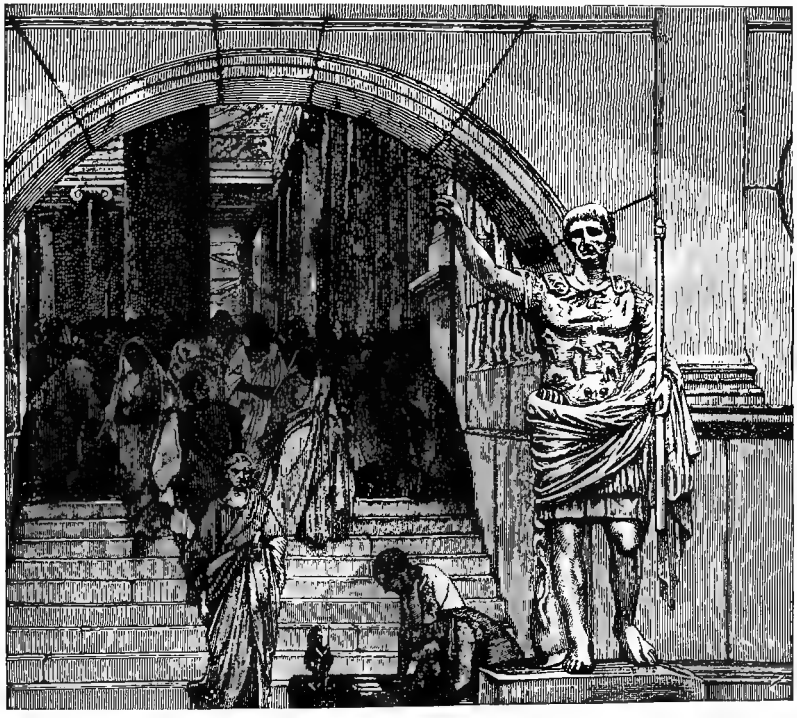
The above represents what we might call the natural development of government. But we, of course, understand that the form of government was often subverted by force. Now the ancients were acquainted with these



Naval Battle.

three forms of government and discussed the strong points of each; for, as all are aware, each had its strong and weak points. The trouble with many of the Grecian states, for instance, was that they were divided into factions, each clamoring for its desired form of government, and when one party, as at Athens, gained the ascendency, the other was almost extirpated.

Now Polybius concludes, from a study of the Roman state, that it alone of all the states of his time had a system of government, which combined the strong points of the three systems. If that be so, then, in the case of Rome, we have a normal development of tribal society, which, as above remarked, is a striking proof of the practical conservatism of the people. Turning to the gov-



Audience with a Roman Emperor.

ernment of Rome we find much to confirm this conclusion. A number of officers still exercised powers analogous to those of the old rex or tribal-chief. Such were the consuls, in a less degree the censors, and in times of emergency the dictators. The consuls were really year-kings, and the direct heirs of the older life-kings. Like the old tribal chiefs, their powers were greatest in times of war.

In point of fact, the dictator exercised greater power than a king.

The tribal council survived in the senate of Rome. It consisted of the best and wisest and, to some extent, the worthiest citizens of the state. In its meetings, the more important topics of the state were the subjects of deliberation. It was a corporation, which, in its dignity and in its wisdom, made the impression of a collection of kings. The senate occupied a position half-way between the legislative and the monarchial powers. Instead of interfering with the machinery of the state, it served as a sound and healthy check in times of political fury; and thus it promoted the welfare of the state and acquired a respect and esteem which made its decrees and ordinances, in course of time, equal to laws passed by the whole nation. It was the senate of Rome that drew up treaties, ordained regulations for conquered nations, carried on the immense political business of the city, regulated the forces of the most distant provinces, sent out armies and directed their marches.

As for the general assembly of the people, it is well known that it was in full vigor at Rome. All laws, properly so-called, were passed in the assemblies, or as the Romans called them, in the comitia, where every Roman citizen had a right to cast his vote. This assembly was indeed considered the supreme power of the Roman commonwealth, inasmuch as all was depending on laws, and laws could not be enacted by any other power than by the general assembly. It was there that the great magistrates—the consuls, the censors, the prætors—were appointed; it was there that the great leaders of the armies were elected.

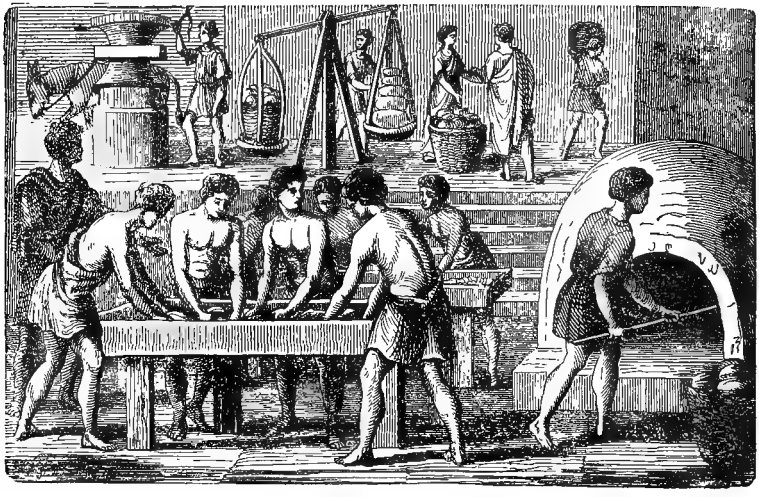
Some modern writers think with Polybius, that here

is the explanation of the sudden rise of Rome. It gives us some light but does not explain all. We need but go a little way back in time to find the same government in Greece.[1] But by the second century B. C., the ancient institutions in that country had largely disappeared, owing to the incessant conflict between the ruling and subject classes.[2] Rome had indeed this same conflict to meet,[3] but though clinging tenaciously to their ancient customs, they granted from time to time such concessions to the people as enabled them to retain a large measure of their government.

It now only remains to inquire what were the peculiar characteristics of Roman civilization, what was their part in developing Aryan civilization in general, and what was their great legacy to the civilization of the present. The Romans were not distinguished in the field of literature, science, and art. That was the province of Grecian civilization. They were distinguished in the direction of government. Away back in the night of time, we see the three tribes[4] of singular ethnical mixture[5] that composed the Patricians of Rome, rising on the banks of the Tiber. After some centuries of time, they succeeded in reducing to their power a large portion of Italy.[6] In the meantime they had passed through the conflict which came to all the tribal societies of antiquity; the conflict between the ruling tribes and their subject people, who were continually pressing for a share in the government. And we have just pointed out how from this conflict they had emerged, in the early days of the Republic, with a government which attracted the admiration of the ancients.

[1] Recall the kings, ephors, gerushia, and assembly in Sparta; the archons, council, and assembly in Athens. This Series Vol. II. p. 185 *et seq.* [2] This conflict is traced in Vol. II. p. 187 *et seq.* [3] Ibid. p. 195 *et seq.* [4] Vol. II. p. 198. [5] Above p. 266. [6] Above p. 274.

These centuries of conflict had trained them in the art of governing. The whole aim of the Patrician tribes was to retain the practical advantages of their position. This was the question that confronted the Roman citizen from childhood to old age. Their education and manner of life show that this was the main aim. We need not wonder, then, that we have before us such a prosaic matter-of-fact people, who cared little for merely intellectual pursuits, and disdained many of the more innocent enjoyments of other nations. On the contrary they



A Bakery in Rome.

delighted in the brutal games of the amphitheater, and lived only to extend their power and influence, to increase their wealth and luxury.

Their power, skill in diplomacy, and vigorous intellect were now united for the conquest of the world, and one people after another fell before them. They did not hesitate to use treachery if it would advance their ends. They understood well the art of fanning the flames of internal dissentions among a people they wished to subdue.

It is, perhaps, not surprising that they succeeded, and reduced the whole world to their power. But to their credit be it said, that the conquered provinces were organized, governors were appointed, cities built, roads surveyed and laid out, and the Roman law gradually extended over them.

Here then we see their great influence on Aryan civilization. It was a great step in advance when the numerous independent and war-like tribes of a country, like Gaul for instance, were brought under subjection to one central power, under the workings of one system of laws. Development in civilization went forward rapidly. With consummate wisdom also, the ruling powers at Rome, from time to time, extended the benefits of Roman citizenship to the more prominent leaders in their provinces. Thus was gradually built up a state of vast power, posessing a civilization, which, if it lacked the polish of Grecian civilization, embodied a great store of practical wisdom, better suited perhaps to the real wants of practical life.

One inquiry yet remains before us, what was the great legacy of the Romans to our present civilization. After our remark on the skill of the Romans in the difficult task of governing, it may not occasion surprise to learn that the answer to the question is—The Civil Law. People who would govern well must know how to legislate well. When we treated of Greek civilization, we drew the attention of our readers repeatedly to the fact that the great merit of that civilization was chiefly in the field of art. There Grecian genius showed itself at its best and in that field they continue to be the masters of the world. In Roman civilization, we find an analogous fact. The Romans were the first and the most perfect teachers of law; and their laws have come down to us in a form so lucid,

so instructive, so well arranged, that the majority of Romance nations could only accept them in spite of the fact that many of them had already developed a legal system of their own. In the field of legal science, then, we find the most important feature of Roman civilization. They

Roman Judgment Hall.

were at once the greatest law-givers, the best lawyers, and the most profound jurists. We will therefore point out the most salient points of their legal system in order to

illustrate its vast influence on the course of general civilization.

The Romans themselves used to complain that they had too many laws; but in fact, if we compare the number of their laws with those of a modern nation, we will be struck with their small number. They had, comparatively speaking, few laws and their laws were expressed in a terse, short, technical language, which however, every body understood, because every body participated more or less in the jurisprudence of the Republic. The Romans from the very first established the jury system. Every civil case was decided by a juror—eventually by three jurors—and this is one of the marked differences between the Roman and the English system. The great number of English jurors (twelve) is recognized as one of the great draw-backs of the system. In Rome one juror, as a rule, decided a case, though he generally called to his assistance two or three of the well known and learned jurists of the city, who formed his council. It is not surprising, then, that every educated Roman acquired a very adequate knowledge of the laws of his country.

In England and America, the development of law rests chiefly with the judges, and consequently every lawyer is compelled to form a vast library containing the various legal reports. In Rome, the development of law rested entirely with the jurists; and in their writings, they enlarged, commented upon, and revised the laws given in the legislature and in the senate. It is interesting to notice the form in which their writings have come down to us. In the sixth century after Christ, Justinian determined to collect the most important parts of the numerous writings of the Roman jurists into one vast collection. He entrusted his chancellor, Tribonian, with the task of collect-

ing and sifting this great mass of judicial lore. He, assisted by a number of other great lawyers and jurists, succeeded in making an abstract of the writings of thirty-nine of the best and most renowned Roman jurists, which were published under the title of "Digest".

One of the most ancient copies of this collection, a manuscript of the seventh century, inestimable in value, is still extant in Florence. It is kept under a glass cover, constantly guarded, no body being permitted to touch it unless by special permission of the municipality. In fact, so great is the value attributed to this manuscript that a formal ceremony is enacted while the spectators gaze on it. Amongst others, servants with torches in hand and soldiers with drawn swords stand around during the examination. This manuscript has been copied by various hands and its contents form the foundation of law and jurisprudence in most of the countries of Europe; though England refused to accept the Roman system of law, and, consequently, American courts, as a rule, do not pay much attention to the study of Roman jurists.

To the law of the Romans, then, we ascribe the vast importance of Roman civilization; for, as a matter of course, their law was a direct outcome of their civilization. We should estimate the value of the influence of different nations on civilization according to the lasting benefit that they were able to confer upon the world. Perhaps no nation of modern times, can compare in this respect with the Romans. We can not point to any one element in our civilization, as derived directly from the Semitic nations of antiquity. The influence of these people, though doubtless very great in developing civilization, is lost in the distance. This is true of the Assyrians and Babylonians, though they established vast empires, ruled many

millions of people, built numberless edifices of great beauty, collected large libraries, and conquered immense territories. But in the case of the Romans, we can say that they continue to exercise a great influence in the field of legal science. Every day, cases of the utmost importance are decided on the strength of the reasoning employed by some of the old jurists of Rome.

We have now finished our brief outline of Roman civilization. We have traced the rise of this people, have studied their national character, and have pointed out the direction in which they exerted their greatest influence in the development of Aryan civilization. Let us notice the rapidly widening sweep of Aryan culture. How contracted the area of Grecian civilization appears as compared with that of the Roman! And yet, less than half of Europe was brought under the sway of Rome. In tracing the political history of Rome, we have seen how that country, enervated by luxury, hopelessly divided by internal dissensions, finally disappeared as a political power before the ruthless march of the Teutonic tribes. But their culture did not disappear. It conquered the Teutonic invaders and was by them disseminated throughout the length and breadth of Aryan Europe. Let us now follow it into this, its third and last stage of development in the Medieval World.

# CHAPTER VIII.

## CULTURE OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

INTRODUCTION—Right Ideas as to the Middle Ages—Feudalism—Its Origin—Feudal Tenure—Ceremonies attending the Transference of a Fief—Duties of the Vassal—Military Service—Feudal Incidents—Reliefs—Fines—Forfeitures—Aids—Feudal Nobility—Origin of Classes—Free men—Villeins—Medieval Slavery—Feudalism, a Development of Tribal Society—Feudal Jurisdiction—Wager of Battle—Origin of this Custom—Rise of Free Cities—Chivalry—Its Origin—Influence of the Church in this Matter—The Page and his Duties—Squires and their Duties—Modes of Conferring Knighthood—The Ancient Ceremony—The Shortened Ceremony of Later Times—Classes of Knights—The Tournament—Knight Errantry—Estimation of Feudalism—Picture of the Middle Ages—The Crusades and their Influence—Powers of the Church—Estimation of Church Influence—Church Influence in the Matter of Advancing Knowledge—Trade in the Middle Ages—Social Life, etc.—Conclusion.

WIDENING stream of Aryan culture now enters on its third stage of development. By the end of the fifth century of our era, the Roman Empire, as a great political power, had disappeared. From out of the confused scenes of those far away centuries, we have traced the gradual rise of the present nations of Europe. We have yet before us the study of the culture of the Middle Ages. Greece was the solitary peak which first caught the glow of the rising sun; Rome, the mountain range shining afar; the Middle Ages, all Europe basking in the light of culture. Let us, then, enter on an investi-

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gation of the culture of this last period, and learn what we can of the culture of Europe in the Middle Ages, which, in a general way, may be taken to mean the thousand years preceding the discovery of America.[1]

The middle ages have been called the dark ages, a period of superstition, an age of church rule, and similar expressions—all denoting a retrograde state of civilization, all expressive of a stage of development inferior to that of the present. It is customary to look down upon those times and to decry the customs and habits of the nations and people. It is almost generally accepted, as a statement admitting of no doubt, that the middle ages form the dark part of European history, that there is an ugly gap between the brilliant times of classical antiquity and the still greater splendor of our own modern age. It is still further held that during that time, science and literature had scarcely an existence; that people in general were indiscribably ignorant and entertained the most ridiculous opinions. No doubt, it is easy to point to many erroneous ideas prevailing throughout that period. It is one of the easiest things to discover fault in other people; or, as in our case, in the culture of other ages.

Many of the opinions universally accepted in the middle ages are now known to be errors. We no longer believe, as did the people of that time, that since the capture of Jerusalem, all children are born with four teeth less than before. In general, we no longer believe in

[1] In our view of the middle ages, we have followed several of the best acknowledged authorities about the history and institutions of those times. Our main guides were the impartial Hallam, whose statements we frequently thought of accepting in his own words without constantly alleging his name; next in importance and as a controlling check to the Protestant Hallam, we followed the Catholic Cantu, the great Italian historian. Furthermore, K. F. Eichhon, as a guide in the legal field; Michaud, as to the crusades; John Selden, concerning knighthood; Muratori, concerning the church and general history, etc.

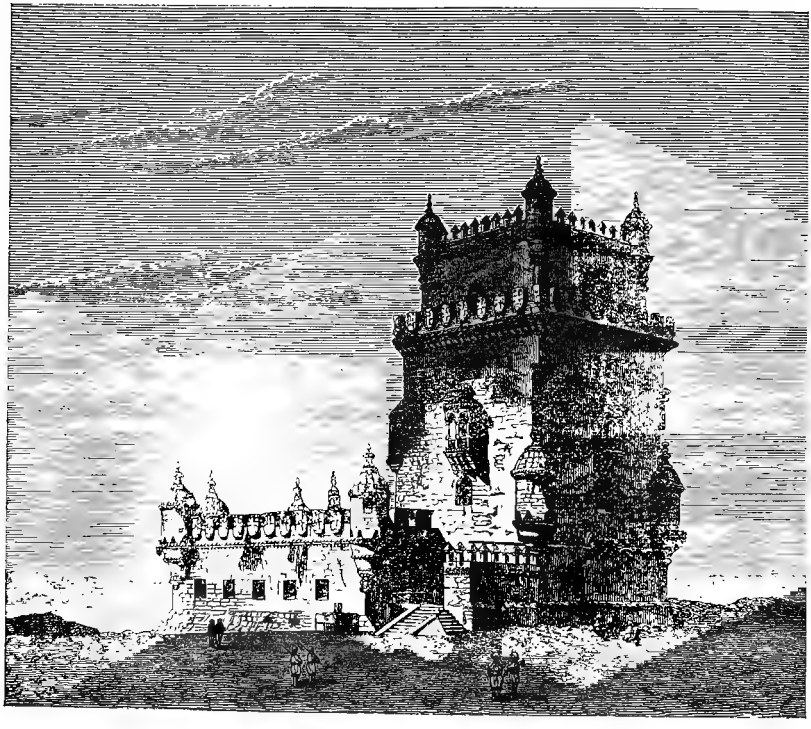
witchcraft and sorcery, though, in the middle ages, almost every one, even those most enlightened, believed in both. In the middle ages, the power of the church was supreme, and the influence of the clergy on the mental as well as temporal well-being of the people was enormous. These things have changed; and, at the present time, science and literature are flourishing. It is not strange, then, that our opinions differ, on many points, from those of the people of the middle ages, and that the influence of the clergy seems to be less than that of scientific ideas. After an earnest study of the middle ages, we find ourselves unable to agree with those who take extreme views as to the backward state of the culture of the middle ages. Far from denying the existence of many blemishes in their culture; far from denying that superstitions and false opinions were much more general in the middle ages than at present; and, far from denying that many of the institutions of those times seem to us exceedingly strange, we can but believe that the general judgment of writers on this point is far too severe. We think it has been unfairly biased by religious and party opinions. As is but natural, the historians of Protestant countries are inclined to exaggerate and thereby disfigure the features of a time in which the Catholic church reigned and ruled without opposition. To deny the many benefits conferred upon Europe and all the world by the institutions of the Catholic church is equivalent to a confession of ignorance. The institution of the Catholic church furthered the development of Europe, and, to a certain extent, preserved its very existence, and, therefore, it deserves the gratitude of mankind. It is very easy to decry, to indict, to arraign, but it is extremely difficult to prove.

In the following pages, we shall try to substantiate

our foregoing assertions; and in this rapid glance over the institutions of the middle ages, we will, we hope, be enabled to show that even those ages of "darkness," as they are sometimes called, show the presence of a large number of those goodly rays of light which only emanate from an enlightened state of society, and which tend to promote the welfare of man. We will try to show that, the church government of the middle ages did not arise from the ignorance of the people, but that it had its roots in the pressure of circumstances, which was stronger than the wisdom of a single man. We will try to show, that although literature and science were not cultivated to such an extent as they are at present, they still had a vigorous life within the walls of many convents. We will speak of the tranquil life of those Burghers who were the inhabitants of cities, and the pleasant, if narrow life of the peasantry. We will also speak of the poetry, of the music and art, of the commerce and industry of those bygone times; and, in so-doing, we hope to impress our readers with the conviction, that the middle ages, though inferior to our own time, had attractions and advantages of their own, showing that mankind never ceases in its career of progress. We need not treat of the many wars and battles, of the personal history of the innumerable princes, kings, and emperors, who ruled in the middle ages. We wish, on the contrary, to learn of the different institutions of domestic and public life, showing the manners and customs of private people, the way they earned their money, the manner in which they lived, their different professions, trades, and careers, and many other details of the home life of the people.

All have heard more or less of feudalism. Probably no one factor enters so largely into the peculiar feature of

the culture of the middle ages as feudalism. It is therefore extremely necessary to come to an understanding on that point. We must not make the mistake of supposing that feudalism was simply an invention of the middle ages; on the contrary its roots are to be found in the constitution of tribal society. Two sets of factors seem to



Feudal Castle in Rouen.

have united to bring it about. We have already had occasion to remark how, as civilization advances, the land on which a primitive tribe settled became the basis of classification; and how the gens survived in the *mark*, *gemeinde*, *commune*, or *parish*,[1] or, to speak in general terms, in agricultural communities.

1 Vol. II. p. 173.

We have also seen that this agricultural community was the land-holding body. All the joint-families forming the community had equal rights in the land, which at periodical times was divided among them. Liberty and equality, however, require for their preservation the exercise of sleepless vigilance. In the great majority of cases and in most countries, the agricultural communities did not sufficiently guard against the growing power of their village chiefs. The office was allowed to become hereditary; originally possessing no more right to the land than any other joint-family belonging to the community, they gradually were allowed to exercise property rights over the best portions of it, which finally was extended to the waste portions, and ended in the exercise of a sort of qualified ownership over all of the mark, or commune. By qualified ownership we mean that the original right of property was considered as belonging to the "lord" (for such the once elected chief had now become), and the original owners performed various acts acknowledging his supremacy.

In this way, there was steadily growing up in all the Aryan lands of Europe privileged ranks and classes. Then came the Teutonic conquest of the Western Empire. It is easy enough to see that when the conquered territory was divided the more powerful chiefs would receive grants of territory of great extent. "The cultivators of his land would either be persons settled on it by himself, or they would be vanquished provincials who had no rights which he did not choose to recognize or concede."[1] Here, then, would be a community built upon the model of the old Teutonic village community but of materials so plastic that it assumed a strangely different aspect.

[1] Maine: "Agricultural Communities."

As the conquered provinces were Roman provinces, where the Roman civil law had held full sway, and as that law gave great precision to all the relations of life, it is not surprising that feudalism assumed a thoroughly systematic form, having all the relations defined and specified. Neither is it strange that the "lord" emerges with greatly increased powers. This systematized form of feudalism now reacted on Europe, and thus, in the course of centuries, there grew up the state of society we designate as feudalism. Accounting for feudalism in this way, we perceive at once the significance of many terms.

Practically it tended to widen the chasm between the privileged classes and the masses of the people. Recognizing in a dim way the old relation of tribes-men and chief, it still sought to enforce the duties of each class—the former, the duty of obedience and military service; the latter of protection. As in the former state of society only after many formalities were strangers admitted to the tribe, so only by many formalities was land conveyed in fief. Feudalism finally became a wonderfully artificial form of government, resting down upon the land of the kingdom as a basis. Theoretically the ownership of all the land of the kingdom was vested in the crown. The most of it was granted out to a limited number of powerful leaders. Each of these proceeded to divide his territory in a similar way, thus there was a regular gradation of authority from the king to the lowest holder of a fief. With each subdivision there was created the relation of lord and vassal, with the duties we have outlined above.

Hence we can see how society in the middle ages was molded by the institution of feudalism. And we can see how necessary it is for us to make a study of it. Resting upon land as a basis, we can see how, in law, feudalism came

simply to mean a tenure of land. The land granted was a *fief*, the holder of it was a *feudary*, the service by which it was held was *feudal*. We can also see why medieval law was largely taken up with defining the rights and duties of lords and vassals.

In all cases of feudal tenure, there was a contract of support and fidelity. Whatever obligations this relation laid upon a vassal, corresponding duties of protection were imposed upon the lord. If these were transgressed on either side, the one forfeited his land, the other his right over it. Nor were motives of self interest alone appealed to. The associations founded upon ancient custom and friendly attachment; the impulse of gratitude and honor; the dread of infamy; the sanctions of religion, were all employed to strengthen these ties, and to render them as powerful as those of nature, excelling those of political society.

The ceremonies used in conferring a fief were principally three—homage, fealty, and investiture. The first was a solemn and significant expression of the submission and devotedness of the vassal toward his lord. In performing homage, his head was uncovered, his belt ungirt, his sword and spurs removed. Kneeling he placed his hands between those of the lord and promised to become his man from thenceforward to serve him with life and limb and worldly honor, faithfully and loyally, in consideration of the lands which he held under him. None but the lord in person could accept homage, which was commonly concluded by a kiss. An oath of fealty was indispensible in every transferrence of a fief, but the ceremony was less peculiar than that of homage and it might be received by proxy. It was taken by ecclesiastics, but not by minors. In language, it differed little from the form of homage.

Investiture, or the actual conveyance of feudal lands, was of two kinds, proper and improper. The first was an actual putting in possession upon the ground, either by the lord or his deputy, which is called in English law *livery of seizin*. The second was symbolical, and consisted in the delivery of a turf, a stone, a wand, a branch, or whatever else might have been made usual by the caprices of local custom.

Let us now inquire as to the duties of the vassal. These can not be exactly defined. The general statement is, that it was military service, and that, in its very nature, was uncertain. It was a breach of faith to divulge the lord's counsel, to conceal from him the machinations of others, to injure his person or fortune, or to violate the sanctity of his roof or the honor of his family. In battle the vassal was bound to lend his horse to his lord when dismounted, to adhere to his side while fighting, and to go into captivity as a hostage for him when taken. It was a question, agitated among feudal lawyers, whether a vassal was bound to fight with his lord against his own kindred; more important still was the question, whether he must do so against the king. In the works of those who wrote when the feudal system was declining or who were anxious to maintain the royal authority, this is commonly decided in the negative. There was a form of homage, prevalent in Normandy and some other countries, containing a reservation of allegiance due to the sovereign.[1] A law of Frederick Barbarossa enjoins that, in their oath of fealty to an inferior lord, the vassal's duty to the Emperor should be expressly reserved, but it was not so during the height of the feudal system in France. The vassals of Henry the second and Richard the first never hesitated to adhere to

[1] Coke on Littleton, sec. lxxxv.

them against the sovereign, nor do they appear to have incurred any blame on that account. Even as late as the age of St. Louis, it is laid down in his "Establishments" that

Storming a Fortified Town in the Middle Ages.

if injustice be done by the king to one of his vassals, the latter might summon his own attendants under penalty of forfeiting their fiefs to assist him in obtaining redress by

arms. The count of Britany, Pierre de Dreux, practically asserted this feudal right during the minority of St Louis. In a public instrument, he announces to the world that, having met with repeated injuries from the regent and denial of justice, he had let the king know that he no longer considered himself as his vassal, but renounced his homage and defied him

A measure of military service was generally settled by some usage. Forty days was the usual term, during which the tenant of a knight's fief was bound to be in the field at his own expense. In the kingdom of Jerusalem, feudal service extended to a year. It is obvious that this was founded on the peculiar circumstances of that state. Service of castle-guard, which was common in the north of England, was performed without limitation of time. The usual term of forty days was extended by St Louis to sixty except when the charter of infeudation expressed a shorter period, but the length of service diminished with the quantity of land. For half a knight's fief, but twenty days were due; for the eighth part, but five; and, when this was changed into a pecuniary assessment, the same proportion was observed. Men past sixty years of age, public magistrates, and, of course, women were free from personal service, but were obliged to send their substitutes.

A failure in the discharge of their duties produced forfeiture of the fief, but it was usual for the lord to inflict a fine, known in England by the name of *escuage*. Thus in Philip the third's expedition against the Count de Foix, in 1274, barons were assessed for non-attendance at a hundred sous a day for the expenses which they had occasioned, and fifty sous as a fine to the king; bannerets had twenty sous for expenses and ten as a fine. Knights and squires in the same proportion, but barons and ban-

nerets were bound to pay an additional assessment for every knight and squire of their vassals whom they ought to have brought with them into the field. The regulations as to place of service were less uniform than those in regard to time. In some places the vassal was not bound to go beyond the lord's territory further than he could retrace in the same day. Other customs compelled him to follow his chief upon all his expeditions.

We can see that the tendency would be for the lord to increase his power every way he could, and turn every incident of this relation to his advantage. In this way there arose what are known as feudal incidents. We must notice some of these exactions. When an heir succeeded to a fief he paid the lord a sum of money known as relief. Feudal lawyers have explained reliefs in the following manner. Fiefs, whether depending upon the crown or its vassals, were not originally granted in absolute ownership, but were renewed from time to time. Upon the death of the posessor, a sum would naturally be offered by the heir on receiving a further investiture of the fief. But another explanation, and one equally as plausible, is to suppose that reliefs arose from the inclination of the strong to oppress the feeble. When a feudal tenant died, the lord, taking advantage of his own strength and the confusion of the family, would seize the estate. Against this violence, the heir could in general have no recourse but a compromise.[1] Reliefs and other

[1] The literature of feudalism in general is enormous, but the really instructive works are few. Medieval institutions differed so essentially from our modern form of life that but few historians were able to conceive a just, clear, and comprehensive idea of them. Among them are Roth: "Beneficialwesen," of which work p. 205-422 relate to "feudal incidents," Stubbs on "Constitutional History of England," Vol. I. p. 552 and Vol. II. on feudalism. Waits' great work on "German Constitution," Vol. 7, 8, 9.

feudal incidents are said to have been established in France about the latter part of the tenth century, and they certainly appear in the famous edict of Conrad, the Salic, in 1037, which recognizes the usage of reliefs and escuage to the lord upon a change of tenancy. By the law of St. Louis, in 1245, the lord was entitled to enter upon the land if the heir could not pay the relief and posses them for a year.

Closely connected with reliefs were the fines paid to the lord upon the alienation of his vassals, and indeed we frequently find themcalled by the same name. The spirit of feudal tenure (dimly recalling the old tribal relation) established so intimate a connection between the parties that it could be dissolved only by mutual consent. If the lord transferred his rights, the tenant was to make known his concurrence, and this ceremony was long kept up in England under the name of *attornment*. The assent of the lord to the disposal by the vassal of his fief was still more essential and more difficult to be obtained. He had received his fief, it was supposed, for reasons peculiar to himself or to his family, at least his heart and arm were bound to his superior and his services were not to be exchanged for some other unknown man, who might be unable or unwilling to render them. A law of Lothair II. in Italy, forbids alienation of fiefs without the lord's consent.

This prohibition is repeated in the laws of Frederick I., and a similar enactment was made by Roger, King of Sicily. By the law of France, the lord was entitled, upon an alienation made by his tenant, either to redeem the fief, by paying the money, or to claim a certain part of the value by way of fine upon a change of tenancy. Many causes might arise by which the fiefs would re-

vert to the grantor. This might follow from the failure of heirs. Then again the fiefs were often taken from their holders as a punishment for some offense. Various causes are laid down in the decrees of Jerusalem whereby the vassal forfeits his land for a year, for his life ,or forever. Under rapacious kings, such as the Norman line in England, absolute forfeiture came to prevail and a new doctrine was introduced—the corruption of blood for acts of felony. In such a case the heir could never establish his claim to the fief, it reverted absolutely to the lord.

Another class of powers enjoyed by the lords was technically known as *aids*. These were in the nature of tribute exacted for various occasions. They depended a great deal on local custom and were often extorted unreasonably. Several are mentioned as existing in France, such as an aid for the lord's expedition to the Holy Land, for marrying his sister or eldest son, etc. This and other aids, occasionally exacted by the lords, were felt as a severe grievance, and by Magna Charta, fundamental documents of the English constitution, three only were retained—to make the lord's oldest son a knight, to marry his eldest daughter, and to redeem his person from prison. Aids are deserving of attention since they were

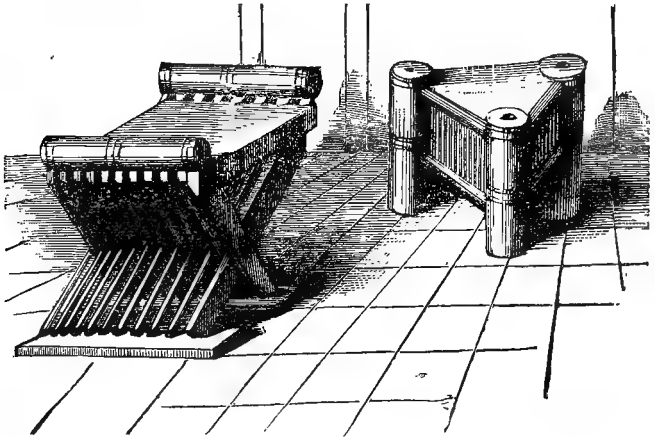
Suit of Armor.

the beginnings of taxation. They answered this purpose for a long while until the necessities and covetous policy of kings substituted for them more durable and onerous burdens. In England and in Normandy (which either led the way or adopted all these English institutions) the lord claimed the right of guardianship of his tenant during minority. He not only had the care of his person but he received the profits of the estate. This privilege seems to have been enjoyed by the lord in some parts of Germany, but in France, the custody of the land was entrusted to the next heir, that of the person to the nearest kindred of the blood who could not inherit.[1] From gross abuse of this custom in England, there arose what was known as the right of guardianship in chivalry, the temporary possession of the lands being assigned to strangers.

We will mention but one other exaction of the lord—that is the right of marriage. He could tender a husband to his female wards while under age, who could not reject him without forfeiting the value of marriage, that is, as much as any one would give to the guardian for such an alliance. This was afterwards extended to male wards, and became a very lucrative source of extortion for the crown, as well as for lords. This custom seems to have had the same extent as that of wardship. It is found in the ancient books of Germany, but not of France. The kings, however, and even inferior lords of that country, required their consent to be solicited for the marriage of their vassals' daughters. Several proofs of this occur in the history of France, and the same prerogative existed in Germany, Sicily, and England. We have been somewhat full in this matter, but the institutions of feudalism exer-

[1] Sir John Fortescue: "De Laudibus Legnum Angl." chap. xvi.

cised such a very great influence on the culture of the middle ages, that it is very necessary to understand the rights and duties which this relation created. We must notice its great influence in defining the classes of society. The possessors of beneficiary estates were in many cases the direct descendants of old tribal officials, and in all cases they were rich and influential leaders. They were intimately connected with the crown, and assisted in the exercise of justice and in the royal councils. Their sons in-



Chairs of the Middle Ages.

herited this eminence, and so, whether engaged in public affairs or living with magnificence and hospitality at home, they naturally drew to themselves popular estimation. The dukes and counts, who had changed from chiefs and leaders into lords over the provinces entrusted to them, were at the head of this noble class, and, in imitation of them, their own vassals, as well as those of the crown and even rich owners of absolute, or as it was called allodal property,[1] assumed titles from their towns or

[1] We must understand that at no time was all the land in the kingdom held by feudal tenure of a superior.

castles, and thus arose a number of petty counts, barons, and viscounts.

This distinct class of nobility grew apace with the feudal tenures. For the military tenant, however poor, was subject to no tribute but service in the field and such incidents and exactions as we have noticed above. He was the companion of his lord in the sports and feastings of his castle, the peer of his court. When he fought on horseback, he was clad in the coat of mail, while the commonalty, if summoned at all to war, came on foot with no armor of defence.[1] As everything in the habits of society conspired with that prejudice, which, in spite of moral philosophers, will constantly raise the profession of arms above all others, it was a natural consequence that a new species of aristocracy, founded upon the mixed considerations of birth, tenure, and occupation, sprang out of the feudal system. Every posessor of a fief was a gentleman, though he owned but a few acres of land and furnished his slender contributions towards the equipments of a knight.

Not all of the upper class were distinguished by actual holding of land. So, to distinguish them in this case from the common mass, two schemes were devised; namely, the adoption of sir-names and of armorial bearings. The first is commonly referred to the time when the nobility began to add the names of the estates to their own, or having in any way acquired a distinctive name of transmitting it to their posterity. As to armorial bearings, however, there is no doubt that similar emblems were, from time immemorial, used in war and peace.[2] But the general introduction of such bearings as hereditary distinct-

[1] Hallam: "View of the Middle Ages," chap. 2. part 2nd.

[2] Even in tribal society each gens had its totem mark.

ions has been attributed sometimes to tournaments wherein the champions were distinguished by fanciful devices, sometimes to the crusades where the multitude of all nations and languages stood in need of some visible token to denote the banners of their respective chiefs. In fact, the peculiar symbols of heraldry point to both these sources and have been borrowed in part from each other. Hereditary arms were, perhaps, scarcely used by private families before the beginning of the thirteenth century. From that time, however, they became very general.

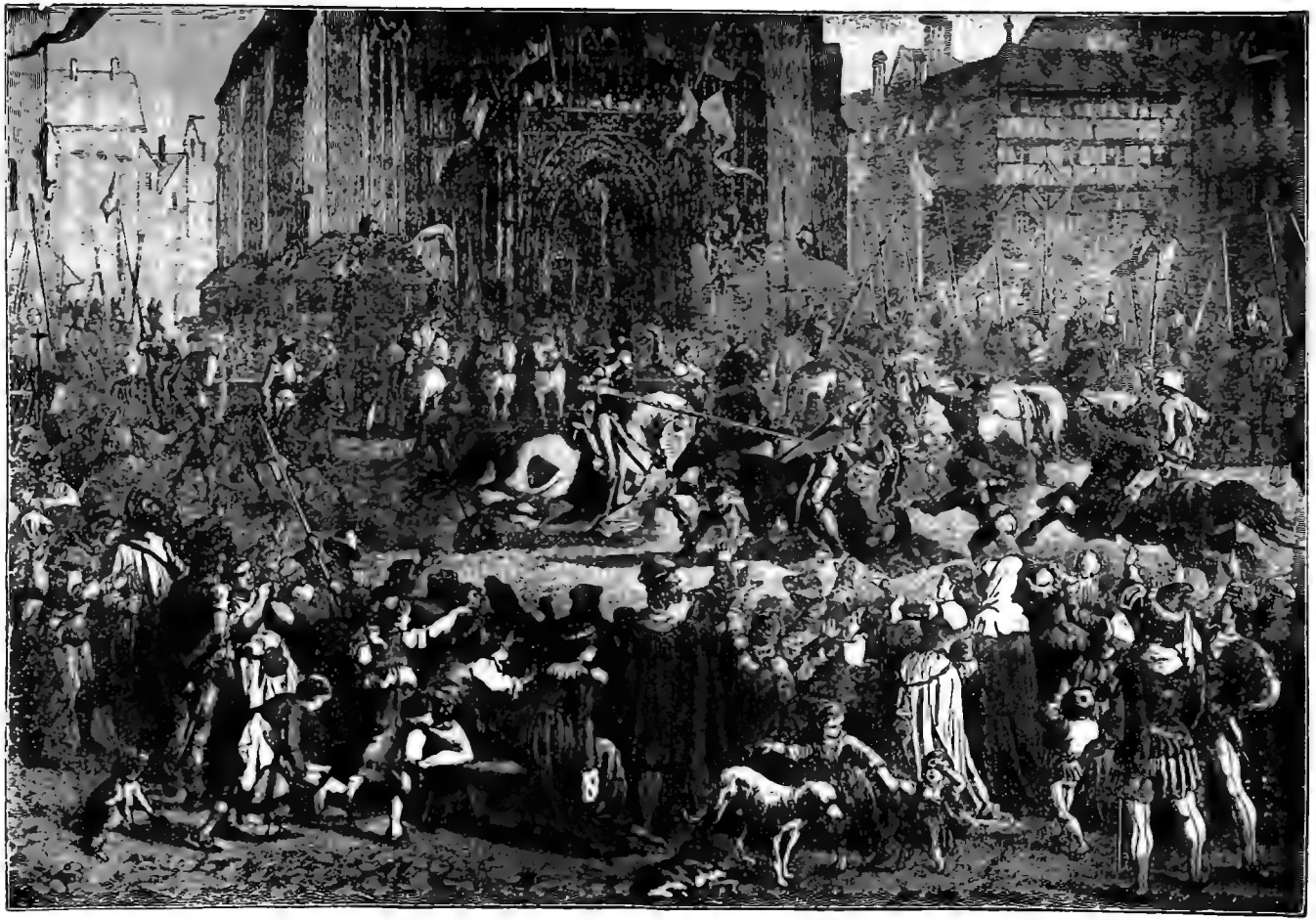
When privileges of birth were thus rendered capable of direct proof, they were increased in value, and thus a line was gradually drawn between the high-born and the ignoble classes, which finally became almost as broad as that which separates liberty from servitude.[1] All offices of trade and power, except those appertaining to the legal profession, were confined to the former class. A Plebeian could not possess a fief. Such at least was the original strictness, but as the aristocratic element grew weaker, an indulgence was extended to heirs and afterward to purchasers. They were elevated to the ranks of the nobility by the acquisition of an estate or at least by holding it for three generations. A gentleman in medieval France or Germany, could not exercise any trade without losing the advantages of his rank. A few exceptions were made, at least in the former country, in favor of some liberal arts and of foreign commerce; but in nothing did the feudal haughtiness of birth show itself more than in the

[1] The historical doctrine of armorial bearings and heraldry in general has recently been re-investigated by cool and cautious scholars. A number of them, led by Planche, Boutell, Seton, Nichols, and Lower, have set aside all the fabulous pretensions and baseless assertions of the earlier writers, have sifted the old evidence, and adduced much that is new.

disgrace which attended unequal marriages. No children could inherit a fief held immediately of the empire, unless both their parents belonged to the higher class of nobility. In France, the offspring of a gentleman by a Plebeian mother was reputed noble for purposes of inheritance and of exemption from tribute, but he could not be received into any order of chivalry, though capable of simple knighthood. Many instances occur where letters of nobility were granted to give them official rank. For several purposes it was necessary to prove four, eight, sixteen, or a greater number of quarters, that is, of coats worn by the paternal and maternal ancestors; the same practice still subsists in Germany, in Austria-Hungary, and in some other countries of Europe.

It appears, therefore, that the original nobility of the continent of Europe did not derive their rank from royal concessions. But the kings of France, before the end of the thirteenth century, began to assume a privilege of creating nobles by their own authority and without regard to the holding of land. Philip the Hardy, in 1271, was the first French king who granted letters of nobility. In the reign of Philip the Fair and his children, they gradually became frequent. This of course effected a change in the character of nobility. The privileges originally connected with ancient lineage and extensive domains, became common to the low-born creatures of a court, and consequently lost part of their title to respect. The lawyers pretended that nobility could not exist without a royal concession, and in return for their teachings, they were made official noblemen by the exercise of royal power.[1] The institutions of chivalry, as we will see, also gave rise to a vast increase of gentlemen; knighthood, on

[1] Reeves: "History of English Law," Vol. II. p. 354.



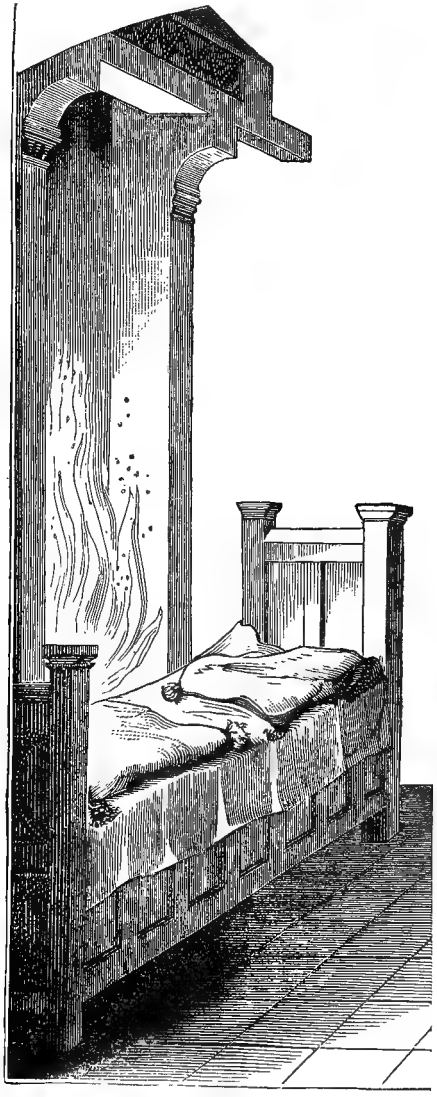
MEDIEVAL TOURNAMENT.

whomsoever conferred by the sovereign, being a sufficient passport to noble privileges. It was usual, however, to grant previous letters of nobility to a Plebeian for whom the honor of knighthood was designed.

Turning our attention now to this nobility, we learn that there were varying classes. Those in France who held lands immediately depending upon the crown, whatever titles they might bear, were included in the order of *barons*. These were originally the peers of the king's court. They possessed the higher territorial jurisdiction, and had the right of carrying their own banner into the field. To these corresponded the *vavasores majores* and *capitanei* of the German Empire. In a subordinate class, were the vassals of this high nobility. The *chatelains* in France belonged to the order of *vavasores*, as they held only secondary fiefs; but having fortified houses from which they derived their name and possessing ampler rights of territorial justice, they rose above the level of their fellows in the scale of tenure.

It will be needless to dwell upon the condition of the inferior clergy, whether secular or professed. The prelates and abbots, however, it must be understood, were feudal nobles. They swore fealty for their lands to the king or their superiors, received the homage of their vassals, enjoyed the same immunities, exercised the same jurisdiction, maintained the same authority as the lay lords among whom they dwelt. Military service does not appear to have been reserved in the beneficiary grants made to cathedrals and monasteries. When other vassals of the crown were called upon to repay the bounty of their sovereign by personal attendance in war, the ecclesiastical tenants were included within the scope of this feudal duty, which duty in general they were not reluctant to fulfill.

Charlemagne, the great emperor of Germany, exempted or rather prohibited them from personal service. The practice, however, prevailed in succeeding ages. Both in national and private warfare, we find very frequent mention of martial prelates.[1] We have many instances of their accompanying the army though not mixed in the conflict, and even the parish priests headed the militia of their villages.



Bedstead of the Middle Ages.

But not-withstanding the war-like disposition of some ecclesiastics, their general inability to protect the estates of their churches against rapacious neighbors, suggested a new species of feudal relation and tenure. The rich abbot elected an advocate whose business it was to defend his interests both in secular courts and, if necessary, in the field. King Pepin and Emperor Charlemagne are styled advocates of the Roman Church. This, indeed, was on a

1 One of the latest instances, probably, of a fighting bishop is Jean

magnificent scale, but in ordinary practice, the advocate of the monastery was some neighboring lord, who in return for his protection possessed many lucrative privileges and very frequently considerable estates by way of fief from his ecclesiastical clients.

The classes below the gentry may be divided into freemen and villeins. Of the first were the inhabitants of chartered towns, citizens and burghers, of whom more will be said presently. As to those who dwelt in the country, we can have no difficulty in recognizing, as far as England is concerned, the *socagers*, that is tenants who held land not by military service but by some other certain tenure, and a numerous body of tenants for a term of years or for life, who formed that ancient basis of the strength of England, the *yeomanry*. But in other countries freemen were not so clearly distinguished. In French records and law-books of feudal times, all besides the gentry are generally confounded under the name of villeins or *hommes de poste*. This shows the slight estimation in which all persons of ignoble birth were considered, for undoubtedly there existed a great many proprietors of land and others as free though not as privileged as the nobility. In the south of France and especially in the Provence, the number of freemen is said to have been greater than in the parts on the right bank of the Loire where the feudal tenures were almost universal. The villeins of feudal times form an interesting class of people. They seem to be the descendants of the conquered population, and thus had very few rights.

The characteristic distinction of a villein was his obligation to remain upon his lord's estate. He was not only precluded from selling the lands upon which he dwelt,

Montaigu, archbishop of Sens, who was killed at Agincourt, in 1415.

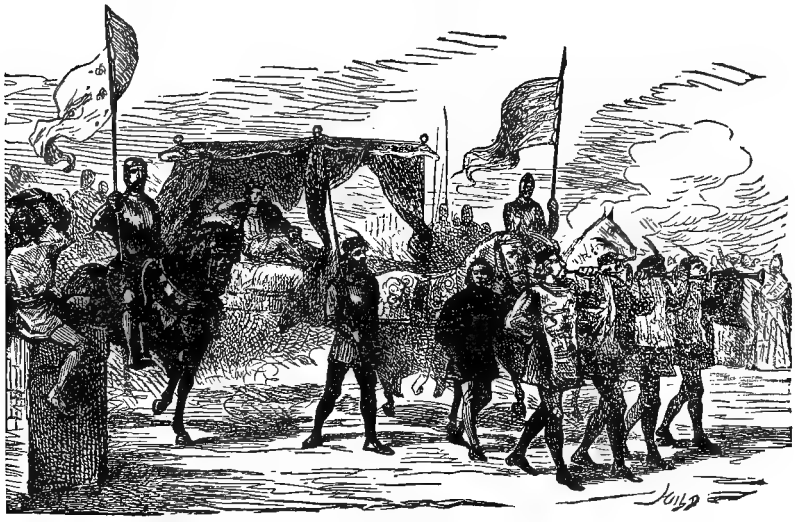
but his person was bound, and the lord might reclaim him at any time by suit in the court of justice if he ventured to stray. But equally liable to this confinement, there were two classes of villeins, whose condition was exceedingly different. In England, at least from the reign of Henry II., one only, and that an inferior species, existed, incapable of property and destitute of redress except against the most outrageous injuries. The lord could seize whatever they acquired or inherited, or convey a part of their land to a stranger. Their tenure bound them to what were called villein services, ignoble in every nature and indeterminate in every degree; the felling of timber, the carrying on of manual labor, the repairing of roads for their lord who seems to have possessed an equally unbounded right over their labor and its fruits.

In France and Germany, persons in this abject state seem to have been called *serfs*, and distinguished from villeins, who were only bound to fixed payments and duties in respect of their lord, though as it seems without any legal redress if injured by him. "The third estate of man," says Beaumanoir, "is that of such as are not free and these are not all of one condition, for some are so subject to their lord that he may take all they have alive or dead, and imprison him whenever he pleases, being accountable to no one but God, while others are treated more gently from whom the lord can take nothing but customary payments, though at their death all they have escheats to him."[1] Under every denomination of servitude, the children followed their mother's condition, except in England, where the father's state determined that of the child.

The number of people in bondage, as well as the

[1] Compare the articles "Villanus" and "Servus," in Ducange's "Dictionary of Medieval Terms."

different degrees of slavery, is one of the most striking features of the middle ages, and in no country of Europe do we see a greater variety of such people than in Germany. In Germany there was a countless array of people subject to the dominion and sovereignty of others in a variety of ways. The condition of each class being determined by a separate set of laws, each modified by different customs, and each having a different mode of



King going to a Tournament.

freeing the bondsman from his bondage. This peculiar aspect of servitude lasted up to very recent times; and, even at the present day, there is a decided state of bondage in many parts of Russia; bondage of territory, that is, where the bondsman is not permitted to leave a certain territory; bondage of community, where the bondsman is not allowed to join any other but his community; bondage of labor; and finally bondage of person.[1]

1 The most vivid picture of German serfdom and servitude is given in Just. Moeser's "Patriotische Phantasien."

As society advanced in Europe, the manumission of slaves grew more frequent. By the indulgence of custom in some places, or perhaps by original convention, villeins might possess property and thus purchase their own redemption. Even where they had no legal title to property, it was accounted inhuman to divest them of their little possessions. Their poverty was perhaps not less intolerable, upon the whole, than that of the modern peasantry in most countries of Europe. It was only in respect of his lord, it must be remembered, that the villeins, at least in England and in France, were without rights.

A villein might inherit, purchase, sue in the courts of law, though as a defendant in a real action, or suit wherein land was claimed, he might shelter himself under the plea of villeinage. The peasants of this condition were sometimes made use of in war and rewarded with enfranchisement, especially in Italy where the cities and petty states had often occasion to defend themselves with their whole population, and in peace the industry of free laborers must have been found more productive and better directed. Hence the eleventh and twelfth centuries see the number of slaves in Italy begin to decrease. Early in the fifteenth century, a writer, quoted by the learned Italian scholar Muratori, speaks of them as no longer existing. A considerable part of the peasants in some parts of Germany had acquired their liberty before the close of the thirteenth century. In other parts, as well as in all the northern and eastern regions of Europe, they remained in a sort of villeinage till very recently. Some very few instances of predial servitude have been discovered in England so late as the time of Elizabeth, and perhaps they existed even later.

When we stop and review the ground over which we

have now gone, we see much that is very different from what we are accustomed to. We are not, however, to suppose that a simple and sufficient explanation of all this is to be found in the ignorance of the people. Let us only keep firmly in mind the constitution of tribal society. Let us consider the effect of the conquest of the Western Empire of Rome by the warlike Teutonic tribes. Their tribal customs were now brought in contact with the government and laws of Rome. They had under them a large number of subject people. It is then, perhaps, not strange that the institutions of feudalism took root and grew with such a luxuriant growth, giving rise as a consequence to the orders of nobility and drawing a wide line of separation between the gentry and the common people.

In the further consideration of our subject, we must not forget that the lords repesented in many cases the old tribal chiefs, while the people under them represented either the old tribe or some constituent portion of it. Hence it is not strange to find them in the enjoyment of many privileges which in a vague sense proceed on the theory that each part of a tribe was independent in its own affairs. There are, first of all, duties of a Judicial nature. These were exercised by the owners of fiefs in different degrees. In France they were divided into the high, the middle, and the low jurisdiction. The first species alone conveyed the power of life and death; it was inherent in the baron and the castellan and sometimes enjoyed by a simple vavassor. The holders of the lower jurisdictions were not competent to judge in capital cases, and consequently were forced to send such criminals to the court of the superior. But in some places, a thief taken in the act might be punished with death by a lord who had only the low jurisdiction.

In England this privilege was known by the uncouth terms of *Infangthef* and *Outfangthef*. The high jurisdiction, however, was not very common in England except in the chartered towns. But the lord was bound to follow custom and precedents as much as was the old chief. And customs put a check in many respects on this right. Ecclesiastical lords, who were prohibited from inflicting capital punishment and were supposed to be unacquainted with

English Medieval Costumes.

the law followed in civil courts or unable to enforce it, had an officer by name of advocate or *vidame*, whose tenure of office was often feudal and hereditary. The bailiffs, provosts, and seneschals of lay lords were similar ministers, though not in general of so prominent a right in their offices, or of such eminent station as the advocates of monasteries. It seems to have been an established maxim, at least in later times, that the lord could not sit personally in judgment, but must entrust that function to his bailiffs

and vassals.[1] According to the feudal rules, the lord's vassals or peers of his court were to assist him in all his proceedings.[2] The presence of these assessors was so essential to all territorial jurisdiction that no lord, to whatever rights of justice his fief might entitle him, was qualified to exercise them unless he had at least two vassals to sit as peers in his court. In these courts cases were decided, not by the technicalities of law as it is written down in the books of professional sages, but by the dictations of common sense and natural feeling. Whenever a case was doubtful and especially where a crime not capable of clear proof was charged, the issue was decided by a combat and thus the last and final decision of the case was entrusted, as they supposed, unto God.[3]

The nobleman fought on horseback with all his arms of attack and defense. The Plebeian on foot with his club and target. The same were the weapons of the champions to whom women and ecclesiastics were permitted to entrust their rights. If the combat was intentended to settle a mere pecuniary question, or a civil lawsuit, the vanquished party of course forfeited his claim and paid a fine. If he fought by proxy, the champion was liable to have his hands struck off, a regulation necessary, perhaps, to obviate the corruption of hired defenders. Even the judge himself, whose decision seemed to imply foul play, could be challenged by one of the parties, and this means of correcting the decisions of judges was resorted to very frequently. Such was the judicial system

1 Hallam: "View of the Middle Ages," chap. 2. part 2nd.

2 Notice here the plain traces of tribal society. No chief in tribal society presumed to act without his council.

3 The best statement and estimation of the judicial combat will be found in Montesquieu's celebrated work, "Esprit des Lois," bk. 28. chap. 24, 25, 26, 27.

of Continental Medieval Europe and especially of France when St. Louis erected that great code which bears the name of his Establishments.

The rules of civil and criminal proceedings, as well as the principals of legal decisions, are there laid down with much detail, but that incomparable prince, unable to overthrow the judicial combat, confined himself to discouraging it by the example of a wiser jurisprudence. It was abolished throughout the royal domain. The bailiffs who rendered justice to the king's immediate subjects, were bound to follow his own laws. He not only appealed from their sentence in his own court of peers, but listened to all complaints with a kind of patriarchal simplicity. "Many times," says the chronicler Joinville, "I have seen the good saint, after hearing mass in the summer season, lay himself at the foot of an oak in the wood of Vincennes, and make us all sit around him. When those who came and spoke to him without let of any officer, and he would ask aloud if there were any persons who had suits, and when they appeared, would bid two of his bailiffs determine their cause upon the spot."

In passing judgment on the men of the middle ages for this custom, we must remember that trial by ordeals and by battle are as old as humanity itself. Savage nations universally employ them. Trial by battle, such as here described, proceeded on the assumption that God would grant the victory only to the one who had the best right, The last trial by battle in a civil case in England occurred in the reign of Elizabeth.[1] Customs such as these are often referred to as evidence of the dense ignorance of the middle ages. Let us not forget that though we indeed find such customs in existence, they are gen-

[1] Gilchrist: "Origin and History of Ordeals," London, 1821, p. 30.

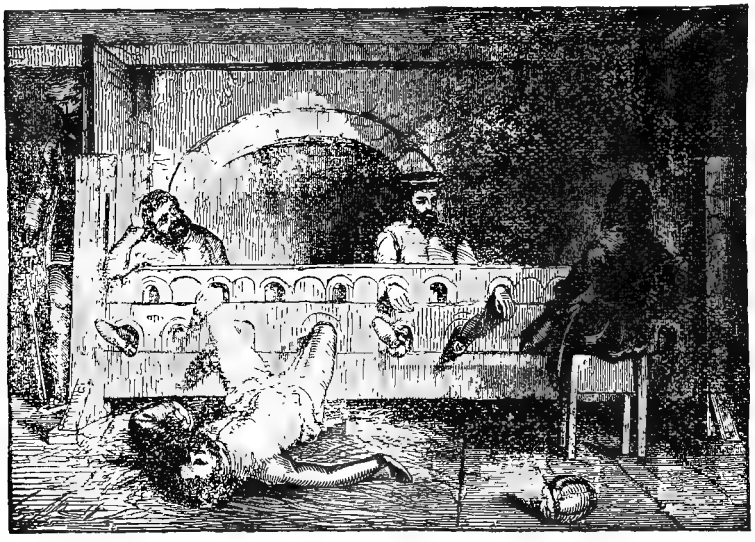
erally in the act of disappearance. The barbarous practice of duelling, which still survives, takes its rise by a similar train of reasoning.

We have dwelt to a considerable extent on feudalism, and have shown how, in every department of medieval life, it exerted an almost controlling influence. As it took many years for it to come to its full development, so its passing away was equally slow. In almost every part of Europe, its effects are felt to this day. One of the most powerful causes of its downfall was the institution of free cities and boroughs. The earliest charters of a community granted to towns in France have been commonly referred to the time of Louis VI., though it is not improbable that some cities in the south had a municipal government by custom, if not by grant, at an early period. Noyon, St. Quentin, Laon, Amiens appear to have been the first that received emancipation at the hand of this prince. The chief towns in the royal domain were successively admitted to the same privileges during the reigns of Louis VI., Louis VII., and Philip Augustus. This example was gradually followed by the peers and other barons, so that by the end of the thirteenth century the custom had prevailed over all France.

It was the gradual rise of these free cities which undermined feudalism. This shows us their great importance. It has been sometimes asserted that the crusades had a great influence in the rise of city communities. If this notion were true, this result would have repaid Europe for the crimes and miseries which attended the crusades, but it is very much exaggerated.[1] The cities of Italy obtained their internal liberties by gradual encroachments and by the concessions of the Franconian Emperors.

[1] Cf. Stubbs' "Constitutional History of England," p. 503, 623.

Those upon the Rhine owed many of their privileges to the same monarchies whose cause they had espoused in the rebellions of Germany. In France the charters granted by Louis the Fat, could hardly be connected with the first crusade, in which the crown had taken no part, and were long prior to the second. It was not until fifty years afterwards that the barons imitated his example by granting charters to their vassals, and these do not appear to have been particularly related to any of the crusades.



Punishing Offenders.

The establishment of chartered towns in France has been ascribed to deliberate policy. "Louis the Gros," says the historian Robertson, "in order to create some power that might counterbalance those potent vassals who controlled or gave law to the crown, first adopted the plan of conferring new privileges on the towns situated within his domain." But Hallam ascribes this measure to the pecuniary exigencies of both the king and his barons, for he says, they sold their concessions to the towns at the

highest price. Some cities, however, were indebted for success to their own courage and love of liberty. Oppressed by the exactions of their superiors, they had recourse to arms and united themselves in a common league confirmed by oath for the sake of redress. One of these associations took place at Mans as early as 1067, and, though it did not secure any charter of privileges, this combination is a proof of the spirit to which ultimately the superior classes were obliged to submit.

The privileges which the towns of France derived from their charters were very extensive. They were made capable of possessing common property and authorized to use a common seal as a symbol of their incorporation. The more oppressive and ignominious tokens of subjection, such as the fine paid to the lord for permission to marry their children, were abolished. Their payments of rent or tribute were limited both in amount and as to the actions for which they might be demanded. Some obtained an exemption from assisting their lord in war. Others were only bound to follow him when he personally commanded, and almost all limited their services to one, or at the utmost, very few days. If they were persuaded to extend this consideration, it was, like that of feudal attendance, at the cost of their superior. Their customs as to succession and other matters of private right were reduced to certainty and, for the most part, laid down in the charter of incorporation. The most valuable privilege which the chartered towns obtained was that of exemption from the jurisdiction of the royal as well as of territorial judges. They were subject to magistrates elected by themselves though, in some places, the lord participated in this choice. They were empowered to make special rules, or as we call them "by-laws," such as did not

contravene the provisions of their charter or the ordinances of the king.[1]

The middle ages were not only the age of feudalism, but they were also the "age of chivalry." Chivalry and knighthood not only exerted a great influence on the life of medieval times, but became an essential part of the literature of romance and song, and thus continued to be felt even after they had been crowded out of the sterner relations of life. In treating of chivalry we are not treating of some mere sentimental institution of medieval times, but of one that was very real and practical, and eminently suitable to the wants of a time that had as yet only dimly felt the influence of those causes which were to give rise to the hurried, scientific, practical life of the present. Our words knight and knighthood signified, originally, a boy or youth, but before the middle of the twelfth century, they had acquired the meaning, which they still retain in the French word *Chevalier*. Concerning the origin of knighthood or chivalry nothing beyond more or less probable conjecture is possible. It is known, however, that the medieval knights were in no way derived from the knights or equites of Rome, the knights of King Arthur's round table, or the Paladins of Charlemagne.

Some of the greatest scholars, like John Selden and DuCange, concur in tracing the ceremony of dubbing in knighthood to the ceremony, common amongst the Goths and the Franks, of adoption by arms. By means of a solemn investiture with warlike weapons, the parties participating in this ceremony thenceforth acquired the artificial character of father and son, not as in the Roman practice of adoption for any purpose of succession or in-

[1] Hallam, "Views," ch. 2. p. 2.

heritance, but in a purely honorable and complimentary manner. The Crusades had a great deal to do in the establishment of knighthood and chivalry. Vast armies were then set on foot, in which feudal rights and obligations had no place. But it was observed by the leaders, that the volunteers who flocked to the standards of the various commanders were even more efficient as soldiers than the vassals whom they had hitherto commanded. It was thus shown that pay, the love of enterprise, and the prospect of plunder were quite as useful for the purpose of enlisting troops and keeping them together, as the tenure of land and the solemnities of homage and fealty. Moreover, the crusaders who survived the difficulties and dangers of an expedition to Palestine were experienced veterans, ready to hire to the highest bidder and well worth the wages they received. It was probably owing to the crusades, that the church took the profession of arms under her protection, and, from that time, the ceremonies of initiation into it assumed a religious as well as a martial character.

Nor was this by any means a merely gratuitous patronage of blood-shed on her part. In the ages of faith and chivalry, magic and sorcery were the terrors alike of the pious and the brave, and the blessings of the priests on the warrior's weapons and armor were always regarded as the surest safe-guard against the influence of hostile spells and enchantments.[1] To distinguished soldiers of the cross, the honors and benefits of knighthood could hardly be refused on the ground that they did not possess a sufficient property qualification, of which they had, in fact, deprived themselves in order to procure their equipments for the war. Thus the conception of knighthood as

[1] Stubbs' Const. Hist., II. p. 270. Grose; "Military Antiqu. I. p. 60,

something wholly distinct from and independent of feudalism, both as a social condition and a personal dignity, was formed, and rapidly gained ground. It was then, that the analogy was first detected, which was afterward more fully developed, between the order of knighthood and the order of priesthood. Then followed the union of monachism and chivalry, effected by the establishment of the religious orders, of which the Knights Templars and the Knights Hospitalers were the most eminent examples.

In their indifference to the distinctions of race and nationality, these orders accommodated themselves to the spirit which by that time had become characteristic of chivalry, which was already regarded, like the church, as an universal institution, comprising and knitting together the whole warrior caste of Christendom into one great fraternity, irrespective alike of feudal subordination or territorial boundaries. Somewhat later the adoption of hereditary sir-names and armorial bearings, as we have already pointed out, marked the existence of a large class, who, though considered noble, were, either from the subdivision of fiefs or from the effects of the custom of primogeniture, not possessed of sufficient property to support them as their rank required. To them only two callings were generally open, that of the church-man and that of the soldier; and the latter, as a rule, possessed greater attraction than the former at that time of much license and little learning. Hence, the favorite expedient for a man of birth, though not of fortune, was to attach himself to some prince or magnate, in whose military service he was sure of an adequate maintenance, and might hope for even a rich reward in the shape of booty or ransom.[1]

1 Saint Palaye: "Memoires sur l'ancienne Chevalier," Vol. I. p. 363, 364.

From a very early stage in the development of chivalry we meet with the singular institution of brotherhood in arms, and, from it, the ultimate origin, if not of the religious fraternities, at any rate of the military companionship is generally derived.[1] By this institution, a relation was created between two or more knights by voluntary agreement, which was regarded as more intimate than those founded on the relationship of blood. Brothers in arms were supposed to be partners in all things save the affections of their lady loves. They shared in every danger and every success, and each was expected to vindicate the honor of the other as promptly and zealously as his own. Their engagements usually lasted through life, but sometimes only for a specified period or during the continuance of specified circumstances. Romance and traditions speak of strange rites, the mingling and even drinking of blood, as having in the remote ages marked the beginning of these martial and fraternal associations.[2] But in later times, they were generally made known by a formal exchanged of weapons and armor.

Knight Templar.

In warfare, it was customary for knights, who were thus allied, to appear in similar armor having the same badges so that their enemies might not know with which of them they were in conflict, and that their friends might

[1] Du Cange: "Dissertation sur Joinville," xxi.
[2] Du Cange: "Dissertation sur Joinville," xxi.

not accord more applause to one than to another for his prowess in the field. It seems likely enough, therefore, that when the Crusades had commenced the process of transforming feudalism into chivalry, bodies of men, free indeed from monastic obligations, united by engagements of fidelity, wearing a common uniform or livery, and naming themselves after some special symbol or some patron saint of their adoption, were in existence. Such bodies raised by, or placed under the command of, a sovereign or grand master, regulated by statutes and enriched by ecclesiastical endowments, would have been exactly similar to the order of the "Golden Fleece" in Burgundy, and similar orders in later times.

The knight who had "won his spurs" was more highly regarded than the knight who succeeded to them as an incident of his feudal tenure. In the eye of the law they were equal. But it was the first, and not the second who was welcomed in court and camp, and who was invited to the "round tables." Thus it became the ambition of every aspirant to knighthood to gain it by his exploits rather than to claim it merely as his right by virtue of his position and estate, no one, however, could be legitimately created a knight who was not a gentleman of "name and arms," that is, who was not at least descended from grandparents, who were, on both sides, entitled to armorial bearings, and this condition is embodied in the statutes of every body of knighthood, religious or military, which can trace its origin to a period when chivalry, was a social institution.[2]

We are now fairly launched into the consideration of the various orders of chivalry. In this it is necessary for

1 Du Cange: "Dissertations sur Joinville," xxi.

2 Nicholas: "British Orders of Knighthood," Vol. I. pt. v.

us to remember wherein they differed from the orders of nobility of feudalism. When the system became fully developed, knighthood proper was generally preceded by two preparatory stages, in which the candidate was successively a *page* and then a *squire*. In the ordinary course of a chivalrous education, the successive conditions of page and squire were passed through in boyhood and youth, and the condition of knighthood was reached in early manhood. In fact, every feudal court and castle was

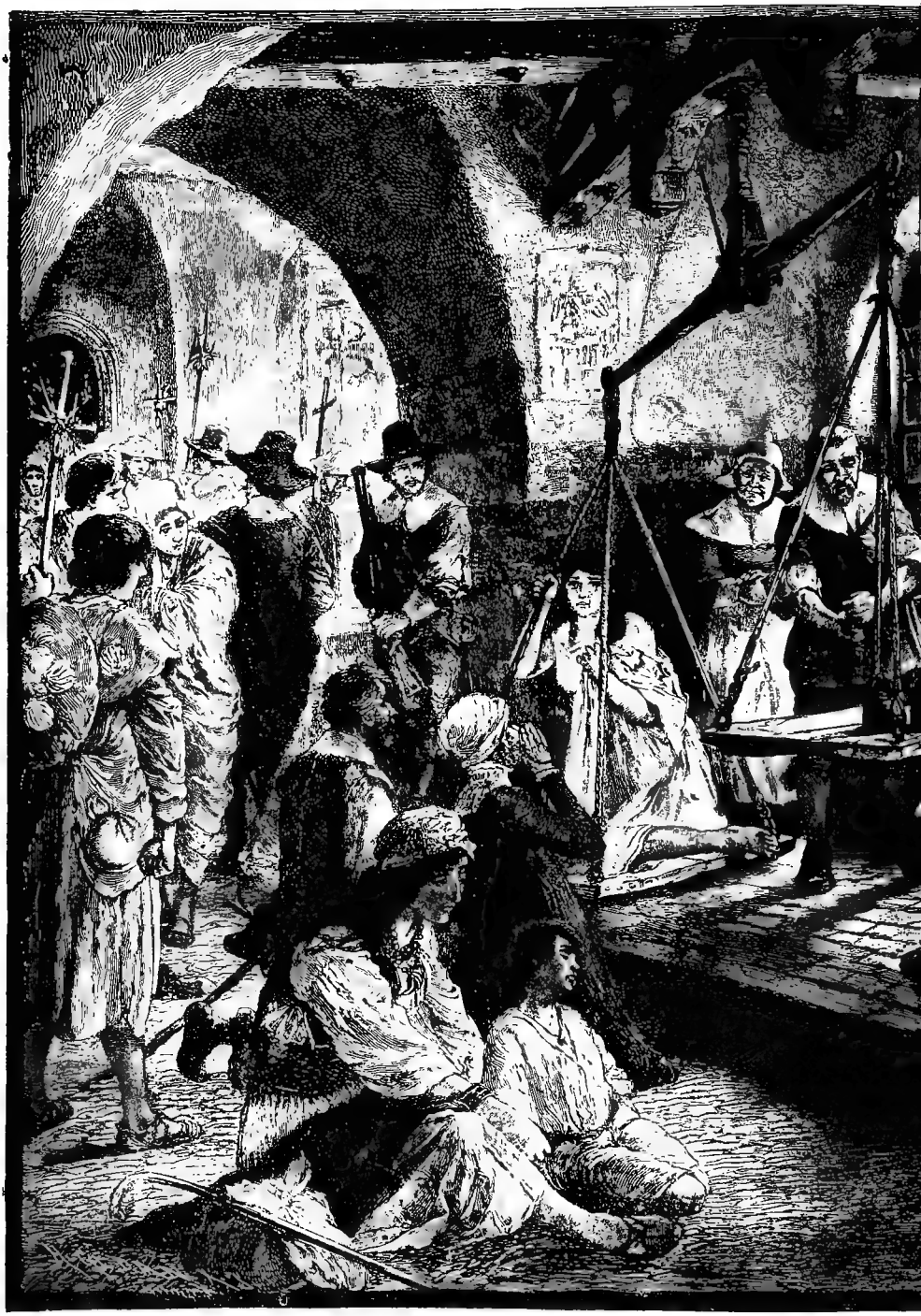
A Tournament

a school, in which the sons of the sovereign and his vassals, or of the feudary and his vassals, generally together with those of some of their allies or friends, were reared in the principles and habituated to the customs and observances of chivalry. Although princes and great personages were rarely actual pages or squires, the moral and physical discipline, through which they passed was not, in any important particular, different from that to which candidates of a lower standing were subjected.[1]

[1] Sainte Palaye: "Memoires sur l'ancienne Chevalier," Vol. I. p. 36.

The page, or as he was more anciently and more correctly called the "valet" or "damoiseau," commenced his service and instruction when he was between seven and eight years old, and continued in the same for seven or eight years longer. He acted as the constant personal attendant of his master and mistress. He waited on them in their hall and accompanied them in the chase, served the lady in her bower, and followed the lord to the camp From the chaplain and his mistress and her *demoiselles*, he learned the rudiments of religion, of rectitude, and of love. From his master and his squires, the page acquired the elements of military exercise, to cast a spear or dart, to sustain a shield, and to march with the measured tread of a soldier. From his master and his huntsmen and falconers, he learned the mysteries of the woods and rivers, or in other words, the rules and practices of hunting and hawking.

When he was between fifteen and sixteen he became a squire, but no sudden or great alteration was made in his mode of life. He continued to wait at dinner with the pages, although in a manner more dignified, according to the notions of the age. He not only served but carved and helped the dishes, proffered the first or principal cup of wine to his master and his guests, and carried to them the basin, ewer, or napkin when they washed their hands before and after meat. He assisted in clearing the hall for dancing or minstrelsy, and laid the tables for chess or draughts, and he also shared in the pastimes, for which he had made preparation. He brought his master the *vin de coucher* (the wine for the night), and made his early *refection* ready for him in the morning, but his military exercises and athletic sports occupied an always increasing portion of the day. He accustomed himself to



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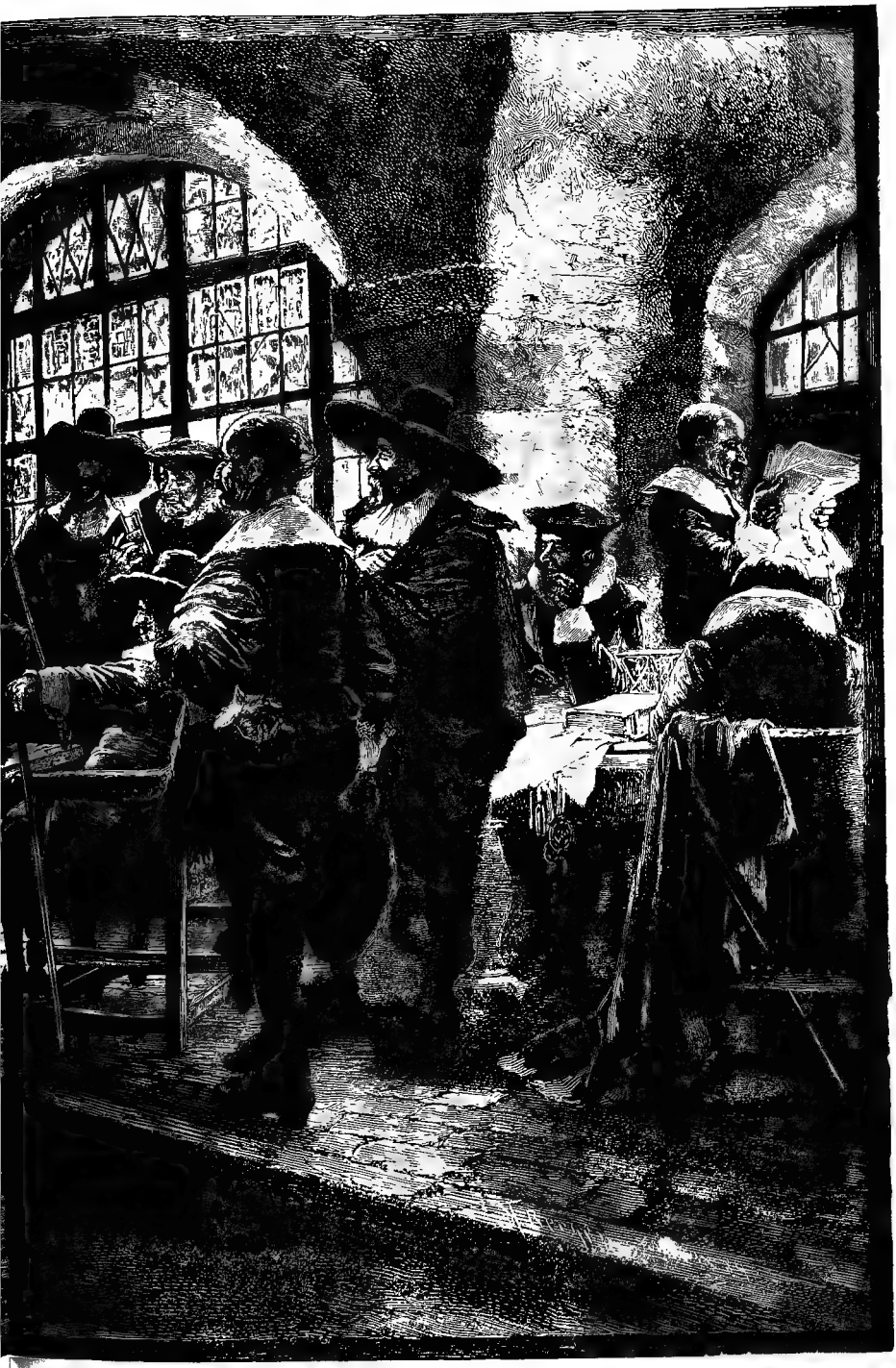


THE WITCHES' SCALE.

ride the "great horse," to tilt at the quintain, to wield the battle-ax, to swim and climb, to run and leap, and to bear the weight and overcome the embarrassments of armor.

He inured himself to the vicissitudes of heat and cold, and voluntarily suffered the pangs or inconveniences of hunger and thirst, fatigue and sleeplessness. It was then, too, that he chose his lady-love, whom he was expected to regard with an adoration at once earnest, respectful, and the more meritorious if concealed. When it was considered that he had made sufficient advancement in his military accomplishments, he took his sword to the priest, who laid it on the altar, blessed it, and returned it to him.[1] Afterwards, he either remained with his early master, relegating most of his domestic duties to his younger companions, or he entered the service of some valliant and adventurous lord or knight of his own selection. He now became a *squire of the body*, and truly an *armiger* or *scutifer*, for he bore the shield and armor of his leader to the field, and, what was a task of no small difficulty and hazard, assisted him to don his armor and mount his horse. It was his duty also to display and guard in battle the banner of the baron or banneret or the pennon of the knight. He raised his master from the ground, if he were unhorsed, and supplied him with a horse if his was disabled or killed. He received and kept prisoners if any were taken. He fought by his master's side if he were unequally matched, attempted to rescue him if captured, bore him to a place of safety if wounded, and buried him honorably when dead.

After he had worthily and bravely borne himself for six or seven years as a squire, the time came when it was

[1] Sainte Pelaye, "Memoires," Vol. I. p. 2.

fitting that he should be made a knight. Two modes of conferring knighthood appear to have prevailed from a very early period in all countries where chivalry was known, one being much more ceremonious than the other. In both the essential portion seems to have consisted of the embrace and the blow on the shoulders, with the utterance of solemn

Knighthood.

words.[1] In times of peace the ancient custom was to confer the dignity with many ceremonial observances. We must remember that chivalry was largely influenced by the

[1] This was technically known as the *accolade*. Squires were anxious to have this given only by some distinguished knight. A romantic relationship was supposed to accrue from it between the parties.

church, consequently the ceremonies were, to a certain extent, of a religious nature. It will give us a good idea of life and times in the middle ages to glance at these ceremonies.

The process of inauguration was commenced in the evening by placing the candidate under the care of "two esquires of honor, grave and well seen in courtship, and also nurtured in the feats of chivalry, who were to be governors in all things relating to him". Under their direction, to begin with, a barber shaved him and cut his hair. He was then conducted by them to his appointed chamber, hung within and without with linen and covered with rich clothes, where a bath was prepared, into which, after they had undressed him, he entered. While he was in the bath two "ancient and grave knights" attended him "to inform, instruct, and counsel him, touching the order and feats of chivalry," and when they had fulfilled their mission, they poured some of the water of the bath over his shoulders, signing the left shoulder with the cross, and retired. He was then taken from the bath and put into a plain bed without hangings, in which he remained until his body was dry, when the two esquires put on him a white shirt and a robe of russet with long sleeves, having a hood like that of a hermit.

Then the two knights returned and led him to the chapel, the esquires going before them sporting and dancing with the minstrels making melody and when they had been served with wines and spices went away, leaving only the candidate, the esquires, the priest, the chandler, and the watch, who kept the vigil of arms until sunrise, or managed to pass the night "in bestowing himself in prayers". At day-break he confessed to the priest, heard matins, and communicated in the mass, offering a taper and a piece of

money stuck in it as near the lighted end as possible, the first "to the honor of God", and the second "to the honor of the person who made him a knight". Afterwards he was taken back to his chamber and remained in bed until the knights, esquires, and minstrels went to him and aroused him. The knights then dressed him in distinctive garments and mounting their horses rode with him to the hall where

Procession in the 15th Century.

the candidate was to receive knighthood. His future squire was to ride before him bare-headed, bearing his sword by the point in its scabbard, with his spurs hanging from its hilt.

When everything was prepared, the prince or subject who was to knight him came into the hall, and, the candidate's sword and spurs having been presented to

him, he held the right spur to the "most noble and gentle knight" present, and directed him to fasten it on the candidate's right heel, which he accordingly did, kneeling on one knee and putting the candidate's right foot on his knee, signing the candidate's knee with the cross. In like manner, by another "noble and gentle knight" the left spur was fastened to his left heel. Then he, who was to create the knight, took the sword and girt him with it, and, embracing him, he lifted his right hand and smote him on the neck or shoulder, saying, "Be thou a good knight," and kissed him. When this was done, they all went to the chapel with much music, and the new knight laying his right hand on the altar, promised to support and defend the church, and, ungirting his sword, offered it on the altar.[1]

Of necessity, these ceremonies could not be gone through with in times of war. In such cases all that was necessary was the accolade. Some rather amusing instances of this occur in the annals, which illustrate knightly punctiliousness. A knight was disgraced if he surrendered himself prisoner to one not a knight, such misfortunes sometimes occurred. At times when such a calamity was impending, the fighters suspended hostilities long enough to allow the vanquished knight time enough to bestow the honor of knighthood upon his successful antagonist. He could then surrender himself without disgrace, for his foe was now a "noble knight." In course of time the ceremonial form dropped out of common usage.

Knights were divided into two classes, knight ban-

[1] Most of these ceremonies were of more or less religious significance. Thus the bath is significant of purity of soul. The bed of the rest he was hereafter to enjoy in Paradise, the red over-garment showed his resolution to shed his blood for the church if necessary. Mills: "History of Chivalry," Vol. I. p. 49.

nerets and knight bachelors. The only distinction between them would appear in time of battle. The knight banneret was entitled to carry his own banner and had under his command a more or less extensive body of men. All knights whether bachelors or bannerets were escorted by their squires. Every knight was entitled to bear a *pennon*, and every squire a *pencel*. All these flags were of a convenient size to be carried on a lance. They were distinguished by their form. The banner was cut square, the pennon was pointed or forked at its extremity, the pencel ended in a single tail or streamer.[1]

The tournament was the great feature of chivalry. They were the military games of the age; they were courteous battles between two parties of mailed warriors. All of Europe delighted in these contests. The weapons with which they fought were generally so prepared that but a small amount of danger was to be feared from them. At times the tournaments assumed an international character; heralds announced at foreign courts the intentions of their sovereigns to hold a tournament at a designated time and place, and invited "all those who valued their knighthood and respected dames and maidens to repair to the appointed city and prove their chivalry." In Germany the country was divided off in four districts in which tournaments were held by rotation.

Safe conducts were allowed to foreign knights who wished to come to a trial of skill with the knights of the country. All, however, were not allowed to engage in the contest. "None could tourney who had blasphemed God, or offended the ladies," or in general who failed in any knightly duties. The place where a tournament was held was duly prepared. It was known as the *list*. It was

[1] Grose: "Mil. Ant." Vol. II. p. 256.

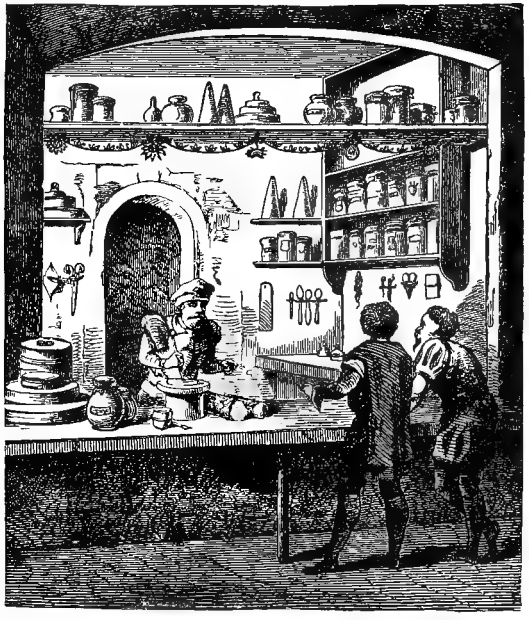
decorated with all the wealth of feudal times. "Besides the gorgeous arrays of heraldic insignia were the champions' tents; the galleries, which were made to contain the proud and joyous spectators, were covered with tapestry, representing chivalry both in its amorous and warlike guises; on one side the knight with his bright faulchion smiting away hosts of foes, and on the other kneeling at the feet of beauty." On the day of the tournament the knights were conducted with many ceremonies to the place of combat. Their arms were duly examined, and then they were arranged in order.

Entrance to the Tournament.

All being in readiness the heralds cried "*Laissez Aller.*" The cords which divided the two parties were immediately slackened, and the cavaliers, dressing their spears to their rests and commending themselves to their mistresses, dashed to the encounter while the trumpets sounded the beautiful point of chivalry for every man to do his "devoir." One encounter did not decide the matter, the fight continued. Heralds watched the encounter and noted points in honor of this or that knight. Thus if one knight succeeded in breaking his spear on the helmet of an opposing knight it counted him

ten points, etc. The contest came to an end when the lord of the tournament dropped his warder, thereupon the banners were folded and the amusements ended.

Feasting and merry-making followed the contest. The knights, gaily attired, repaired to the festival hall, each accompanied by "a lady bright." The most distinguished knights took their place near the raised upper end of the



An Apothecary's Shop in Olden Times.

long table. The minstrels struck up their music. Heralds presented to the ladies those knights who had especially distinguished themselves. The "queen of beauty and love" presented the prizes. Thanks were rendered to visiting knights from foreign countries. Dancing closed the festivities for the day.[1]

[1] This account is extracted from Mills: "History of Chivalry," Vol. I. p. 259 *et seq.*

A young knight, who had just been raised to the dignity of knighthood, generally set out in search of adventures. He was known as a *knight-errant.* His object was to gain experience in all knightly exercises. When two such wandering knights met they must needs have a personal set-to to determine which was the more skillful. Such contests were termed *jousts.* Sometimes one knight-errant would station himself at some place where he would be sure to find some one with whom to joust; at the ford of a river, or where four roads met. They furthermore made diligent inquiry for adventures, and at prominent places they would post up a notice where they could be found. In short, they were "spoiling for a fight," and took all manner of ways to be accommodated.[1]

Although simple knighthood has gone out of use on the continent of Europe, there are innumerable grand crosses, commanderies, and companions of a formidable assortment of orders in almost every part of the world, from that of the Golden Fleece of Spain and Austria to those of St. Charles of the pigmy republic of Monaco, and of King Kamehameha of the Sandwich Islands. But with the exception of the orders of Golden Fleece, founded by Philip II., duke of Burgundy, in 1429, and of the Annunciation founded by Charles III., duke of Savoy, in 1518, none of the military, as distinguished from the religious orders of knighthood, have any actual historical connection with chivalry. In England there are seven orders of knighthood—the Garter, the Thistle, St. Patrick, the Bath, the Star of India, St. Michael and St. George, and the Indian Empire. By the end of the fourteenth century, the order of knighthood, as an order formally and par-

[1] Cutts: "Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages," p. 353 *et seq.*

ticularly dedicated to the service of "God and the ladies" and bound by solemn and express engagements to vindicate justice, to avenge wrong, and to defend the weak, unprotected, and oppressed, had disappeared.

It was with such professed objects however, that chivalry manifested itself during the early and more vigorous stages of its development, and played its part among the

School in Olden Times.

chief and certainly among the most remarkable of those influences that molded the form and directed the course of western civilization in medieval times. The common offspring of feudalism and the church, it derived its resources and its sanctions from each of its parents in turn and stood forth at once the spiritual representative of the one, and the temporal representative of the other. Whatever may have been its inherent vices and defects, it is at any

rate, indisputable that it embodied some of the noblest sentiments and engendered many of the worthy actions of contemporary mankind.

It animated poetry and it created romance and heraldry; it determined individual affairs, modified the policy of states, and generally inspired the energies while it controlled the defense of all those nations which were then, as they now are, the most enlightened as well as the most powerful in the world. Battles were commenced with religious celebrations, and armies esteemed themselves happy if they marched beneath a consecrated standard. Even in the field, and while engaged in mortal conflict, Christian knights enjoyed the duties and courtesies of their order and, if they were taken prisoner, they could count on consideration from their captors and on their freedom, when they paid their stipulated ransom. Moreover, when they took prisoners they could release them on parole to raise their ransoms, confident that they would return to captivity if the ransom could not be raised. It is indeed from the custom of chivalry that the best and most humane portions of the laws of war, in so far as actual combatants are concerned, have their origin.

It is not an altogether easy task to form a just estimation of chivalry. At the present day we are inclined to ridicule many of the ideas of chivalry, but all Europe was swayed by them, and it is necessary for us to weigh them well. The virtues it professed to teach were in many cases excellent. They included valor, loyalty, courtesy, and munificence. Valor was of course the primary qualification of a knight, but loyalty, which implied the strictest fidelity to all his engagements, to his sovereign, his lady-love, and his friends and foes alike, was only second to it in importance. Courtesy meant not only cer-

emonious politeness, but also spontaneous modesty of carriage, self-denial, and careful respect for the feelings of others. Munificence meant a disdain for money, readiness to relieve want and reward services, hospitality, and liberality in all things. We know enough of human nature to know that no discipline or watchfulness would succeed in making every member of an association live fully

Execution in the Middle Ages.

up to the ideas here set forth. It is not strange if some understood courtesy to consist of courtly acts to equals or superiors, but arrogant haughtiness to inferiors, or that extravagance was masqueraded as munificence. We all know there is such a thing even at the present day as being extremely polite, courtly, chivalrous, and all that sort of thing, and yet destitute of all the better traits of character. This was so during the age of chivalry. Still

these blemishes are inherent in human nature, and not in the institution of chivalry.

Probably in no one respect is the weakness of chivalry more apparent than in the relation between the sexes. One of the first duties of knighthood was to protect the weak, this of course included ladies. It is not perhaps strange that devotion to ladies became one of the great hobbies of chivalry. To have some lady-love was the *sine qua non* of page, squire, and knight. This romantic notion was carried to a ridiculous extent. The idea derived from romantic literature that the principal duty of knights was to roam around rescuing unfortunate females from all sorts of predicaments is, of course, an exaggeration. But still it remains true, that quite a large portion of all knightly exertions was undertaken to please some lady-love. This love was not of the Platonic kind either. So it is not strange that, although at no period were women held in greater outward respect by men, it is probably equally true that at no period did more license in the association of the sexes prevail.

Before going farther it may be well to form a mental picture of life during the middle ages, viewed in the mellow light of feudalism and chivalry. The country was somewhat wild; the forests were unsubdued over large sections; and there were quite large tracts of unclosed land. The towns were surrounded by walls having here and there lofty towers. The streets were narrow. The villages consisted of a group of cottages scattered round a wide green, with a village cross in the middle and a may-pole beside it. Castles crowned the hills, manor houses surrounded by wide moats were to be found in the valleys, and hermitages stood by lonely and dangerous fords. There were but few roads, except here and there in the old Roman

provinces, in other sections of the country they were more like green lanes with a narrow beaten track in the middle. Well trodden bridle paths led from village to village.

Strange and picturesque sights were to be seen. The young knight full of ambition to make himself a name, and to win favor in the sight of his lady-love, rode along accompanied by his squire, anxious to find some adventure to distinguish himself, or to meet with another like-minded knight with whom to cross his lance. The feudal lord with his armed retainers was to be seen riding forth from his castle, and hunting parties scoured the woods. The gentlemen would ride by in silks and velvets, in plumed hat and enameled belt, attended by his servants. The minstrel, in gay coat, sang snatches of lays as he wandered along from hall to castle. The more stately group of knights and squires hurrying along were on their way to attend some tournament. It was a wild land the people were rude, the times lawless, but every mile had its pictures for the artist, and every day offered its chance for adventure.[1]

Every one has heard of the Crusades. Probably no one set of causes contributed more to emphasize all the institutions of the middle ages than did the Crusades. They built up the Catholic Church; they contributed largely to the establishment of chivalry, though, as we shall see one of their final results was the breaking up of feudalism. The Crusades were a series of wars, undertaken professedly for the purpose of delivering the holy land from the dominion of the infidel, and so named from the cross worn as a badge by those who devoted themselves to the enterprise. These wars, it was held, were rendered necessary not only

1 Consult Cutts: "Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages," London, 1872' p. 353.

by the profanation involved in the fact of Mohammedan rule over the country which had been the cradle and birth-place of Christianity, but by the insults and injuries constantly inflicted on Christian pilgrims.

From age to age, the belief had been growing that no work could conduce more to the soul's health, than a visit to the holy places of Palestine. In proportion to the rapidity with which this belief had spread over the Christian

Hall in House of a Lord.

world, a feeling of vehement indignation was awakened by the likelihood, if not certainty, that the Saracen conqueror would put his ban on the performance of that which was deemed to be an act of the highest Christian duty. The recitals of the wrongs perpetrated on Christian pilgrims, went far towards fanning into flame the feelings which the popes had hitherto failed to awaken in sufficient strength. The idea of an armed host, which should inflict summary

vengeance upon the oppressors of the Christians, had already dawned on the mind of the great Hildebrand, Gregory the Seventh. It had been urged by his successor, Victor the Third, but neither had struck the right chord. Such enterprises can never be set in motion with any solid results, except when the flood-tide of popular feeling gives its own weight to the sanction of religious authority.

At that time, there appeared a poor, withered-looking monk, by the name of Peter the Hermit, with the stature and ungainliness of a dwarf. Emaciated by the austerities of his self imposed discipline, this man, who had forsaken his wife and abandoned his military standard, had returned from the holy land with his heart on fire, not so much from the memory of the hardships which he had himself undergone, as for the cruelties and tortures which he had seen inflicted on his fellow Christians. Armed with the special blessing of Pope Urban the Second, he mounted his ass and, with bare head and feet, carrying a huge crucifix, traversed the German lands rousing everywhere the incontrollable indignation, which devoured his own soul His vehemence carried all before him, none the less, perhaps, because he bade them remember, that no sins were too heinous to be washed away by the water of the Jordan, no evil habits too deadly to be condoned by the one good work which would make them champions of the cross.[1]

Pope Urban however and his counselors knew well that, before the fatal die could be prudently cast, a serious task lay before them. The system of feudalism, as we have tried to show, substituted personal ascendency for the dominion of a central, general law; and, wherever the personal bond failed, their resort was inevitably to private war.

[1] Michaud: Hist. des Croisades, I. 432.

The practice of such wars had become virtually an organized trade, and if a large proportion of the population should be drawn away to fight against the infidels in Palestine, those who remained at home would be without defense. Such wars were therefore formally condemned. The women and the clergy, merchants and husbandmen were placed under the special protection of the church, and the truce of God was solemnly confirmed.

The First Proof.

Of the thousands who hastened to put on the badge, the great number were animated probably by the most disinterested motives, while some had their eyes fixed on the results of more politic calculations. For the multitude at large, there was the paramount attraction of an enterprise, which was put before them as a new mode of salvation, that enabled the layman without laying aside his habits of wild license, to reach a height of perfection

scarcely to be attained by the austere monk or the most devoted priest. Nay, more, the assumption of the cross set the debtor free from his creditor so long as he wore the sacred badge; opened the prison door for the malefactor, annulled the jurisdiction of the lord over the burgher or peasant; and enabled the priest and the monk to escape from the monotony of the parish and the cloister.

It might be thought that these privileges would tell hard on the creditors, the capitalists, and the usurers, but these reaped the most solid benefits. The princes who bound themselves by the vow must provide equipments for themselves and their followers, and carry with them sums of money sufficient for their needs. These sums must be raised by loan or mortgage; and, as all wished to get horses, arms, and money, in exchange for lands, the former became inordinately dear, the latter absurdly cheap. Thus the real gain lay on the side of the merchant and the trader or of the land owner who was prudent enough to add to his own domains by availing himself of the necessities of his neighbors.[1]

All this, however, had been effected by the authority and sanction of the Holy See, which had taken under its protection the dominion of all crusading princes. It was for the pope to decide whether those who had taken the vow should set off at once, whether some time of grace should be allowed, or whether the vows should be remitted altogether. The pope became, therefore, possessed of a dispensing power, which placed him above all other sovereigns. His gains, moreover, were immediate. The Crusades tended to merge the smaller into larger fiefs, which again were absorbed into the royal domain, thus largely promoting that growth of the sovereign power,

[1] Wilken; "Geschichte der Kreuzzuge, I. 347-468.

that in the end, broke up the feudal system. These results belonged to the distant future, but the pope was enabled, rather he was constrained, to send his legates into every land, both to enlist soldiers under the standard of the cross, and to collect money for their support.

He became, thus, at once the administrator of vast revenues, that were raised partly by subsides and imposed as a necessary obligation on the clergy, and in part by the voluntary contributions of the laity. With the pope, the ecclesiastical body generally acquired enormous power. The lands of the church, though money might be borrowed upon them, could not be alienated, but it was only in comparatively few instances that it was necessary to burden them at all. The monastic houses might send some of their members to the Holy Land, the rest remained at home and became mortgagees or trustees of the estates belonging to the crusaders. If these died without heirs, the guardians became the absolute owners; and of those who returned, not a few withdrew into a cloister, and endowed with their worldly goods the last place of resort they had chosen.[1] The narrative of the Crusades brings out with sufficient clearness, both their causes and their consequences. While the popular impulse which led to them could not issue any vigorous action without the sanction of religion, the mere authority even of the popes was powerless to set Latin Christendom in motion until popular indignation had reached the fever heat.

In reading the history of the crusades, the details of which can not, by the general character of this work form a part of the present chapter, we are able to watch the effects of enterprises in changing the face, not only of the East, but of the West, securing to the popes, the exact-

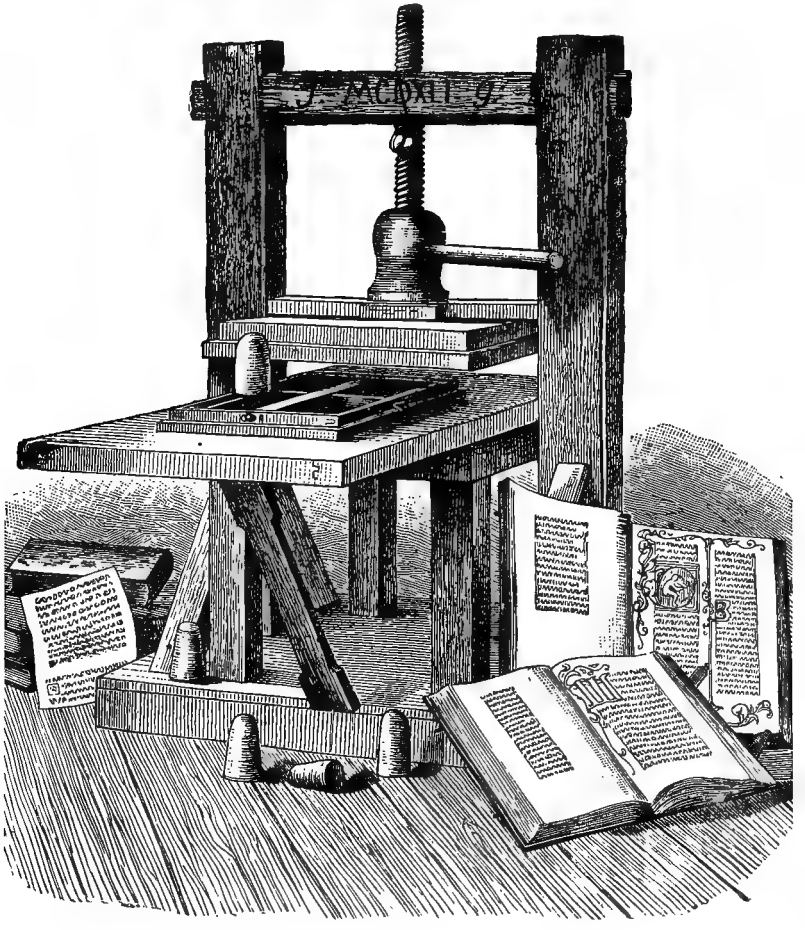
[1] G. W. Cox: "Crusades."

ion and administration of vast revenues and of a dispensing power still more momentous in its issue, strengthening and extending royal authority by the absorption of fiefs, but for the moment increasing in incomparably larger measure the wealth and influence of the clergy. We can see the introduction of feudal principles into Jerusalem and Constantinople, and can likewise mark the effects that followed the substitution of the laws of Jerusalem for the code of Rome. The story shows us, that the contact of western with eastern Christendom brought about, in some respects, results precisely opposite to those which were anticipated from it, and that the establishment of the Latin Empire of Constantinople[1] rendered hopeless that union of the churches which Pope Innocent III. had regarded as its certain fruit.

But if the Crusades thus disappointed the expectations of their promoters, they achieved some results, the benefits of which have been felt from that day to the present. They failed indeed to establish the permanent dominion of Latin Christendom, but they prolonged for nearly four centuries the life of the Eastern Empire, and by so doing, they arrested the time of Mohammedan conquests in the East. They saved the Italian, perhaps even the more northern lands of Europe from a tyranny, which has blasted the fairest regions of the earth, and if they added fuel to the flame of theological hatred between the Greek and Latin churches, if they intensified the feeling of suspicion and dislike between the western and the eastern Christians, they yet opened the way for an interchange of thought and learning, that had its result in the revival of letters and in the religious reformation that followed that revival. If again of their leaders, some showed

[1] Above p. 358.

themselves men of cruelty and insatiable greed, there were others who, like Tancred, approached the ideal of the knightly chivalry of a later generation, and others again whose self-sacrificing charity and heroic patience furnish



The First Printing Press.

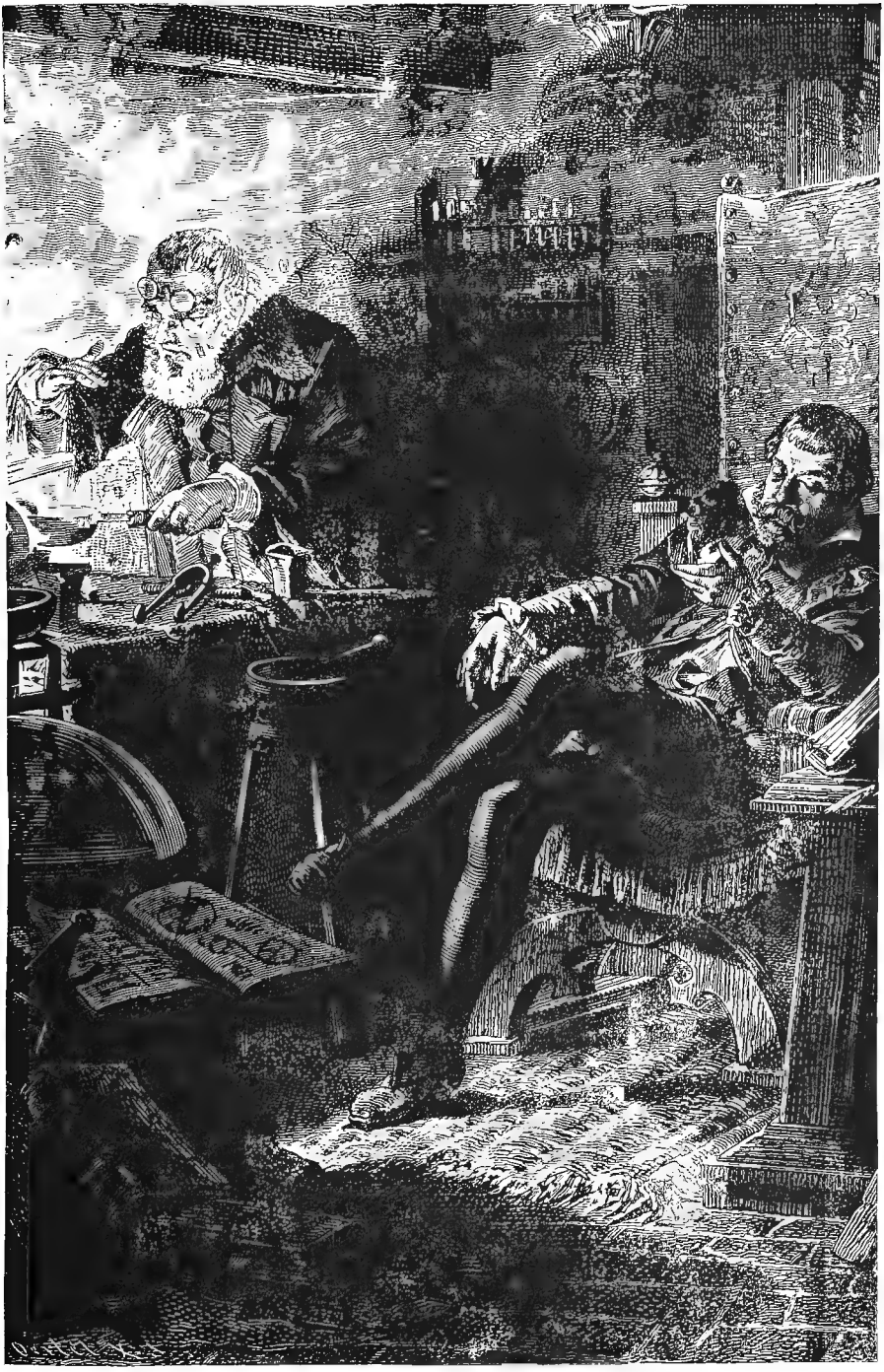
an example for all time. The ulterior results of the Crusades were the breaking of the feudal system, the abolition of serfdom, the supremacy of a common law over the independent jurisdiction of chiefs, and if for the time they led to deeds of iniquity which it would be monstrous even

to palliate, it must yet be admitted, that, in their influence on later ages, the evil has been assuredly outweighed by the good.[1]

It is necessary for us to study the Catholic Church of the middle ages. The influence and power of the Catholic church during these ages were so great, its impress on the history of the times was so incisive, that the period in question is sometimes known as the age of church rule. Our subject calls for no analysis of the doctrines of the church, but we simply want to know the nature of its power, and the character of its influence. We must not forget that the possession of land was a great source of power especially in the earlier portion of the middle ages. Though the especial domain of the church was in matters spiritual, still it has always been anxious to possess secular power. We find therefore the church in the middle ages gaining control of as much land as possible.

The church, as an organized body, never received any territorial endowments by law, but the voluntary gifts of princes as well as their subjects supplied the place of the legal provision. Large private estates, or, as they were called, patrimonies, not only in their own, but even in distant countries, sustained the dignity of the principal sees of the bishops and especially that of Rome. Many churches possessed seven or eight thousand mansi, meaning so many little landed estates. A church with but two thousand of these mansi was not esteemed especially rich. It must be remarked that much land was wild and uncultivated. Monasteries acquired legitimate riches by the culture of such tracts and by the prudent management of their revenues, which were less exposed to the ordinary

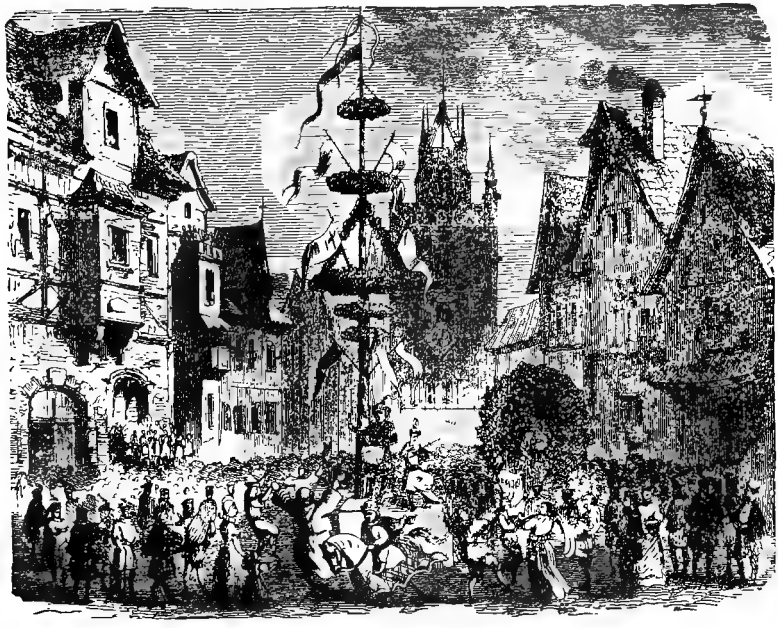
1 In the general estimation of the Crusades, we have followed the opinion and the text of Sir. G. Cox's "Crusades."



THE ALCHEMIST.

means of dissipation than those of laymen. Their wealth, continually accumulating, enabled them to become the regular purchasers of landed estates. Especially was this the case in the times of the Crusades, when the fiefs of the nobility were constantly in the market for sale or mortgage.

If the possessions of ecclesiastical communities had all been as fairly earned, we could not complain, but other



May Festival in the Middle Ages.

sources of this wealth were less pure.[1] Those who entered a monastery frequently put their whole estates into the common stock, and even the children of rich parents were expected to make a donation of land on assuming the cowl. Some gave their property to the church before entering on military expeditions; gifts were made by some

[1] Hallam. "Middle Ages," ch. vii.

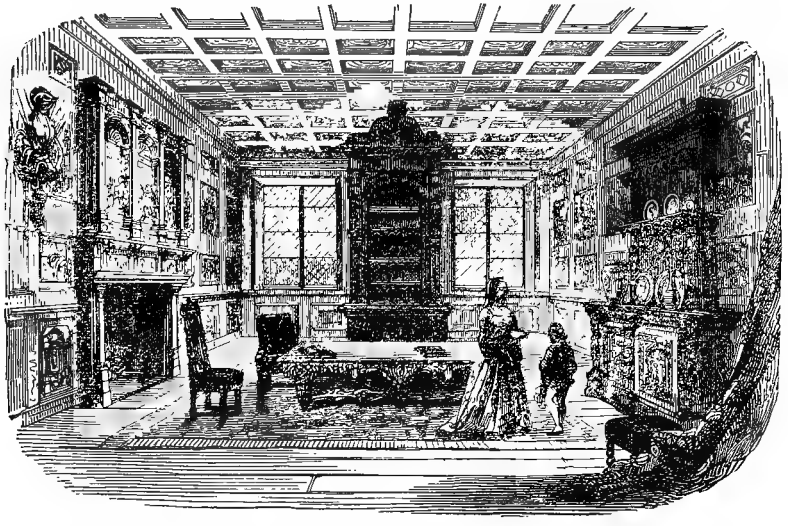
to take effect after their lives, and many bequests were made by individuals on their death-beds. Even these legacies to charitable purposes, the administration of which was generally given to the clergy, were frequently applied to their own benefit. They failed not, above all, to inculcate upon a wealthy sinner that no atonement could be so acceptable to heaven as liberal presents to its earthly delegates. To die without allotting a portion of worldly wealth to pious orders was accounted almost like suicide, or the refusal of the last sacraments, and hence intestacy passed for a sort of fraud upon the church, which she punished by taking the administration of the deceased into her own hands. This, however, was peculiar to England and seems to have been the case there only between the reigns of Henry III. and Edward III.

The church lands enjoyed an immunity from taxes, though not, as we have remarked above in general, from military service when held by feudal tenure. This being the case, we can understand how lay-proprietors acquired the custom of granting their estates to the church, but receiving the same back as a fief or lease. Such lands were now exempted from public burdens since they were church lands. Sometimes the monks misused their knowledge of writing for the purpose of forging charters in their favor, which might easily impose upon an age in which but comparatively few persons could write and the more so, since it has acquired a peculiar science to detect these frauds in modern times.[1] As an additional source of revenue and in imitation of a Jewish law, the payment of tithes was recommended or enjoined.

Yet there were many obstacles to the clergy in their acquisition of opulence. There was a return wave of

[1] Hallam, l. c.

violence that set sometimes very strongly against them. In times of barbarous violence, nothing can thoroughly compensate for the inferiority of physical strength and prowess. The ecclesiastical history of the middle ages presents one long continuation of fraud against robbery, of acquisitions, made by the church through such means as we have just mentioned, torn from her in turn by lawless power. Those very men, who, in the hour of sickness



House of a Rich Burgher of the 15th Century.

and impending death, showered the gifts of expiatory devotion upon her altars, passed the sunshine of their lives in sacrilegious plunder. Notwithstanding the frequent instances of extreme reverence for religious institutions among the nobility, we should be deceived in supposing this to be their general character. Rapacity, not less than that of the abbots, was commonly united with a daring fierceness that the abbots could not resist. In every country we find continual lamentation over the plunder of ecclesiastical possessions. Charles Martel is reproached with

having given the first notorious example of such spoliation. If it had not been for the draw-backs, the clergy must, one must imagine, have almost acquired the exclusive property of the soil. They did enjoy nearly one-half of England and, in some countries of Europe, a still greater proportion.[1] The great age of monasteries in England was the reigns of Henry I., Stephen, and Henry II. The revenue of the English church in 1337 amounted to over seven hundred thousand marks per annum.

Among the causes which served to increase the power of the church, was the right and power of excommunication, in an age of superstition this became a weapon of great power. Whatever opinions may be entertained as to its religious efficacy, excommunication was originally nothing more in appearance than an exercise of a right which every society claims, namely, the expulsion of refractory members from its body. No direct temporal disadvantages attended this penalty for several ages; but, as it was the most severe of spiritual censures and tended to exclude the object of it not only from a participation in just rights but, in a considerable degree, from the intercourse of Christian society, it was used sparingly and only upon the gravest occasions. Gradually, as the church became more powerful and more imperious, excommunications were issued upon every provocation, rather as a weapon af ecclesiastical warfare than with any regard to its original intention. Very soon, others than spiritual penalties were added to the consequences of excommunication.

By the common law of England, for instance, an excommunicated person was incapable of being a witness, or of bringing an action, and he might be detained in prison

[1] Turner: "History of England," Vol. III. p. 45. MacPherson: "Annals of Commerce."

until he obtained absolution.[1] By the Establishments of St. Louis, his estate or person might be attached by the magistrate. These actual penalties were attended by marks of abhorrence and ignominy, still more calculated to make an impression on ordinary minds. They were to be shunned, like men infected with leprosy, by their servants, their friends, and their families. Two attendants only, if we trace a current history, remained with Robert, king of France, who on account of an irregular marriage was put under this ban by Gregory V., and these threw all the meats which had passed his table into the fire. Indeed, the mere intercourse with a prescribed person incurred what is called the lesser ex-communication, or prevention of the sacraments, and required penance and absolution. In some cases a bier was set before the door of the ex-communicated individual and stones thrown at his windows. Everywhere the excommunicated were debarred regular sepulcher.[2]

But ex-communication which attacked only one and perhaps a hardened sinner was not always efficacious, so the church had recourse to a more comprehensive punishment. For the offense of a nobleman, she put a county—for that of a prince, his entire kingdom, under an interdict or suspension of religious offices. No stretch of her power was perhaps so cruel as this. During an interdict, the churches were closed, the bells silent, and dead unburied; no rites but those of baptism and extreme unction were performed. The penalty fell upon those who had neither protection nor could have prevented the offense; and the offense was often but a private dispute in which the pride of a pope or bishop had been wounded. This was the main-spring of

[1] "Coke on Littleton" [Thorne. ed.] Vol. III. p. 390 *et seq.*

[2] Du Cange, sub voce: Imblocatus.

the machinery that the clergy set in motion, the lever by which they moved the world. It might be said, that, from the moment these interdicts and ex-communications were tried, the power of the church existed only by sufferance. Nor was the validity of such denunciations supposed to de-

Treatment of Heretics in the Middle Ages.

pend upon their justice. The imposer, indeed, of an unjust ex-communication was guilty of a sin, but the parties subjected to it had no remedy but submission. After Pope Gregory VII., however, as the spirit of ecclesiastical usurpation became more violent, there grew up by degrees an opposite feeling in the laity, which ripened into an alienation of sentiment from the church.

The great reformer, and in fact the founder of the ascendency of the church, in the middle ages was Pope Gregory VII., or as he was called before being elected to the Holy See, Hildebrand. He was at once the most ambitious, the most energetic, and the greatest master of external as well as of internal politics. Previous to his time, the position of the church, although always regarded with awe and respect, was in the very best case, one of equal might and power with the influence of kings and sovereigns. It was the ambition of Gregory VII. to raise and increase the power of the church, so as to be not the equal, but the superior of all secular princes. This, the object of his life, he began to realize long before he was elected to the papal dignity. Already under his immediate predecessors, he was the main spring of the actions emanating from Rome. With great boldness he advised the pope to regard the emperors of Germany, as well as the kings of France, as his spiritual vassals, and instead of waiting for the confirmation and approval of the emperor, to ignore it totally. When Gregory ascended the Papal See, he carried his aggressive politics against the German Emperor, Henry IV., to an extreme, as we have already outlined.[1]

It is a difficult task to come to an impartial judgment on the merits or demerits of the Catholic church during the middle ages. In modern times, the position and power of the Roman church is apparently far from equaling its power during the middle ages. But this statement must be taken with many allowances, for, at present as well as in former times, the Catholic church commands an almost unbounded influence; still, admitting its truth, this statement ought not lead us into too harsh a judgment of the

[1] Above p. 372.

people of other centuries. Many, at present, think that the power of the church is deleterious to the general advance of mankind and that it ought to be curbed and controlled by the arm of secular power. During the middle ages the influence of the church was felt in almost every department of public and private life. It may well be,

Book Making in the Middle Ages.

then, that its influence, in some degree at least, was of undue dimensions; but on the other hand, we must not forget that strictly political and secular powers are also encroaching and aggressive. They, too, thrust themselves upon almost every department of private and domestic life. They deprive us of a considerable part of our

time, and exact very heavy tributes in the way of taxation.

Especially is this true of Europe where the bearing and influence of the state on pretty nearly every individual is more annoying and troublesome than the interference of the church in the middle ages. Thus nearly every European is subject to three years military service, and to all varieties of exactions as well as having to bear the burden of frequent and unreasonable taxes. Now intellectual and spiritual power, not being inferior to secular and political power, there really is very little reason to exaggerate the bad influence of the one and extol the good work of the other. Power, after all, is power, and interference remains interference, whether it comes from a pope or from a king. These considerations must give us pause when about to launch out in some denunciations against the church in the middle ages. The church numbered hundreds of thousands of members, and it is but a matter of course that in a corporation consisting of such a numerous membership, persons guilty of all kinds of misdemeanors, vices, and even crimes, creep in.

A heavy indictment has been drawn against the church in the matter of mental liberty and scientific advance. The case seems to be well made out, but it is well to see what can be said on the side of the accused. Under the name of scholasticism we generally comprise the philosophy and science of the middle ages. Many writers in our times delight in running down and decrying the efforts of medieval thinkers, but a closer study of their works generally ends with an admiration of the writers and an acknowledgment of their talent, industry, and perseverance. Several of them, like Duns Scotus Erigena, Albertus Magnus, St. Thomas of Aquina, William of Champeaux, Occam, and others are justly distinguished, and a

deeper study of their works has disclosed to us many a mine of happy and rich thoughts. The works of St. Thomas of Aquina may be fairly considered the treasury of knowledge of those times, embracing, as they do, the whole circle of sciences cultivated in the middle ages.[1]

Street Shows in the Middle Ages.

All these thinkers were under the immediate influence of the church, even members of the same; but this did not prevent them from broaching the profoundest problems and giving expression to thoughts of lasting

[1] Compare the works of Stoecker on Scholasticism, and especially the suggestive work of Pouchet on the progress of natural science during the middle ages.

value. We must not forget, either, that the church enjoined on several of its orders the obligation of copying the ancient manuscripts of Roman and Greek writers; and it is only by the industry and patience of those medieval monks that we can still enjoy the productions of classical writers. All our knowledge of Greece and Rome has been preserved by the monks, more especially by the Benedictines. In the field of history, too, we extract from their dreary tomes considerable information, not only as to ancient Greece and Rome but of the history and institutions of medieval times. But on the other hand, there is a sad story to tell. We must remember, however, that similar results would attend the establishment of any church, clothed with political power, among a people who had not yet attained a stage of great intellectual advance. When Christianity came into power under Constantine, there commenced that sad conflict between science and religion which ended some centuries later, when the church had become thoroughly established, by the subversion of science to bigotry and superstition. Thus the church which should have been the power to free men's minds from the oppressive weight of ignorance, but riveted their fetters more strongly. It is extremely probable that, had there been no organized church clothed with the power to enforce its decrees, there would have been no "dark ages," but given the foregoing the latter result followed. The church was not the cause of the superstition and ignorance of the dark ages, but the oppressive weight of ecclesiastical power put an end for many dreary centuries to further advance in knowledge.

In conclusion of our view of the middle ages, we shall devote some attention to the commercial activities of those times. From about the middle of the fourteenth

century, we find evidence of a continuous and rapid increase in wealth. Thus in 1363, Picard, who had been lord mayor some years before, entertained Edward III., the Black Prince, the kings of France, Scotland, and Cyprus, with many of the nobility, at his own house and

Attack on a Caravan.

presented them with handsome gifts. Philipot, another eminent citizen in Richard II.'s time, when the trading of England was considerably annoyed by privateers, hired one thousand armed men and dispatched them to sea, where they took fifteen Spanish vessels with their prizes. We find Richard obtaining a great deal from private

merchants and trading towns. In 1379, he got five thousand pounds sterling from London, a thousand marks from Bristol, and in proportion from smaller places. In 1386, London gave four thousand pounds sterling more and ten thousand marks in 1377. The latter sum was obtained also for the coronation of Henry VI. nor were the contributions of individuals contemptible, considering the high value of money. Hinde, a citizen of London, loaned Henry IV. two thousand pounds sterling, and Whittington, one half of that sum.[1]

A commercial intercourse between the northern and southern regions of Europe sprang up about the early part of the fourteenth century. The Italian merchants seldom undertook voyages perilous in themselves, but rendered more formidable by imaginary difficulties supposed to attend an expedition beyond the Straits of Hercules, as the Straits of Gibraltar were then called, before the magnet was discovered, its properties understood, and navigation raised to a science. The English, accustomed to their own rough seas, were always more intrepid and probably more skillful navigators, but it was extremely rare even in the fifteenth century for an English trading vessel to appear in the Mediterranean. Yet a famous military armament, destined for the crusade of Richard I., had displayed, at a very early time, the seamanship of the English. In the reign of Henry VI., England carried on a pretty extensive traffic with the countries around the Mediterranean, for whose commodities she exchanged her wool and cloth. The city republics of Venice and Amalfi kept up the commercial intercourse of Christendom with the Saracen countries before the first crusade. Scarcely known before the end of the sixth, Almalfi ran a brilliant

[1] Hallam: "View of the Middle Ages," chap. ix.

career as a free and trading republic until the middle of the twelfth century when the Normans reduced her by force of arms. But the decline of Amalfi was counterbalanced by the elevation of Pisa, Genoa, and Venice in in the twelfth and ensuing ages. These three Italian Republics enjoyed immunities in the Christian principalities of Syria, possessing separate quarters in many cities where they were governed by their own laws and magistrates.[1]

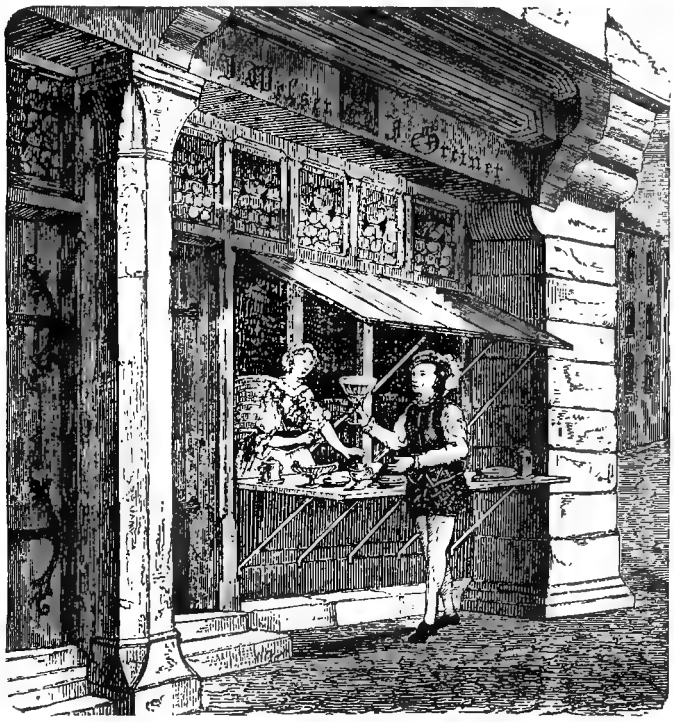
The introduction of a silk manufactory at Palermo, by Richard Guiscard in 1148, gave perhaps the earliest impulse to the industry of Italy. The Genoese, at about the same date, plundered two Moorish cities of Spain, from which they derived the same art. In the next age, this became a staple manufacture of the Lombard and Tuscan Republics, and the cultivation of mulberries was enforced by their laws. Woolen stuffs, though the trade was perhaps less conspicuous than that of Flanders, and though many of the coarser kinds were imported from thence, engaged a multitude of workmen in Italy and the south of France. Among the trading companies, into which the middle ranks were distributed, those concerned in silk and woolen manufacture were always numerous and honorable.[2]

It is perhaps impossible to ascertain the epoch when the polarity of the magnet became first known in Europe. The common opinion which ascribes its discovery to a citizen of Amalfi, in the fourteenth century, is undoubtedly erroneous. The French, as well as the Italians, claimed the discovery as their own, but whether it was due to either of these nations or rather learned from their

1 Muratori, Dissertationes, xxx.

2 Decandolle, "Domestic Plants," Silk.

intercourse with the Saracens is not easily to be ascertained. When the use of the magnet became more established, it naturally inspired a more fearless spirit of adventure. It was not, as has been mentioned, till the beginning of the fourteenth century, that the Genoese and other nations around that inland sea steered into the Atlantic Ocean toward England and Flanders. In spite



Street Scene in the Middle Ages.

of numerous obstacles, such as the general uncertainty of law and maritime piracy, the merchants of different countries became so opulent as to almost rival the ancient nobility. The trading companies possessed either a positive or a virtual monopoly, and held the keys of those eastern regions, for the luxuries of which the progressive

refinement of manners produced an increasing demand.

It is not easy to determine the average rate of profit, but we know that the interest of money was very high throughout the middle ages. At Verona in 1228, it was fixed by law at twelve and a half per cent; at Modina in 1270, it seems to have been as high as twenty per cent. The Republic of Genoa, towards the end of the

Carpenter Shop in Olden Times.

fourteenth century, when Italy had grown wealthy, paid only from seven to ten per cent to her creditors; but in France and England, the rate was more oppressive. An ordinance of Philip the Fair, in 1311, allowed twenty per cent after the first year of the loan. Under Henry III., the debtor paid ten per cent every two months, but this could not possibly have been the general practice. This was not merely owing to scarcity of money, but to the discouragement which a strange prejudice opposed to one

of the most useful and legitimate branches of commerce. Usury or lending money for profit was treated as a crime by the theologians of the middle ages. Though this opinion has been overthrown, traces of it still remain in the legislation of some modern countries. This trade in money, and indeed a great part of inland trade in general, had originally fallen to the Jews, who were noted for their usury as early as the sixth century.

The earliest bank of deposit, instituted for the accommodation of private merchants, is said to have been that of Barcelona in 1401. The banks of Verona and Genoa were of a different description. Although the former of these two has the advantage of greater antiquity, having been formed in the twelfth century, yet its early history is not so clear as that of Genoa, nor its political importance so remarkable. During the wars of the fourteenth century, Genoa had borrowed large sums of private citizens, to whom the revenues of the city were pledged for repayment. As a security, at least for their interest, the subscribers to the loans were permitted to receive the produce of the taxes by their own collectors, paying the excess into the treasury. The number and distinct classes of these subscribers, becoming at last inconvenient, they were formed, about the year 1407, into a single corporation, called the "Bank of St. George," which was from that time, the sole national creditor and mortgagee. The government of this was entrusted to eight protectors. It soon became almost independent of the state. Every member, on his admission, swore to maintain the privileges of the bank which were confirmed by the pope and even by the empire. The bank interposed its advice in every measure of government and generally, as is admitted, to the public advantage. It equipped armaments at its own

expense, one of which subdued the island of Corsica.[1]

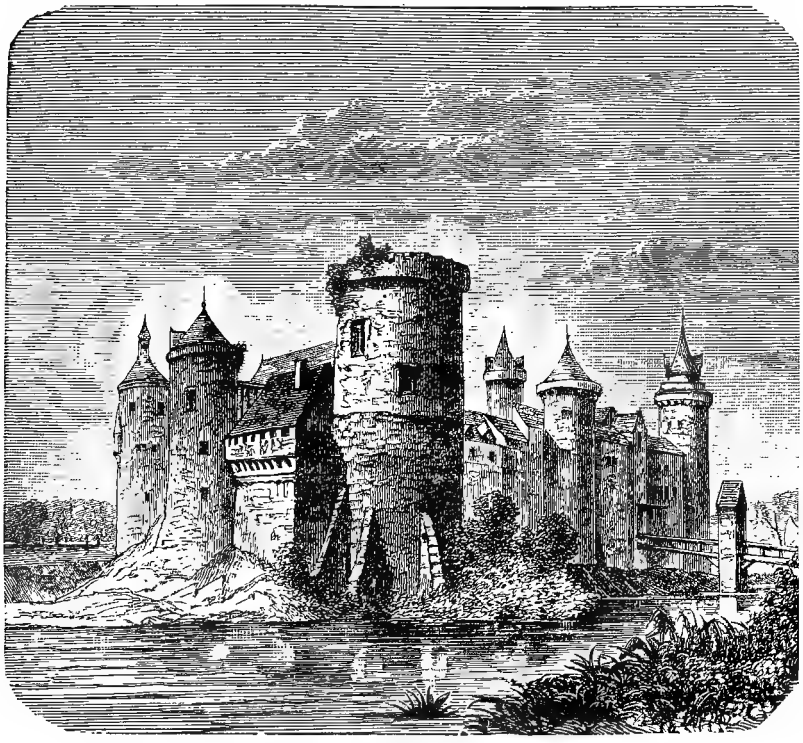
The increasing wealth of Europe, whether derived from internal improvement or foreign commerce, displayed itself in more extensive consumption and greater refinements of domestic life; but these effects were, for a long time, very gradual. It is not till the latter part of the thirteenth century, that a more rapid impulse appears to have been given to society. A writer about the era thirteen hundred describes the manners of the Italians as follows: "In those times," he says, "the manners of the Italians were rude. A man and his wife ate off the same plate, there were no wooden-handled knives nor more than one or two drinking cups in the house. Candles of wax or tallow were unknown. A servant held a torch during the supper. The clothes of men were of leather unlined, scarcely any gold or silver was seen on their dress. The common people ate flesh but three times a week and kept their cold meat for supper. Many did not drink wine in summer. A small stock of rye seemed riches. The portions of women were small. Their dress even after marriage was simple. The pride of man was to be well provided with arms and horses. That of the nobility, to have lofty towers, of which all the cities of Italy were full. But now," he adds, "frugality has been changed for sumptuousness, everything exquisite is sought after in dress, gold, silver, pearls, silks, and rich furs. Foreign wines and rich meats are required, hence usury, rapine, tyranny, fraud, etc."[2]

No chapter of national manners would illustrate so well, if duly executed, the progress of social life as that dedicated to domestic architecture. The fashions of dress

1 Hallam: "Middle Ages," ch. ix.

2 Ricobaldi, quoted in Muratori: "Dissertationes, xxxvi."

and of amusements are generally capricious and irreducible to rule, but every change in the dwellings of mankind, from the rudest wooden cabin to the stately residence, was dictated by some principle of convenience, neatness, comfort, or magnificence. Both France and England do not appear to have made great progress in domestic architec-



Feudal Castle at Rouen.

ture during the middle ages. Except fortified castles, we do not find any considerable dwellings mentioned before the reign of Charles VII. of France. Occasionally a rich merchant possessed a magnificent house in Paris or in some of the neighboring cities. Even in Italy, where from the size of her cities and social refinements of her inhabitants, greater elegance and splendor in building were

justly to be expected, the domestic architecture of the middle ages did not attain any perfection.

In several towns, the houses were covered with thatch, and suffered consequently from destructive fires. The two most essential improvements in architecture during this period, one of which had been missed by the sagacity of Greece and Rome, were chimneys and glass windows. Nothing, apparently, can be more simple than the former, yet the wisdom of ancient times had been content to let the smoke escape by an opening in the center of the roof.[1] About the middle of the fourteenth century, the use of chimneys is distinctly mentioned in England and Italy, but they are found in several of the English castles, which bear a much older date. Glass is said to have been employed in the domestic architecture of France before the fourteenth century, and its introduction into England was probably not earlier Nor indeed did it come into general use during the period of the middle ages. Glazed windows were considered as movable furniture and probably bore a high price. When the earls of Northumberland, as late as the reign of Elizabeth, left Alnwick Castle, windows were taken out of their frames and carefully laid by. But if the domestic buildings of the fifteenth century would not seem very spacious or convenient at present, far less would this generation be content with their internal accommodations. A gentleman's house, containing three or four beds, was extraordinarily well provided. Few probably had more than two. The walls were commonly bare. It is unnecessary to add that neither luxuries of books nor pictures could have found a place among furniture. Silver plate was very rare and hardly used for the table.

[1] Beckmann: "Geschichte der Erfindungen," III. p. 110.

Few things are capable of giving us a more distinct idea of the economical condition of a period of time than the general market prices of things. In the reign of Henry III. and Edward I. in other words, before 1300, the ordinary price of a quarter of wheat appears to have been about four shillings, and that of barley and oats in proportion. A sheep at a shilling was considered high.[1] An ox might be procured for ten or twelve. The value of cattle is of course dependent upon their breed and condition, and we have no early account of butcher's meat. In order to bring the prices of the thirteenth century to a level with those of the present day, we can hardly take a less multiple than about thirty for animal food and eighteen or twenty for rye. Combining the two and setting the comparative dearness of cloth against the cheapness of fuel and many other articles, we may perhaps consider any given sum under Henry III. and Edward I. as equivalent in general command over commodities to about twenty-four or twenty-five times their nominal value at present. Accustomed to judge of feudal and chivalrous ages by works of fiction or by historians who embellish their writings with accounts of occasional festivals and tournaments and are sometimes inattentive enough to transfer the manners of the seventeenth to the fourteenth century, we are not at all aware of the usual simplicity with which the gentry lived under Edward I. or even Henry VI. They drank little wine, although they generally made up for that in the way of drinking beer. They had no foreign luxuries; they rarely or never kept male servants except for husbandry. Their horses as we may guess by the price, were indifferent. They seldom traveled beyond their country and even their hospitality

1 English Shilling.

must have been greatly limited if the value of estates was really no greater than we find it in many surveys. An income of ten or twenty pounds sterling was reckoned a competent estate for a gentleman. At least the lord of a single manor would seldom have enjoyed more. A knight, who possessed one hundred and fifty pounds sterling per annum, passed for extremely rich, yet this was not equal in command over commodities to four thousand pounds sterling at present.

But this income was comparatively free from taxation; and in addition to the money, the lord had the disposal of quite an array of villeins. Sir John Fortescue speaks of five pounds a year as a fair living for a yeoman, a class of whom he is not at all inclined to diminish the importance. Still one class of laborers seem to have been better paid in the reigns of Edward III. or Henry VI. than at present. In the fourteenth century, a harvest man had four pence a day which enabled him in a week to buy a comb of wheat, but to buy a comb of wheat a man must now work six or eight days. So under Henry VI., if meat was at a farthing and a half a pound, a laborer, earning three pence a day or eighteen pence in a week, could buy a bushel of wheat at six shillings the quarter, and twenty-four pounds of meat for his family. A laborer, at present earning twelve shillings a week, can buy only half a bushel of wheat at eighty shillings the quarter and twelve pounds of meat at seven pence.[1]

It would be great historical injustice in treating of the institutions of the middle ages, to neglect the great and far-reaching influence of a people, who, by their intense interest in everything connected with civilization and by their intimate connection with medieval Europe, claim

1 Nicholl's "Illustrations," and Hallam.

our attention, if not our gratitude. We mean the people following the Mohammedan creed and more especially the Arabians of the middle ages. Their vast empire founded on the valor and military system of Mohammed soon turned to a cultivation of science and philosophy, which did not fail to bear fruit and be of great consequence both to the country where it was produced and the countries of Europe to which it was carried by the zeal and thirst for knowledge of some Christian thinkers. The Arabians, with an energy and a genius but rarely equalled, devoted their attention to philosophical and scientific studies; and many of their caliphs, like Al Manzur and the still more celebrated Haroun-al-Raschid, were eager to attract to their courts the astronomers and mathematicians of the empire.

The Arabians, highly prized the great and useful literature of the Greeks, and did not hesitate to avail themselves of the works of Aristotle, Plato, and the later school of Alexandria. They translated the works of those Greek thinkers into the classical language of Arabia; and, more than this, they unceasingly endeavored and frequently succeeded, in reforming and improving on their teachers. The great names of Averroes and Avicenna are immortal luminaries in the history of philosophy. The mathematical works of Mohammed ben Mousa enriched the science of higher arithmetic with the solution of equations of the second degree. They were equally felicitous in their study of the human body, and Arabian physicians and doctors had a reputation all over the then known world. Frederick II., the enlightened and ingenious emperor of Germany, had them as his constant companions, delighting in the conversation of those learned men, who at that time combined both the classical knowl-

edge of Greece and the newly acquired treasures of facts and ideas, found and propounded by Arabian thinkers.

The bloom and blossom of Arabian civilization centered in Spain; and it was to that land, where the Arabians long held a beneficent sway over two-thirds of the country, that many a zealous scholar of Europe repaired in order to acquire information which, at that time, he could not procure elsewhere. Geber, or as he is better known, Pope Sylvester II., was an immediate scholar of the Arabians in Spain; and it was to their instruction that he owed his remarkable skill in the theory and practice of mathematical science. Roger Bacon, the great wonder and marvel of English science in the middle ages, took a considerable part of his knowledge, his theorems, and inventions from a diligent study of the works of Arabian philosophers; and thus we may fairly state that the Arabian civilization, if it did not exercise an influence similar to that of Greek or Roman civilization, was indeed not very inferior in its consequences, having roused the spirit of self-reflection and a bolder investigation into the problems of nature and of the human mind. Many of the commonest words in our science still bear the signs of Arabian influence; and some of the noblest sciences, as for instance, algebra, retain the Arabian notation without alteration.

We must now draw to a conclusion this picture of life and times of the middle ages. Of necessity we could only touch on the main points, numberless points of minor importance having to be passed over in silence. In the last three chapters we have tried to outline the development of Aryan culture forming a counterpart to the three closing chapters of Part I., treating of the political development. Taken together, we can now understand the

"Medieval World" in culture. It has simply to do with Europe, as the Ancient World had to do with Asia and the Nile Valley. And what completeness does it give to the view to regard Europe as the home land of the Aryans, and the Aryans of Asia as simply emigrants who wandered so far to the Orient as to loose their way back.

And we hope it now becomes clear that when we talk about great eras in culture, we must make altogether different divisions than those ordinarily employed by the historians. The medieval world in culture does not at all correspond to the medieval world in history. It has reference solely to the Aryans. Aryan culture has known no backward movement. The culture of to-day is simply the development of medieval culture. We have now watched the gradual unfolding of Europe, and have drawn near to the dawning of modern times. There is something in this ever widening sweep of Aryan culture, which we have traced from its source in Greece until it has embraced all Europe, that ought to give room to the cheering belief that the Aryan people will long continue to press on in the pursuit of knowledge. Loosing ourselves in revery, we may dream of the time when Aryan language, religion, and culture shall embrace the whole world in its folds.[1]

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1 The three preceding chapters on ancient Greece, Rome, and the Middle Ages, covering, as they do, an immense field of investigation and the vast expanse of over two thousand five hundred years, did not admit of a more elaborate treatment of special points. Accordingly the author of these three essays considered it his main duty to direct the reader's attention to the leading features only, and to adduce the necessary arguments and illustrations in order to facilitate a clear and coherent insight into the real and specific character of Greek, Roman, and Medieval Civilization.

Such a succinct picture of the past times, however, while on the one hand, it necessitates a greater amount of reasoning and generalization, does, on the other hand, lessen the bulk of mere facts, with the exception

of those, the certainty of which has long been established, and continue to form the undisturbed common property of scholars. Many of the facts proffered in the preceding three essays, but more especially in the essay on Roman civilization, [such as those concerning the dress, the meals, the buildings, the races of the Romans] have been taken from standard reference books, like Pauly's Realencyclopaedie des Klassischen Alterthums; Saglio and Daremberg's [unfinished] Dictionnaire des Antiquites Romaines; Smith's Dictionary of Roman Antiquities, and others. It being the literary custom to use small portions [in distinction to whole articles] of these and similar useful compilations freely, the present general acknowledgment will suffice as an index of some of the sources used in the preparation of the said essays. The essential and leading ideas and conceptions of the preceding essays, however, and particularly those of the essays on Rome [e. g. the discussion of the city-state, the position of women, of house-sons, of slaves, the purport of Roman games, the causes of the unique greatness of Rome, etc.] have been evolved by an independent study of the original sources, [chiefly, Livy, Dionysius H., Cicero, Polybius) together with the best works of the moderns [mainly, Niebuhr, Schwegler, Mommsen, Lange, Sir. C. Lewis, etc.] It was, consequently, thought not feasible to crowd the pages with quotations, which, by the very nature of the subject, would have been far too minute and numerous for any other than a strictly professional work, the short space allotted to the subject being a final apology for the omission of direct quotations from the Roman historians.

ELEUSINIAN FEAST.

# CHAPTER IX.

## ARYAN RELIGION.

INTRODUCTION—Mythology—Origin of Myths—Eclipse Myths—Nature Myths—The Myth of the Dawn—Aryan Mythology—The Sky God—Aryans of Asia—The Vedic Age—Brahmanism—Rise of Philosophy—The Sankhya System—The Yoga Branch—The Vedanta School—The Doctrine of Illusion—Iswara—Mazdeism, Origin of—Mazdean Literature—Dualism—Ahura Mazda—The Ameshospands—Development of Mazdeism—Zrvan Akarana—Peculiarity of Greek Development—The Ionic School of Philosophy—Pythagoras—Socrates—Plato—The "World of Ideas"—Comparison with Hindoo Thought—World-Soul—Contact between Aryan Thought and Judaism—Angels—Satan—Primitive Feast—Greek Mysteries—The Eleusinian Myth—Nationality of Buddha—Initiation into Brahmanism—Organization of his Order—The Laymen—Sayings of Buddha—Initiation into the Order—Political Development of Buddhism—Esoteric Buddhism—The "Tathagatha,"The "Great Vehicle" Movement—Buddhaghosa—The Legendary Buddha—Spread of Buddhism—General Conclusions.

HAVE still before us a most important field of research, to which we must now turn our attention, this is the religious development of the Aryan people. Here as elsewhere Aryan genius is preceptible. It will be found in the sequel that two very important systems of Oriental religion date from Aryan foundation, one taking its rise in India and one in Persia. Tracing this influence to the West, we find two slightly diverging systems of philoso-

phy, one taking its rise in Greece finally culminating in the philosophy of Plato; and one, originating in the conflict between Aryan and Semitic thought—especially Judaism—ultimately giving rise to the various Gnostic sects, the relations between which and Christianity, it will be the object of a future chapter to unravel.

An immense field is here disclosed to view, each and every topic mentioned is deserving of a volume by itself. Hence it is evident that we can only give an outline of all. Still this will prove interesting, and will show, as nothing else will, certain peculiarities of Aryan thought. They were the first people to seriously grapple with, and attempt the solution of, certain great problems—such as the nature of the first cause, the origin of the soul, of matter, of evil—problems which still tax the ingenuity of theologians of our own times. So we will attempt to come to an understanding on this rather diffuse subject.

But let us observe well our surroundings. We have in another place gone over the ground of "Primitive Religion."[1] We need have no doubt that the various Aryan tribes of Europe went through at least the preliminary stages of this development before any extensive migration from their common home. History opens for each great section of the Aryan race when it was in the last stage of this growth, that of polytheistic Nature Worship. It is therefore necessary to gain a slight understanding of Aryan mythology, especially as we wish to show how primitive mythological conceptions continue to exert an influence long after the people have advanced to higher grades of culture.

Now mythology happens to be one of those topics, that have so recently been made the subject of scientific

[1] This Series, Vol. II. ch. v.

study, that they are still far from being settled fields. Probably, as is true of many another branch of science, at an early stage of its history, its enthusiastic expounders claimed for it more than it could perform, and appealed to its authority where it had no jurisdiction. On the other hand, some resist its plainest teachings and, refusing the assistance it proffers them, find themselves still involved in doubt, or stubbornly cling to conclusions which they should have been willing to abandon a long time ago. A reluctance to change established views may be as prolific of error as an overweening desire to embrace theories simply because they are new. If we would really understand this subject, some general remarks must be made.

Only of late years have explorers considered it worth their while to take into account the stories and tales of savage and but partially civilized people. Now that this subject has been noticed the following statements are found to be true. Nearly all tribes of men have collections of stories that profess to explain all natural phenomena, or are accounts of the doings of supernatural beings, or of beasts gifted with supernatural power. These stories pass on into barbaric life, in which stage they are mainly accounts of the actions of supernatural beings. Advancing intelligence either clothes these stories with a religious garb, making them accounts of the actions of their gods, or adopts the principal actors in them as their own natural heroes and the time of their occurrence as their golden age.

To the above statement, we must add, that these stages are not sharply defined, but are found variously commingled among the same people, at the same time; and, further, incidents of the original stories, lost sight of in gen-

eral, are continually re-appearing as survivals in the folk-lore of the people. Now, mythology proper, at least as ordinarily understood, concerns only the religious and heroic stage of these stories, where they are mainly the accounts of the doings of gods, goddesses, and supernatural beings. But for our purpose it is better to glance at the whole story field as just laid down.

Death of Hercules.

We must recall some points of savage philosophy. We have learned that, at a certain stage, savages come upon the conception that objects have souls, and that this conception extends in the stage of Fetichism to embrace all natural phenomena.[1] It is evident, that when people in this stage of development attempt to give any expla-

[1] This Series Vol. II. p. 310 *et seq.*

nation of what is going on about them, the explanation will be colored by such belief. To illustrate, what more natural than that rude people should see in water spouts great flying dragons and serpents.?[1] How else could such phenomena be described by savages, imbued with the savage theory just spoken of? So, quite naturally indeed, the sand pillars of the desert are explained to be the flight of demons.[2]

Now we want to dwell on this point, because here is a state of mind that will most unquestionably give rise to a great host of mythic stories. Everything, to primitive man, is endowed with individuality and life. Sun, moon, and stars, the winds, clouds, storms, rivers, are present to their minds as animate bodies, living much such a life as mortals do. It is manifest that such a stage of thought will give rise to a great number of mythic conceptions. We can further see how true it is that all people, in the progress of development must come to such a stage of thought. It is sure to arise, when once the savage idea of souls has gained ground. Everything that happens will inevitably be explained in terms denoting the action of living beings. Further still, primitive man will fall back on the same line of reasoning to explain some of the most common occurrences.[3]

Let us illustrate this. At times the rays of the sun shining through the clouds present the appearance of great ropes hanging down from the sun. Savages, believing the sun to be alive, seek to explain this appearance.

[1] Tyler: "Primitive Culture," Vol I. p. 264-5. [2] Ibid.

[3] A number of scholars seem to think that primitive man could not well distinguish between the living and the not living (Sayce: "Science of Language," Vol. II. p. 264) but this theory seems to rest upon a poor foundation. (See Spencer: "Principles of Sociology.") To our mind this mystic stage arises, like Fetichism, from the savage doctrine of souls. That conception has first to be formed. [*Vide* Vol. II. ch. v.]

Thus have arisen in different localities the myths of the sun catcher. The Polynesian tribes tell how Maui and his brothers, thinking that the sun went too fast, plaited ropes and formed a noose, and then journeyed to the East; "very far to the eastward, and came to the very edge of the place out of which the sun rises." Then they spread the noose and prepared to catch the sun. At length the sun rises. "He rises up, his head passes through the noose, and it takes in more and more of his body, until his fore paws pass through; then are pulled tight the ropes." Maui then rushed upon him, bearing in his hand an enchanted weapon. "Alas the sun screams aloud; he roars; Maui strikes him fiercely with many blows; they hold him for a long time; at last they let him go; and then weak from wounds the sun crept slowly along his course."[1]

Now this story is not based on any poetical metaphor. Savages are doing just what scientific men are doing to-day, explaining as best they can in accordance with their philosophy what they see around them. On island after island different versions of this myth occur, and some say that Maui wisely refused to take off the ropes, so that he might constantly hold the sun in check. The natives say that you can still see the ropes attached to the sun when he rises and sets. Civilized children exclaim "the sun is drawing water," in such instances the Polynesian islanders would say "behold the ropes of Maui."[2]

To show how true it is, that given the same phenomena to explain, men in the same stage of enlightenment will reason the same way, we need only point out that substantially similar myths existed among our Indian tribes.

[1] Grey: "Polynesian Mythology," London, 1885, p. 35-8.
[2] Tyler: Early History of Mankind," p. 352.

Sometimes as an accident, and sometimes on purpose, the sun is represented as caught in a snare, set by some wonderful hunter. In the American stories, however, the animals liberate the sun. In one story, the mole, burrowing underground, at length sets the sun free, his eyes are, however, put out by the intense light, and ever since moles have been blind.[1] It is quite in keeping with this old mythic idea that the Incas of Peru reasoned about the sun. "He is like a tethered beast who makes a daily round under the eye of a master."[2] And it is certainly interesting to observe that this conception lingers on in European folk-lore where the sun is spoken of as if it were tethered and delayed by bands.[3]

Thus mythic conceptions, such as here shown, arise quite naturally, and have a wide range both in space and time. It will be found that such conceptions underlie the ideas everywhere entertained by partially civilized tribes of eclipses. The sun and moon are considered as alive, but at times, from some mysterious cause, they seem to be disappearing with their light and warmth. What more natural than the explanation given of some monster seeking to devour them. The sun and moon are in never ceasing motion across the vaults of heaven, they are supposed to be in flight to avoid some monster—wolf, dog, or dragon—who seems to have overtaken his prey at the moment of eclipse, and would doubtless finish them, were he not scared away by the efforts made by the natives in their behalf.[4]

Many North American Indian tribes gave the dogs a sound whipping during the eclipses, because the "big

[1] Ibid. 351. [2] Brinton: "Myths of the New World," p. 55.
[3] Grimm: "Teutonic Mythology," Vol. II. p. 745. London, 1883.
[4] Ibid. 705.

dog" was swallowing the moon and the sun, and by whipping the little dogs he might be induced to desist.[1] So the tribes in South America thought the moon was hunted across the sky by huge dogs, who caught and tore her during an eclipse, and so to scare them away, the Indians would set up a great noise and shoot their arrows athwart the sky.[2] So of the Moors in Africa. "When the sun eclipse was at its highest, we saw the people running

Assembly of the Gods on Mt. Olympus.

about as if mad, and firing their rifles at the sun, to frighten the monster who, they supposed, was wishing to devour the orb of day . . . The women banged copper vessels together, making such a din that it was heard leagues away."[3]

1 Brinton: "Myths," p. 137.
2 Tyler: "Culture," Vol. I. p. 296.
3 Grimm: "Teutonic Mythology," Vol. II. p. 707.

All the civilized nations show that they passed through the same belief. A Mongolian myth tells us of a demon who pursues both the sun and the moon, whenever he comes to hand-grips with one of them an eclipse occurs.[1] The Chinese still speak of the sun and moon as being "devoured" during an eclipse, and a great dragon is the monster doing the mischief. Nearly all of the population in Northern Asia have the same opinion. And everywhere with gongs and bells, rude music and prayers, it is to be driven away. The Finns in Europe have a similar belief. The Esthonians say the sun or moon is being "eaten," and until recently sought to hinder this process by conjuring spells.[2]

All Aryan nations passed through this stage of belief. "To this day, the Hindoos believe that a giant lays hold of the luminaries, and tries to swallow them."[3] "The Romans flung fire-brands into the air and blew trumpets and clanged brazen pots and pans." As late as the seventeenth century, people of Celtic descent were observed during an eclipse "to run about beating kettles and pans thinking their clamor and vexations available to the assistance of the higher orbs."[4] And not very long ago almanacs still represented eclipses by two dragons holding the sun and moon in their mouths.[5]

Now we have only just touched on the immense field of nature myths, we will, however, pass it by since, at present, all we wish to do is to make clear what we mean by the mythic stage of thought, and illustrate how naturally such stories might originate. As we have seen illustrated in the case of the sun-catcher, men everywhere are given to explain what they see around them. Certainly

[1] Ibid. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.
[4] Tyler, Op. cit. p. 301. [5] Grimm, l. c. note i.

from a very low stage of society on, man has been a theorizer. The primitive theories, however, are very crude. The point to be observed is, that these crude theories, explained in such terms that all understood them, very often indeed find embodiment in some story, and thus are kept alive as myths. We have now tried to make clear that a myth is in its origin an explanation. It is not an allegory, nor a poetical metaphor, but it is an effort on the part of primitive man to explain what he sees around him. They are the first theories of primitive science.[1] But we have been considering myths in their primitive stage. To explain their far reaching effects in the field of religion and history, we must reflect on the changes produced by time on the language in which they first find expression. For the original meaning of the words is lost sight of, partly because of changes constantly going forward in the language itself, and partly because advancing intelligence exposes the absurdity in the original explanation. So the real meaning in the old story is forgotten, all that remains is the shell.

We have now seen that myths are simply portions of the philosophy of the childhood age of mankind, often clothed in a new meaning, but not always. It is evident that all people who have achieved civilization have passed through such an age, and that barbarous people are even now in a mythical age. It is further evident that myths must embrace every department of science. We will have not only mythical religion but mythical philosophy and history as well. But the fact is, religious myths have had the most enduring life. We can all see the reason for this. Such myths would be handed down, while others would speedily be forgotten. Attempts would be

1 On this point see Fisk: "Myths and Myth Makers," p. 21

made to reconcile them with the beliefs and sciences of a new generation. It is instructive to notice the philosophers of the age of Socrates and Plato trying to explain Grecian mythology. We can furthermore see why it is, that nature myths—myths of the earth, sky, sun, stars, night, dawn, etc.—should be just the ones that would thus survive when others had been forgotten.

Many illustrations of this statement could be given, we will limit ourselves to but one, the Dawn. What is that roseate glow which lightens up the eastern sky shortly before the sun appears? The Australian tribes say that the sun is a woman. "Every night she descends among the dead, who stand in double lines to greet her and let her pass. She has a lover among the dead, who has presented her with a red kangaroo skin, and in this she appears at her rising,"[1] Strange conception, truly, but quite on a par with our Aryan progenitors, with whom the dawn was a red cow;[2] and the sun was her calf.[3] From this singular story as a starting point, we follow the conception into the poetry of the Vedas where Ushas (the Dawn) "opens the darkness as a cow her stall;" she is then represented as "full of wisdom, rich in everything;" in short, she is the author of all the good that day-light brings.[4] From this we understand the wonderful importance of cows in all the religious observances of the Hindoos,[5] and the Parsees, and let us not forget the great efficacy of the ashes of a *red* heifer among the Israelites.[6]

Let us constantly keep the foregoing in mind. Incidents of mythic story so altered that we can perhaps

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1 Lang: "Myth, Ritual, and Religion," Vol. II. p. 129.
2 "Zoological Mythology," Vol. I. p. 50.
3 Ibid. 51.
4 Keary: "Outline of Primitive Belief," p. 146-7.
5 *Vide* Williams: "Modern Hindooism."
6 Num. xix.

scarcely detect them are floating around the world, always ready to attach themselves to the names and memories of national heroes. The history of great kings, such as Cyrus the great and Charlemagne, is encrusted with mythical incidents;[1] and especially around the memories of great reformers and founders of new religions, such as Gautama and Zoroaster, will such mythic stories gather. Now let us attempt to learn more particularly of Aryan mythology. We have seen that as a people enter on the stage of Polytheism, the heavens and the earth, as two of the greater fetiches, take rank as two of the more powerful gods of the new pantheon. Powers are ascribed to them and hymns in their favor are sung. The Polynesian Islanders called the over-arching heaven Rangi, and supposed he was the father of all life. A most interesting story is told of the separation of Rangi and Papa, the earth.[2] Among these Islanders the myth was yet in the first stage. The meaning of the words was very plain to all.

It is hard for primitive man to form nouns with general significance. It is easier for them to give names for different aspects of the sky, such as Night sky, Day sky, Noon sky, than it is to form a general conception of Sky. Hence it is that among rude people, such as the primitive Aryans, we meet with the names of several important deities, each of which traces itself back to some aspect of the sky; each had developed from the fetich worship of the first stage. Thus among the Teutonic tribes, we meet with *Zio*, which seems to have been the day sky. As we pass away from Germany, we continually meet with this ancient divinity under new names. Among

[1] Fisk: "Myths and Myth Makers," p. 114 note and p. 199.
[2] Grey: "Polynesian Mythology."

the Greeks, we meet with *Zeus*; among the Romans, with *Jupiter*; among the Slaves, with *Svaroga*; and among the Indians, with *Dyaus*.[1]

Now let us observe the steps by which the fetich sky has emerged into the polytheistic god. The day sky was

Diana.

given a personal name. This was not a metaphor, nor a poetical fancy, for all nouns are personal. Time passes

1 *Vide* Darmesteter: "Contemporary Review." As to traces of fetich worship among the Aryans consult Keary: "Primitive Belief," p. 53.

on and the Aryans commence their victorious migrations. Language and philosophy both change. The scattered people forget the original meaning of the name of their god. He becomes simply a mythical figure. Many little incidents that were natural and true of the day sky are still told of the god, but now there is no reason in their application. They pass on into meaningless stories.

Apollo.

But the various Aryan people, as they continue on their way from the homeland, enter on new conditions of life and surroundings, or from the workings of many other causes, other personifications became more prominent than the day sky, though this is not true of all the Aryans. Among the Indians, Varuna, the night sky, usurped the supremacy, only to be in turn vanquished by Indra, the god of storms. In Germany, Odhinn, originally the god of the stormy atmosphere, became in course of time, the great god of all Teutonic people.[1] Now it is not necessary for our present purpose to give a detailed

[1] Cox: "Mythology of the Aryan Nations."

account of Aryan mythology. It is sufficient to remark that, approximately in the manner here pointed out, all Aryan people, when history first dawns upon them, were in the possession of a rich and varied mythology. The explanations and child-like theories of the primitive Aryans, retained by the conservatism so natural to all religions, now found a place in the songs, descriptive of their gods, and the meaningless, absurd, or immoral stories told of the loves, lives, and adventures of their gods and goddesses.

Leaving the other branches of the Aryans, we will turn our attention to the Aryans of Asia, who are of especial interest to us in our present inquiry. We have before pointed out that the Aryans of Asia, as far as our present inquiry is concerned, consist of two closely related people; the Iranians and the Indians. But at the time to which we now direct our inquiry, these two branches had not yet made their appearance. The people were, as yet, united. This was the Vedic age of the Aryans. We have already had occasion to refer to this expression, and have perhaps said all that is necessary on the various divisions of this mass of literature.[1]

Now a vast amount of study has of late years been devoted to this mass of literature, in order to gain therefrom a knowledge of the religious conceptions of the Asiatic Aryans when we first gain an historical knowledge of them. Let us pause to note a singular idea prevalent

[1] For further information on the Vedas consult Lang: "Myth, Ritual, and Religion," Vol. I. ch. vii. Williams: "Religious Thought in India," ch. i. Kaegi: "Rig Veda," p. 4 *et seq.* An excellent description is contained in Colebrook's "Essays," ch. i. Barth: "Religions of India," ch. i. The following volumes of the "Sacred Books of the East" are, of course, all important: Vols. I., II., VIII., XII. and XV. The introductory parts in all of these volumes give us light on this question. See also above p. 154.

among some authors. It has been supposed that the knowledge thus obtained would be that of the *primitive* religious state of the Aryans, and considerable has been said about the childlike simplicity and innocence of the same. Thus says Geiger: "We have in these hymns the picture of an original, primitive life of mankind."[1] To this, Kaegi adds that these hymns present us "religious conceptions from the earliest beginnings."[2] Similar expressions could be quoted from such men as Whitney and Max Muller.[3]

Yet a moment's consideration will show us that this is the wrong view. Instead of being a primitive stage of thought, it is really a most advanced stage. Many centuries had doubtless passed away since the Aryan migrations began. They must have slowly passed through the various stages of ancestor and fetich worship and were in an advanced stage of polytheistic nature worship. Plain traces of these stages exist. Neither was the state of society "primitive." The family was fully organized.[4] "The ranks of society were as clearly defined as in Homeric Greece."[5] Kings are frequently mentioned, poets and priests abound. The people were settled in villages, various trades were practiced; in short, society may be said to have arrived at the very verge of civilization.[6] The very language in which the songs were written was already old and decrepid, long past the bloom of youth.[7]

All this shows us how greatly we err when we regard the religion of the Vedic period as a primitive religion. Let us bear in mind the following eminently just observa-

1 Kaegi: "Rig Veda," p. 26. 2 Ibid.
3 Lange: "Myth, Ritual and Religion," Vol. I. p. 119.
4 Kaegi: "Rig-Veda," p. 14. 5 Lang, Op. cit. p. 220.
6 Ibid. 223.
7 Sayce: "Science of Language," Vol. II. p. 138 *et seq.*

tion of Lang. "In the Vedas, we have the views of the *Rishis* only, that is, of sacred poets on their way to becoming a sacred caste. Necessarily, they no more represent the popular creeds than the psalmists and prophets, with their lofty monotheistic morality, represent the popular creeds of Israel."[1] But in reality the Vedas do show us one of the most interesting stages of religious development.

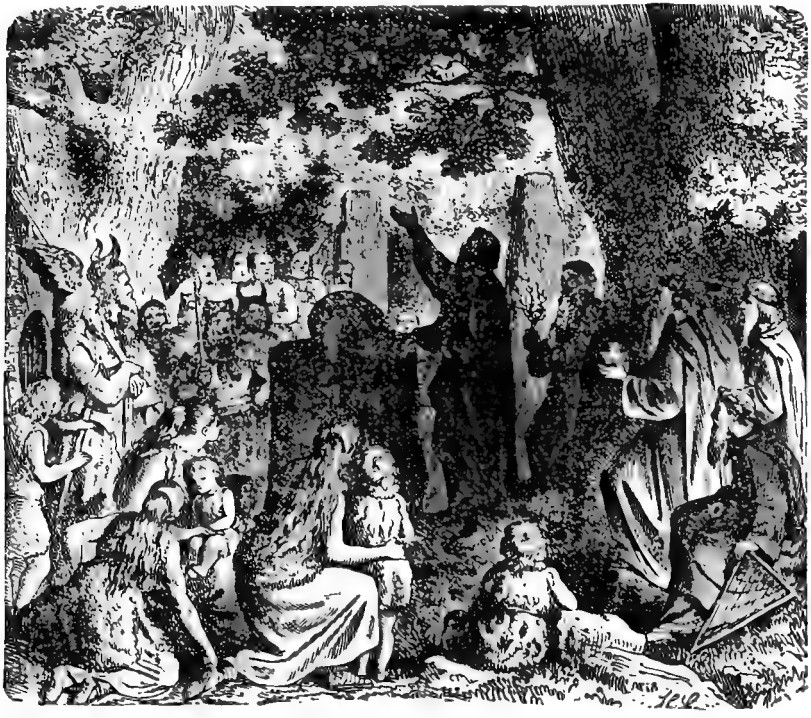
Advancing intelligence of the people in general had now begun to perceive, in a dim way, the weakness of their popular creed. They were feeling about for something to take its place. In such a stage of thought, the more intellectual class of people—the poets and priests—would take great liberties with the old mythology. The older myths and legends were in part explained away; here omitted altogether, and there softened down. Such crude conceptions of the Dawn as a red cow were replaced by long poems on the goodness, wisdom, and beauty of Ushas (the Dawn). In short, the many hued mantle of poetry was flung over the ancient mythology, concealing here and there its crudeness, and throwing an altogether different light on what remained.

As we stated, in the first or Vedic stage, the Aryans of India are not supposed to have separated into the two great streams of the Asiatic Aryans; the Iranians and the Indians. But this separation soon began to take place. One stream of the advancing Aryans set towards the West, and one debouched on the plains of Upper India. Tracing the fortunes of this eastern branch, we find them coming in contact with members of the Yellow Race—the Dravidians. The effect, on the development of religion, was two-fold. We have already traced this

[1] Myth, Ritual and Religion," Vol. II. p. 123.

influence in the development of the religious caste.[1] The Brahmans now became the body of people who are concerned with religion. The mass of the people were now released from all care in such matters. They had only to follow the directions of the Brahmans.

We need only reflect that the great mass of people change their religious opinions only with extreme slowness.



Primitive Worship among the Germans.

In the case of the Indians, the Brahmans had simply to formulate the slowly crystallizing beliefs of the popular creed, which though little affected by the Vedic movement, had finally begun to advance out of the simply primitive stage of belief.[2] This creed and belief is known to us as Brahmanism, and is perhaps the first attempt at a philo-

[1] Above p. 165.

[2] This Series Vol. II. ch. iv.

sophical system of religion of which anything is known, though it is extremely crude, and overlaid with all sorts of myths of the older period.[1] The Brahman caste was undoubtedly considerably influenced by the beliefs of the Turanian Dravidians, and incorporated, to some extent, their myths with their own.[2]

Let us consider a little farther this priestly caste of the Brahmans. Such a body of men was largely released from the material cares of life. They formed the learned body of the people, and would undoubtedly ponder over the various problems of philosophy and religion. But the conclusions they might come to among themselves, would not necessarily be communicated to the people at large, simply because they were by no means fitted to receive them. Here then we find ground for the division of religious doctrines into *exoteric* and *esoteric* doctrines. The former being the doctrines publicly taught and expounded; the latter, the secret beliefs of the priestly and learned class. We need only remark, that while in the earlier ages of the world, the distinction between these two classes of knowledge was very great,[3] yet the tendency has constantly been for this distinction to disappear; this because the mass of the people have steadily become more and

1 We use the word "Philosophical" as opposed to the mere development of mythology. An exception may come in, in the case of Egypt, but in examining Egyptian religion we failed to find much philosophy, but did observe a great deal of mythology. The Persian system of religion may be, and probably is, equally as old. We need simply remark in this place that no Semitic system of religion was based on philosophy. Let no one take offense at this statement, for religion is not a matter of philosophy but of faith.

2 Will not this explain Barth's statements of a trace of some sort of connection between Babylon and India? ("Religions of India," p, xviii) as well as Bunsen's rather labored hypothesis in "Angel Messiah." See also "Bible Folk-Lore," London, 1884, p. 4, for further particulars on this point.

3 Every system of ancient philosophy was more or less esotric or secret, known in its fullness only to the initiated.

more enlightened. Still it has never entirely disappeared, and even to this day, how frequently is the remark made in reference to some particular article of belief, that, however true it may be, the world is not yet ready for it.

Now we think it will be brought out in the sequel that the esoteric knowledge of the ancient Brahmans, slowly spreading to the west, exerted a tremendous influence on the development of religious philosophy, an influence which is felt to-day in every part of the civilized world. But for the present let us return to the consideration of Brahmanism. In accordance with what we have but just pointed out, Brahmanism itself must be studied under two heads; Ritual and Philosophy. Fortunately the ritual, or public worship of Brahmanism, need not detain us long. In Brahmanism, all worship may be summed up in one word, *Sacrifice*.[1]

Here we see an extraordinary development of one set of ideas properly belonging to primitive religion. Sacrifice begins with offerings of food to the other-selves of dead kinsmen and friends.[2] When ancestor worship has become well developed its observation of course becomes of more importance. Now, sacrifices are offered for the purpose of propitiating the household gods. The general course of development, as morality more and more attaches itself to religion,[3] is, first, for the idea to arise that the object offered in sacrifice must be something valued by the giver, something requiring *self*-sacrifice on his part.[4] Only in a developed stage does the idea arise that to obtain the

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[1] Oldenberg: "Buddha," p. 19, London, 1882. Williams: "Religious Thought," p. 24.

[2] Tyler: "Primitive Culture," Vol II. p. 340. This Series, Vol. II. p. 742. Spencer: "Sociology,"

[3] This Series, Vol. II. p. 288.

[4] Tyler, l. c. p. 359.

wished for good, the moral duties must be cultivated as well as sacrificial offerings made.

In Brahmanism the development was still in almost the first stage.[1] There were united to this, however, several conceptions belonging to a very low scale of culture, ideas that can be traced directly to savage philosophy. That is the magical efficacy of sacrifice. If sacrifices be only accompanied by the right ceremonies; if the appropriate prayers and ceremonies be offered by the appropriate person, they are all powerful. Everything that happens is to be explained as the result of some ceremonial arrangement.[2] Already in the Vedas we see the beginning of this state of mind.[3] Of course, we can see that, when the Brahman caste with its peculiar rights had developed itself, they would foster this tendency. They only, know how to perform the sacrifice, so as to compel the wished for good. Save in this enormous extension of sacrifice there was not much change in the standing of the older Vedic gods.[4]

Let us now turn to a more interesting part of our subject, Philosophical Brahmanism. Now the Brahman priesthood cared little for what we might call Dogmatic Theology.[5] In questions of rites and ceremonies, they claimed to be the sole authorities. But the most diverse opinions were allowed provided they professed to rest on the Vedas. Furthermore, when it came to the matters of speculation, the Brahman class did not always contain in its ranks the keenest thinkers. Members of the Kshatyra caste often led them in this matter.[6]

[1] Barth: "Religions of India," p. 49. Above p. 117.
[2] Barth, Op cit p 48; Williams: "Religious Thought," p 23.
[3] Lang: "Myth, Ritual and Religion," Vol. I. p. 224. Oldenberg: "Buddha," p. 19.
[4] Barth, Op. cit. p. 41.
[5] Barth, Op. cit. p. 46.
[6] Barth, Op. cit. p. 65. Above p. 171.

It seems to us, at present at least, impossible to trace the steps by which the Hindoos emerged from mythology into philosophy.[1] We have seen that even in primitive religion, the conception arises of one supreme God back of all the rest.[2] In the Vedic hymns this feeling often finds expression,[3] but then the people had not settled down on any one god as the supreme God. Or rather the people were in that stage of thought when any of the gods to whom sacrifice is directed becomes, for the time being, the Supreme One.[4]

But a time finally came when these "meditative Aryans", taking these old hymns as their stand-point, attempted to build up philosophical systems, they were thus employed perhaps as early as ten centuries B. C.,[5] and their theories found expression in the Upanishads or the theological portion of the Vedas.[6] It is a difficult task to extract from these Upanishads the various systems of Philosophy,[7] but we may with profit refer to the more prominent ones. The study will convince us that whether the investigator

[1] There are those who will deny that philosophy proper belongs to any of the Hindoo systems (See Schwegler: "History of Philosophy," and Williams: "Religious Thought," p. 26,) since the whole object of their research was to free the soul from the necessity of rebirth. This is certainly a very fine point to raise. Whatever *object* the Hindoos had in view, they did certainly enunciate various theories as to the universe, the soul, and the nature of deity, which they sought to support by a train of reasoning. This, however childish the theories may be, is a *system of philosophy*. The object of the Greek philosophy, we are told, was to disengage the soul from all animal passions, that it may rise above sensible objects to the contemplation of the world of intelligence. [Colebrook's "Essays, "p. 155.] This, as contrasted with the Hindoo object, is largely a "distinction without a difference."

[2] This Series Vol. II. p. 346.

[3] Rig-Veda, x. 120 127., Muller's translation, are examples of this feeling.

[4] Barth, Op. cit. p. 29. This is the stage of thought denominated by Max Muller, "Henotheism." "Origin and Growth of Religion," p. 260.

[5] Barth op. cit. p. 67. Oldenberg: "Buddha," p. 18. Williams: "Religious Thought," p. 20; but this same author in "Indian Wisdom," assumes 500 B C.

[6] Above p. 160.

[7] Cf. Barth, p. 61.

be a Hindoo, European, or American, if prepared for his work, he comes to conclusions substantially the same. This we would indeed expect to be the result since men everywhere are confronted by the same problems and have only the same elements whereby to effect their solution.

Mars.

As we have seen, the older mythology taught that the over-arching heaven and the fruitful earth were the prolific father and mother of all things, consequently also of man. As man advanced in intelligence, it seems to have been assumed that his body was indeed of the earth, earthly, but that his spiritual part was of heavenly descent.

The problems presenting themselves for solution were the nature of the relation between these two parts, the nature and destiny of the spiritual part, and how to free it from its entanglement with matter.[1] Incidentally attaching to these there were other problems pressing forward for a solution; one of which speedily became of very great importance, that was the Origin of Evil. It was comparatively easy to account for good, but whence came evil ?[2]

The slowly developing philosophy of the Brahmans began to cast itself into formal systems, one of the first was the Sankhya system. The meaning of this word is the exercise of reason or judgment.[3] As expanded by the ancient commentators, it signifies "the discovery of the soul by means of right discrimination".[4] Not a bad title for a system of philosophy. The reputed founder of the school was Capila, but around this personage, if such an one existed, have gathered innumerable myths[5] and he is generally considered as of divine origin.[6] The idea underlying this philosophy is, that true and perfect knowledge will free men from all evil. Then follows a dissertation on the means of attaining knowledge, such as comparison, inference, tradition, etc. On this part we need not linger. The most important statements of their philosophy then follow.

[1] Every religion known to the world, that reaches a philosophical stage, on its esoteric side at least, has had to grapple with and attempt a solution of these problems. On their exoteric side, however, they are either passed by, rites and ceremonies forming the whole of religion, or some formulated article of belief, drawn from sources considered by the followers of the religion in question as inspired, solve all doubts and answer all inquiries. Perhaps this is the better way, since the field of religion is not science but faith.

[2] Dean Mansell makes the two great problems of heathen philosophy to be "the problem of absolute existence, and the problem of the Origin of Evil." ("Gnostic Heresies" p. 11)

[3] Colebrook's "Essays," p. 144.

[4] Ibid. Cf. William's definition of synthetic enumeration. "Indian Wisdom," p. 91.

[5] Above p. 718.

[6] Colebrook's "Essays," p. 145. Williams; Indian Wisdom," p. 89, note 1.

It is in general very difficult to set forth the details of a philosophical system in a way at all interesting. It is, however, so necessary for a further understanding of our subject, that we must make an attempt to understand these old thinkers. As for the world of matter, they said it was eternal, and was the producer of all things. They figured it as an eternal, productive germ, and designated it by a feminine noun, *Prakriti*, the mother of all things, quite in keeping with the old mythology. But this germ, though one, indivisible, and all that sort of thing, is a trinity, a union of three qualities, each equal to the other, a perfect equipoise existing between them. These are the three Gunas, or cords, which bind the soul. The first comprising all of good, the second of evil, the third of indifference.[1]

This philosophy also declares that the spiritual part of man is eternal; not only that it will be eternal in the future, but has been in the past. This principle is designated by a masculine noun *Purusha*. But though there is only one productive germ, spirits are innumerable, each separate and independent from the others, and each has existed from all eternity. Whether this system originally admitted the existence of one supreme soul, one superior to all the others, is doubtful.[2] But certainly from the very earliest times some philosophers of this school taught the existence of such a supreme soul, *Iswara*, the ruler of the world.[3] But this supreme ruler is so far removed from other souls that he takes no interest in them.

[1] The Gunas are:

1 Sattva, equivalent to purity, goodness, etc.
2 Rajas, " passion, activity, etc.
3 Tamas, " darkness, indifference, etc.

*Vide* Williams: "Religious Thought," p. 31; Colebrook's "Essays," p. 157.

[2] The majority of authorities seem to favor the negative view; Barth: "Religion of India," p. 70; Williams: "Religious Thought," p. 33.

[3] Colebrook's "Essays," p. 154; "Indian Wisdom," p. 98. This is

The relation between these two eternal principles they consider to be as follows. The female principle, Prakriti, desires union with the male principle, Purusha. No creation takes place unless such union occurs. Here comes in the fatal entanglement of the soul with matter. The part played by the soul is simply that of a passive onlooker, still it is finally ensnared by the wiles of Prakriti. He joins himself with her and a phenomenal world and an intelligent being is produced.[1] But in this act of creation the perfect equipoise of the three qualities—goodness, evil, indifference—in Prakriti is disturbed. The soul is bound to matter more strongly by one cord than another. Hence we have all classes of beings; good, bad, and indifferent.[2]

Now, in order to keep clearly in mind the main points, that is how this system answered the problems outlined above,[3] we will pass by some points in the system, and hurry on to the final question, how was the soul to be set free from its entanglements with matter? Death would not do it, for death was simply the destruction of one gross, material body and there were several other bodies intervening between that and the soul.[4] Besides, until the soul was fully informed in this matter, it must transmigrate from body to body, in each life enjoying the rewards, or suffering the penalties for deeds done in a former body. But when the great principles of this philosophy are truly

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the theory of the Yoga branch of the Sankhya philosophy; cf. Colebrook's remarks, p. 159.

[1] Notice the singular conclusion, there are as many phenomenal worlds and creations as there are individual beings, consequently the phenomenal world is not a real one.

[2] Let us understand that not all of these intelligent beings are human beings; some, as gods and demons, are superior to man; and some, as quadrupeds, are inferior. Colebrook's "Essays," p. 157.

[3] Page 730. [4] Colebrook, p. 155.

GERMAN FUNERAL SACRIFICE.

perceived, then will the imprisoned soul learn that it is radically distinct from matter. "Possessed of this self-knowledge, soul contemplates at ease nature, thereby debarred from prolific change."[1]

Now, before passing on to other topics, let us reflect for a moment on this system. It taught dualism;[2] the eternity of matter and spirit; all the evil of life arose from the soul yielding to the enticement of matter; the way of escape was the attainment of true knowledge by which the soul might perceive the errors of his ways, so to speak. We must notice also, the prevalence of old mythological ideas side by side with ideas advanced for that age. Quite in keeping with the old mythology, and with all the phenomena they saw around them, they accounted for all that existed by the union of a male and a female principle.[3] A slight change of name will however show that after all this system is not foolish. Suppose that instead of Prakriti and Purusha, we talk about matter and force, we are at once on grounds familiar to modern materialists.

We must also speak of one sect of the Sankhya philosophers, the *Yoga* branch. The founder of this branch distinctly affirmed the existence of a supreme soul; Capila, the founder of the Sankhya systems being, to say the least, silent on that point. From such a belief, however, other results followed. Now the object sought, was not simply to free the sonl from entanglement with matter, but further to attain union with Iswara, the supreme. To

[1] Ibid. 164.

[2] We would naturally expect dualism to precede monotheism. However Barth remarks that in the first instance this system was not dualistic; "Religions of India," p. 70.

[3] Almost all, if not all, religions seem to have passed this stage of belief. (*Vide* Inman: "Ancient Faiths;" Westropp and Wake: "Ancient Symbol Worship.") To this day in all parts of India temples are dedicated to the male and female principles.

further this end, minute rules of conduct were laid down, following which it was claimed that such union could be obtained even in this life. This union bestowed on the practitioner certain very great powers, such as clarvoyance, clairaudience, levitation of the body; or the soul was thought able even to leave the body and travel abroad and, at its will, return to its bodily domicile.

The belief that such powers are attainable to man is not confined to this sect, but is very prevalent in India. In older times it amounted to a belief in magic and sorcery. A well informed writer at the present day will certainly be chary about expressing an opinion. The remarks made on a former page[1] in regard to Shamanism apply with intensified force here. Many years are spent in the severest training, with one object in view: the development of psychic force. The apparently well vouched for results sometimes obtained are beyond any explanation we can give at present.[2] The fact is the modern world has been carried away in the pursuit of practical science. Only just within the last few years has it consented to investigate the unknown power of the human mind. But brief and as superficial as has been the examination, we begin to see that a new world of knowledge is awaiting exploration. Many years must yet pass by before a just verdict can be rendered in this instance.[3]

Perhaps it is not necessary for us to discuss at length another system of Hindoo dualistic philosophy analogous to the Sankhya system.[4] We will therefore turn at once to

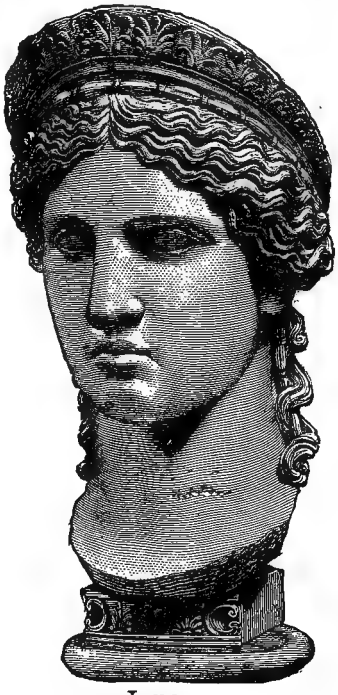
[1] Vol. II. p. 329.

[2] *Vide* "Indian Wisdom," p. 106.

[3] We would advise the reader to examine the reports of the various Psychical societies, and he will speedily see how very limited is our knowledge on this subject, and realize the truth of Hamlet's remark. "Hamlet," Act I. Scene 5.

[4] This is the *Nyaya* and its modification *Vaiseshica* (*Vide* Cole-

the most important school of Indian philosophy—the Vedanta. This school apparently started from as crude conceptions as the former:[1] the position they finally attained surpassed them. According to this school, there is but one eternal essence—pure spirit. This was called sometimes *Atman* (spirit), or *Param-atman* (supreme spirit), or Brahma.[2]



Juno.

As to the spiritual part of man, each individual spirit (*Jiv-Atman*) was a part of, or identical with, the supreme Atman, just as sparks are thrown out by a furnace fire. But not only was the spiritual part of man derived from the supreme spirit, but the material part, as well as the material universe, was derived from the same source. The Atman, in short, was the universe.[3] Indian writers made many attempts to explain their understanding of this statement. "He is," say they, "the ethe-

brook's "Essays," ch. vii.) These systems taught with singular fullness the "Atomical Theory." Their analysis would prove a surprise to those who imagine that all philosophy originated with the Greeks. We here find a fore statement of much of Greek philosophy. The doctrine of Epicurus as regards "atoms," the Aristotelian "categories," and the views of the Platonic school as regards "substance" are here stated. Indeed some of the ideas of these philosophers will bear comparison with the theories of modern chemists and physicists. [*Vide* "Indian Wisdom."]

[1] Barth: "Religions of India," p. 72.

[2] The word Brahma [final a short] is neuter and must not be confounded Brahma [final a long] masculine, the active or creative form of Iswara.

[3] Oldenberg thinks that the older texts imply that a chaotic something exists independent of the Atman: "Buddha," p. 40.

rial element from which all things proceed, and to which all return." "He is the light which shines in heaven, and in all places high and low, everywhere throughout the world, and within the human person." "He is the intelligent self, immortal, undecaying, and happy."[1] Speaking of the external world, they say he is both creator and creation, actor and act.[2]

Such was the Vedanta philosophy in its first stage. It was pure pantheism. Instead of two eternal essences, as in the Sankhya system, it admitted but one, spirit, which was regarded as both the material and efficient cause of all that exists. But time passed on and other problems pressed forward; new ideas were engrafted on the older system, and we have a philosophy not so strikingly different from the Sankhya. These new ideas seem to have arisen from an attempt to answer the remaining problem, what is the relation between the two parts of man? What is the bond which holds them together? Admitting that the material world was likewise derived from Brahma, what sort of a world was it? In answer to these queries we have the doctrine of *illusion*, such a favorite theory among later Indian scholars, but which is not found in the older Upanishads.[3]

It is extremely difficult to come at the reasonings underlying the language of the Hindoo writers on this subject. Looking around them, they of course perceived all sorts of material objects; but the very keynote of their faith was that all was Brahma. Why was not such a truth apparent at once? It must be because their intellectual power was not sufficient to penetrate the disguise. In other

1 Colebrook's "Essay," p. 217.

2 Jacobs: "Hindoo Pantheon," for a good analysis of Brahma.

3 On this point see Colebrook's "Essays," p. 242. Barth, Op. cit. p. 75.

words, it was owing to the power of *A-vidya*,[1] that is ignorance. The appearance of things must be merely illusory. The phenomenal world, all that we see around us, can have no more real existence, than the things we see in a dream. But how did this phenomenal world get started? Of course it all comes from the supreme spirit, but how from pure spirit can come the impure, illusory matter? In answer to this question, Hindoo theologians took refuge in an explanation which we shall meet with again and again in Oriental theology. The supreme god was considered as too elevated a character to concern himself in creation. He therefore by the power of illusion, created *Iswara*, the ruler of the world. But, notice, Iswara, is himself a trinity; for he is dominated by the three gunas, of which we made mention some pages back.[2]

It is Iswara that creates all things; but he and all his creations are illusions. Each human soul believes itself living an individual existence. This is simply illusion. This belief, however, is the bond, connecting spirit and matter As long as such belief is held, so long will the soul be subject to the power of illusion, and be prevented from his final union with Brahma. He must learn the great truth that the Atman is all; that he himself is the Atman; he must come by deep meditation to believe that "I am (all) existence.[3]

Here for the present, we will leave the Aryans of India. All have doubtless noticed one point. In primitive religion we had to observe that morality was not con-

1 "Indian Wisdom," p. 118.

2 See above p. 731 and note.

Dominated by Sattva, he is Vishnu the preserver.
" Rajas " Brahma the creator.
" Samas " Rudra the destroyer.

3 This last formula is of very great importance in the esoteric religion of

nected with religion at first. So when philosophy began, not much attention was paid to morality. The way of escape from evil was not by exercising morality, but in the acquisition of correct knowledge. Not action but belief was what was wanted. It is true that many painful ascetic rites are deemed efficacious, but only because they are an aid to the acquisition of knowledge. For the time being we will leave the eastern branch of the Aryans and turn to the consideration of the western or Iranian branch.[1]

At what time in the distant past, Aryan tribes commenced to spread over the plains of Iran, we can not, perhaps, decide with certainty. We are probably safe should we say that as early as 2000 B. C. the movement destined to Aryanize the country bordering on the kingdom of Assyria had begun. Fifteen centuries went by, with only occasional scattered historical references of this movement; then the veil is suddenly withdrawn, and we find the whole country stretching away to the east from the Tigris river in the possession of Aryan tribes more or less pure in ethnology.

The westward-wandering Aryan tribes, who in that primitive long-ago defiled through the dreary passes of the Hindoo Koosh mountains and began the long but grad-

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the Orient. Its meaning is involved in the mystic A-U-M of India. It is the "Nuk pu Nuk," engraved in the roll of the dead and put in the Egyptian tombs. This same formula is also signified by the three letters i-a-o of Semitic belief, which co-alesce into Iao, the mythic name of God among them. Indeed this is expressly said to be the meaning of the ineffable name of God among the Hebrews [Exodus ii. 14] Consult Higgins: "Anacalypsis," p. 454 *et seq.* Stanly: "Future Religion of the World," p. 260 note 2, p. 304.

[1] From the necessities of the case we have had to be as brief as possible in presenting the two principal philosophical creeds of India. In addition to the authorities here quoted we would especially refer to "Hindoo Philosophy," by Ram Chandra Bose.

ually spreading conquest of Iran, carried with then the mythology and superstition that was an heritage from the pre-Vedic age; perhaps, even, the songs of the Veda were sung by their priests. But as the centuries went by a great change was effected. A system of religion gradually grew up which attracted considerable attention in the ancient world, and undoubtedly exerted a great influence on the development of the religious thoughts and beliefs of the civilized world of to-day. Let us then try to acquire clear ideas about this system.

Minerva.

It has received various names, but of late years the name of *Mazdeism* has been most commonly applied to it [1] As preliminary let us observe the two principal elements, the uniting of which formed the religion in question. The first is the beliefs brought by the first Aryan invaders

1 Their names are Dualism, Zoroastrianism, and Fire-Worship. Darmesteter: "Zend-Avesta," Vol. I. p. 1.

from the Asiatic center of Aryan dispersion. That they brought with them the mythology and songs of the Aryans of the early Vedic age is now not doubted. The name of their supreme god was derived from the Vedic title of *Asura Mazdha* "lord of high knowledge," the name of one of the spiritual attributes of Varuna,[1] and in many other cases we could show equally plain traces of this original union.[2] It was formerly supposed that this western movement of the Iranians was in the nature of a schism.[3] But this is probably the reverse of the truth, the religions became changed because the people separated.[4]

With the mythology and culture of the early Vedic age, then, the invading tribes entered Iran. They of course found the country fully inhabited and many centuries of slow fusion went by before the new religion was fully developed. All this time they were subject to the influence of the mythology and practices of the various tribes that they gradually conquered and assimilated. Here then was the second principal element in the development of Mazdeism, and it is necessary to inquire more particularly on this point.

It has been abundantly shown that the tribes in Elam and Media before the appearance of the Aryans

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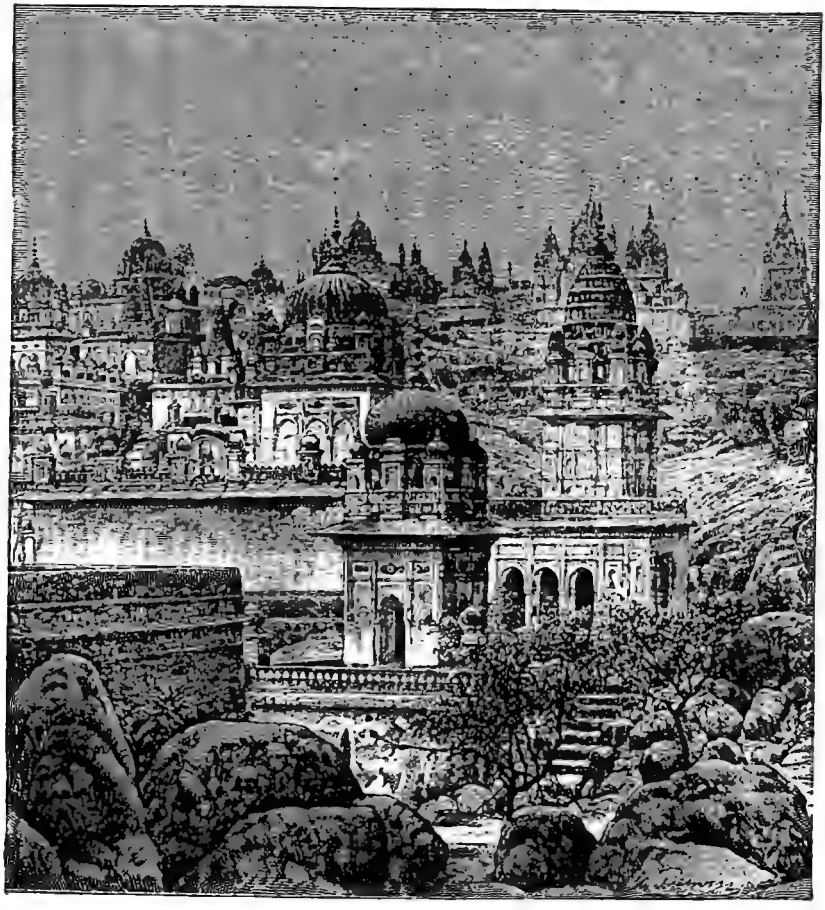
1 Darmesteter Ibid. p. lviii.

2 King: "Gnostic Remains," p. 31.
Geiger: "Civilization of the Eastern Iranians," p. xxvi.
Max. Muller: "Zend-Avesta," p. 83.
"Isis Unveiled," Vol. II. p. 143.
Mills: "Pahlavi Texts," Pt. I. p. lxxi.
"Sacred Books of the East," Vol. V.

3 Bleek: "Avesta," p. x.

4 Mills: "Zend-Avesta," p. xxxvii. "Sacred Books of the East," Vol. XXXI. Yasna, xxxii., apparently describes a conflict between two sections. But it was perhaps a conflict between Magism and the first religious conceptions of the Iranians.

were Turanians. Like all Turanian people they had a rich mythology. But more important still was the organization of their priesthood. We have had occasion to refer to the importance of this observation several times.[1]



Temple at Benares.

It tends steadily to the formation of a powerful priestly body. Their priests were the Magi, a very much respected and greatly feared and consequently a very powerful

[1] Above p. 165.

body of men. They formed a close corporation, throughly organized and well disciplined.

During these centuries of fusion the Aryan tribes had been in general the conquerors; but as far as their religious culture is concerned, they gradually passed under the control of the Magi. Advanced to power by the half Turanian Cyrus,[1] we see them defeated in their attempt to grasp supreme power under the leadership of the false Smerdis, yet they doubtless increased in power under the Achaemenian kings. Stationary under the Greek rule, they revived under the Parthian supremacy, and triumphed with Ardeshir, the Sassanian.[2] Under the reign of this latter king, Mazdeism entered on its final stage. It is to the presence of this priestly body, influenced by ideas derived from Babylon and Assyria, that is to say by Semitic influence, that we are to ascribe a large part of what we find strange in Mazdeism.

There was once a vast mass of literature expounding the doctrines of Mazdeism, only fragments of which remain, and these fragments are of greatly different ages.[3] No doubt the Gathas are very ancient. It is by contrasting the statements in the various manuscripts that we make out the gradual development of Mazdeism. Every great religion that has moved the world is centered around an individual. A great dispute has been waged as to whether Zoroaster, the great prophet of Mazdeism, be an historical

[1] Xen. Cyrop. viii. 1-3.

[2] We have already had ocasion to mention this rise and fall. Above p. 103.

[3] The *Avesta* (Revelation) constitutes the oldest collection. Commentaries on the Avesta, composed in the Pahlavi dialect (of Sassanian times) form the *Zend*. The *Bundahis* (Original Creation) is a collection of mythological fragments existing only in the Pahlavi dialect. Of the Avesta, again, the *Gathas* of unknown antiquity form the oldest portion, the *Yasna* and *Visperad* are supposed to be more modern, and the *Vendidad*, the last in order of time.

personage or not.[1] The most eminent scholars come to directly opposite conclusions on this point.[2] We must remember that there is the utmost diversity of opinion as to when he flourished and where he was born.[3] Now it seems that the name of the chief priest of the Magi in ancient times, was the same as the name of this traditional personage.[4] This may explain the matter, for we may regard the name Zoroaster as that of an official and not of a person.[5]

It is a very difficult task to give within the limits of a few pages an outline of this religion. If in the Vedas we are presented with songs in which the older mythology is about vanishing in poetry, we are more forcibly struck with the almost complete loss of this mythology in the Avesta writings. In the very oldest or Gathic period, an extraordinary stage of development had been reached. Of course many superstitious customs still held sway; but, running through it all, was an under-current of spiritual meaning which has excited the admiration of nearly all investigators.

All nature seemed to the poets of the Gathas to teach the doctrine of Dualism. We have cold and heat, light and darkness, and so also good and evil. Among the Indians we have seen the final gathering of all the good into Spirit, and all the evil into Matter. The Iranians, on the other hand, found the presence of good and evil in every-

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1 Above p. 100.

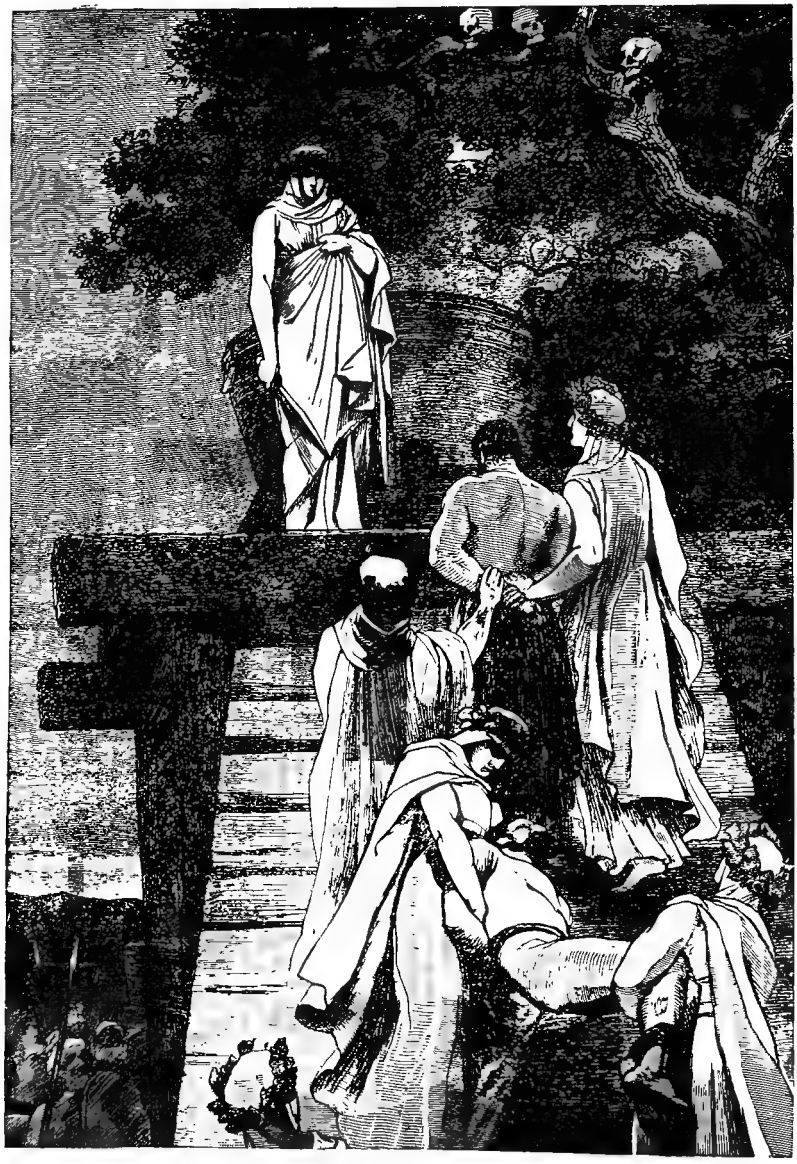
2 Mills, in his "Introduction to the Gathas," ("Sacred Books," Vol. XXXI.) comes to the conclusion, that he was an historical personage, "A toiling prophet." Darmesteter in "Introduction to the Vendidad," (Vol. IV.) concludes he was a mythical personage, "A storm god."

3 Above p. 101.

4 Prof. Wilder in his edition of Payne Knight's "Ancient Art," p. 53. Cf. etymology given in "Isis Unveiled," Vol. II. p. 141.

5 Vide also Yasna xxviii. The prayer is for needed spiritual help for Zoroaster and *us*. It would seem that this *us* refers to the Magian priesthood in general. Cf. Mill's note on this "Sacred Books," Vol. XXXI. p. 21.

thing—in spirit as well as in matter. They therefore con-



Druid Sacrifice.

ceived that all forms of life and all forms of creation, are

the results of the combined action of two principles, forces, or tendencies independent of each other, one working for good and one for evil. Hence there is good and evil in everything—supernatural beings, men, animals and plants, and material things. These two principles are named simply a Better principle and a Worse one.[1]

The practical consequence of this belief was a division of everything between these two principles. All supernatural powers made their choice, and were exercising their powers, either on the side of the Better Way or the Worse one. The great duty of man in this life was to choose the Better Way "as to thought, as to word, and as to deed." The animal world was divided as they were supposed to have been most influenced by the one principle or the other. All animals in any way helpful to man were of course most influenced by the Better principle. We are then presented with two opposing courts in the supernatural world. At the head of each there was placed a supreme ruler, under whom were arranged the various orders of gods and genii.

At the head of the forces of the Better Way, was placed Ahura Mazda as leader, and the most powerful god as pointed out above. This god was far more ancient than the doctrines of Dualism. He is derived from Varuna, the all embracing sky. He is usually described as possessed of all the attributes of Deity. He is wise, holy, just, and benign. But at the same time other expressions occur showing that after all he was simply the *most* powerful

1 Yasna xxx. 3. Yasna xlv. 2. It is scarcely correct to speak of these principles as "personal beings." It was no doubt hard for these old poets to express their meaning. They had to use nouns of a more or less personal significance. Vide "Sacred Books," Vol. XXXI. p. 25 and p. 125, note 2. A fair statement of this article of their creed would be that they recognized two opposing tendencies in every thing.

god, not the *all* powerful one. In time of trouble he offered up a sacrifice to Vayu[1] and begged his help and protection,[2] and likewise to the goddess Anahita,[3] he offered sacrifice and presented gifts, and begged her assistance in bringing up the holy Zoroaster.[4] He too recognizes that but part of himself, his fravashi,[5] was immortal. In fact the Iranian conception of him was, that he was simply "the greatest, the best, the fairest of all beings."[6] He seems to owe much of his great power to his knowledge of magical formulæ, with one of these he confounded the evil one.[7]

Though in the Gathas he is called the "Great Creator," it is none the less true that all creations are simply the union of the two principles.[8] Under the leadership of Ahura Mazda are ranged subordinate deities. Chaldean mythology knew of "seven gods of the vast heavens, seven gods of the great earth, seven gods of the igneous spheres."[9] It is not surprising to learn of six superior gods (forming with Ahura Mazda, a group of seven), who assisted Ahura Mazda in his government; his cabinet, so to speak, each one taking a special department under his care; we must remember that the Gathas were instructions for the priests, and hence we need not be surprised to notice how refined become some of these older concep-

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[1] The God of the Atmosphere. [2] Ram Yast, I.-3. [3] Goddess of Water.
[4] Aban Yast, v. Fargard, xix. 14. [5] Ibid. [6] Yasna xix. 15.
[7] Bundahis i. 21.

[8] Ahura Mazda is generally represented as the good principle himself. Yet in Yasna xxx. he is distinctly represented as choosing the good principle; and, if we are to judge from language, all spiritual beings (including the pre-existing souls of men,) are already in existence. They are represented as choosing which to follow. Probably as being at the head of good order, Ahura Mazda became confounded with the good principle itself.

[9] Lenormant: "Chaldean Magic," p. 17.

tions. In the Gathas these seven are the *Ameshospands*.[1] Though they are regarded as persons they are at the same time the attributes or messengers of Ahura Mazda.[2] As in general the crude conceptions must have preceded the refined, we feel confident that the Ameshospands formed the great gods of Iranian mythology, though the effort was to refine them away to mere attributes of the deity. This effort however failed, they remained distinct beings.[3]

Clear traces of the former presence of polytheism in the worship of the Iranians may be traced in other directions. Even in the age of the Avestas, prayers were to be said to numerous gods and goddesses; to Atar (fire), the son of Ahura Mazda;[4] to Mithra, the "Lord of wide pastures," who came ultimately to mean the sun;[5] to Ardvi Anahita, the goddess of water,[6] as well as to the sun and the moon.[7] As in Chaldea we find the months named after Chaldean gods,[8] so in Persia, each month was orginally named after one of the gods of the old pantheon.[9] Each day of the month was placed under the protection of one of the old deities, and a special prayer was appropriated to each.[10] Nor is the list yet exhausted, but enough has now been set forth to show the clear traces of a former polytheism. Let us simply notice, that here as elsewhere, there was probably quite a difference between the views of the priestly class and the masses of the people.

We have so far been dealing with the forces that choose the Better Way, under the leadership of Ahura

[1] Yasna xxix. 7-9. From whence comes the Amshospands of literature. [2] "Sacred Books" Vol. XXVI. Introduction p. xviii and xxiv. here, for instance two Ameshospands are represented as persons.

[3] Many other such passages could be quoted.

[4] Atas Nyasis. [5] Mihir Nyasis. [6] Aban Nyasis. [7] Korshed Nyasis. Vide, the "Nyasis" in "Sacred Books," Vol. XXII.

[8] "Records of the Past," Vol. I. p. 165.

[9] Geiger: "Civilizations of the Eastern Iranians," p. 142 *et seq.*

[10] These prayers form the collections of the Yasts.

Mazda. Opposed to these there was a similar array devoted to the Worse Way. At the head of the forces of evil was Angra Mainyu. We cannot point back to some one god of the older mythology as the source of the conception of Angra Mainyu. The conception of him arose from the necessities of the theory, there must be some opposing leader to Ahura Mazda[1] He is, so to speak, the negative projection of Ahura Mazda,[2] and the organization of the forces of evil was modeled on exactly the same lines as those of the good. The six Ameshospands were confronted by six greater demons who formed the grand council of Angra Mainyu. In short to every force of good was opposed a corresponding evil force.[3]

We have now presented an outline of Mazdeism in its earlier stages. As time passed on, changes took place. Ahura Mazda, as head of the forces of good, became gradually confused with the good principle, and ended by being considered as identical with it. The case is similar with regard to Angra Mainyu, except that probably he never assumed a well defined form before the foregoing stage had been taken by Ahura Mazda, and consequently he was always considered the evil principle.[4] But another change still is in progress. The priestly idea of Dualism, that good and evil were *united* in the creation of all things, was probably too refined for the masses.[5] The popular idea

[1] *Mainyu* means spiritual power. Spenta Mainyu meant the best spirit (Yasna xxxiv. 2; xxxii. 16) and often means simply the spirit of Ahura Mazda (Yasna xxx. 3), in the same way as we talk of God, and God's spirit. Angra Mainyu was the evil spiritual power; in Yasna xxx. it is simply called the Worse Way. [2] "Sacred Books," Vol. IV.

[3] It may be interesting to note that Chaldean mythology knew of "Seven demons of the Igneous spheres," the opponents of the seven great gods.

[4] Strictly speaking, it was not Ahura Mazda, but his spirit, Spenta Mainyu, that was considered the good principle. Vide Geiger; Op. cit., p. lviii. [5] This is the doctrine in Yasna xxx.

was embodied in the later writings of the Vendidad,[1] and especially in the mythological collection of the Bundahis, written in the Pahlavi dialect, and belonging probably to Sassanian times.[2] The popular conception was, that, Ahura Mazda created all good things, while Angra Mainyu, for spite, so to speak, creates the bad. For every good place that Ahura Mazda creates, Angra Mainyu creates some specific evil. Ahura Mazda creates the good animals, but Angra Mainyu diffused over the earth the noxious creatures, such as snakes and scorpions. He caused blight to fall on vegetation,[3] and mingled smoke and darkness with fire.[4] Avarice, want, pain, hunger, disease, and lust were some of the sins he set in motion.[5]

A state of mind advanced enough to conceive of two first principles, one evil and one good, would take note of the further question, whether this conflct was to be eternal. Humanity, weary with striving, longs for rest. Indian philosophy looked forward to union with Brahma as the final goal. The Iranian prophets looked forward to the final triumph of Ahura Mazda over the wicked one,[6] and popular fancy dreamed of the happy paradise of Yima, where the rivers flow between ever green banks bearing never failing food and every kind of tree of the greatest, best, and finest kinds on earth, but no sin or sorrow was to enter there.[7] But these blessings were to be the reward only of those who were pure in word, in thought, and in deed. It is in the Bundahis that the six Ameshospands

[1] Cf. Fargard i.

[2] Here notice how true it is, that in sacred writings, the first writing of the priestly class is by no means a fair representative of popular opinion. We have pointed out how true that was in the Vedas, have observed it true in the sacred writing of the Hebrews, and here we find it among the Iranians.

[3] "Bundahis," iii. 16. [4] Ibid. 24. [5] Ibid 17. [6] Yasna xxx. 8.

[7] Fargard ii. 26-28.

became six archangels and the other gods became angelic powers. Each taking an active part in the work of creation.

One inquiry yet remains before us in this secondary stage of Mazdeism, and that is what was the relation of soul to matter. They taught the pre-existence of the souls of men, not until after creation was completed do they enter bodies.[1] They thought that in order for the soul to enjoy happiness of the best mental state, which was their comprehensive definition of heaven,[2] it must meet and overcome the powers of evil. Ahura Mazda is represented as giving these pre-existing souls the choice of either remaining as they were, spiritual creations,[3] and be always furnished with a protector, or to assume material bodies, meet and conquer temptations, and then enjoy an immortality of happiness with him.[4]

If we stop to survey the ground over which we have now gone, we can see how widely Mazdeism departs from the Indian philosophy. These differences, we think, come largely from Semitic sources. It is no less certain, as we shall soon show, that this systematized belief reacted on, and greatly influenced, the religion of Israel. But for the present, let us notice still a third stage of Mazdeism where we seem to have before us the influence of later Indian thought. Dualism, after all, is unsatisfactory, the world desires to get back to a First Cause. We have seen how, in the first stage, Mazdeism taught the existence of two, co-equal, co-eternal powers; how, in the second stage, Ahura Mazda and Angra Mainyu were considered to be these two

1 Yasna xxx. 7. 2 Yasna xxx, 4. 3 Yasna xxx. 7.

4 Bundahis, ii. 9-10. It may be of interest to remark that in Bundahis we have the doctrine of the resurection of the dead taught with great fulness of detail, (chap. xxx.) the final judgment is also described, and we find the final restoration of the wicked to the joys of heaven is taught.

first principles. But now the equality between them is destroyed since Ahura Mazda was to conquer in the end. In many ways, he is represented as the superior of Angra Mainyu.[1]

This was in the direction of monotheism. The step was finally taken, but not in Avesta times,[2] and Mazdeism taught the existence of one Supreme God. Both Ahura Mazda and Angra Mainyu were held to be created beings derived from one eternal essence *Zrvan Akarana* "Time without bounds." We do not gather this, however, from Persian sources, but rather from late Greek writers.[3] Thus this doctrine was subsequent to the advent of Christianity, and may have been influenced from that source.[4] But on investigation, the doctrine in question is seen to bear more resemblance to Indian philosophy. And probably the current began to set towards monotheism long before the downfall of Mazdeism.[5]

Analogous to the Vedantic system of philosophy, Zrvan Akarana, like Brahma, while the Supreme God, is far removed from all wordly affairs. Like Brahma, he hands over all the work of creation to the two subordinate gods (Ahura Mazda and Angra Mainyu), which he had produced by emanations from himself. The doctrine of

1 This comes out very plainly in Bundahis, i. Ahura Mazda is represented as omniscient, Angra Mainyu as "backward in knowledge," imposed upon through ignorance, and quite overcome by the spells of Ahura Mazda.

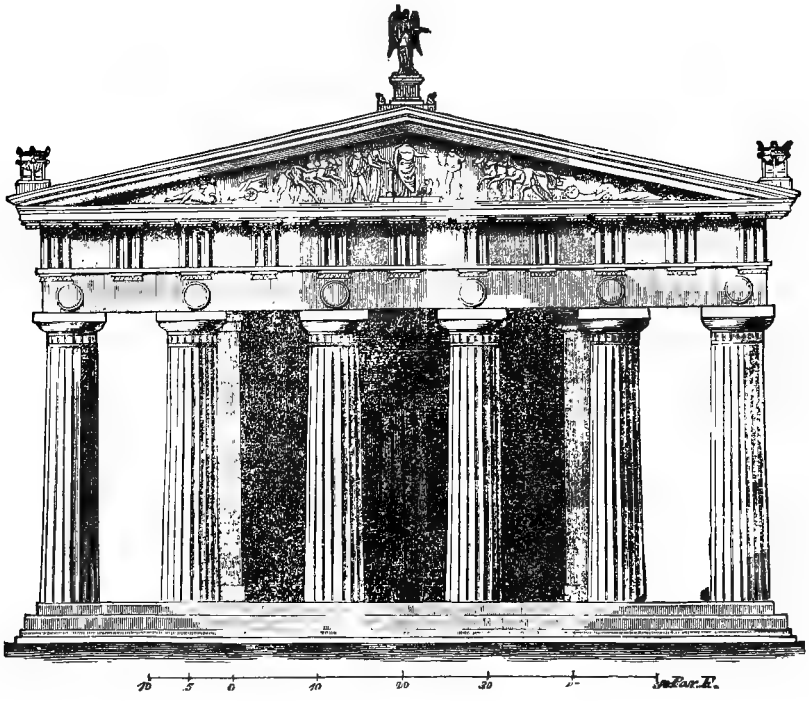
2 See West: "Pahlavi Texts," "Sacred Books," Vol. V. p. lxx.

3 On the "Boundless Time" question consult Wilson: "Parsi Religion," p. 123 *et seq*; King: "Gnostic Remains," p. 29 *et seq*: (Cf. Mansel: "Gnostic Heresies," p. 40): " Sacred Books," Vol. IV. p. lxxxii. Vol. V. p. lxx. Johnson: "Oriental Religions," Persia, p. 98 *et seq*.

4 In its first beginnings it antedates Christianity. It was known to Aristotle, and as early as the third century "Boundless Time" had been transformed into a legendary hero, "Sacred Books," Vol. IV. p. lxxxii, note 3.

5 "Sacred Books," Vol. IV., p. lxxxviii.

emanation, which is an Indian doctrine to start with and not a Semitic one,[1] is further reduced to a system, by teaching that by emanation from Ahura Mazda come the Ameshospands, and indeed all the spiritual forces under his lead.[2] It is needless in this connection to point out the similarity between Ahura Mazda and Iswara on the one hand and Angra Mainyu and Avidya on the other.



Temple of the Pan Hellenic Zeus at Aegina.

Here we will for the present drop the ancient Persians and devote our attention to the Greeks. As every one

[1] It is at any rate true that the doctrine of emanation is held by all orthodox sects in India. (Barth: "Religions of India," p. 69. Williams: "Indian Wisdom," p. xxvi.) but is unknown in the first stages of Greek thought, (Aristotle "Metap." I-3.) Pythagoras, who taught this, derived his philosophy from the Orient. The Jewish Kabalah taught this, but its source was in all likelihood India or Persia.

[2] King: "Gnostic Remains."

knows, the Greeks had a fully developed system of mythology. They had brought with them from the primitive home the greater gods of their pantheon. They had also welcomed some of the mythical divinities of the neighboring people in Asia. The Greeks had in the course of many centuries advanced through the various stages of primitive religion. We must notice one point in this connection, since on it depends much that is peculiar among the Greeks. There was no strongly organized priesthood among them. Nothing even remotely approaching the Brahman caste in India, or the Magian priesthood among the Persians. Each house-father conducted the worship of his household, and tribal officers attended to similar duties for the tribe.[1]

Important results follow from the foregoing. No collection of priestly writings, corresponding to the Vedas and Avestas, was made which the masses of the people were required to accept as infallible, inspired oracles; as a consequence, there was much greater freedom of intellectual life. Neither was there a religion of forms and ceremonies which the people were expected to follow. All this contributed in no small degree to the great excellence of the Greeks in literature, science, and art. In Greece, no system of religion, accordingly, took its rise. But their keen intellect, not fettered by the restraints just mentioned, had of course considered the problems which come to all men,[2] and had in several ways attempted to answer the same. We want to examine some of these answers.

The seventh century B. C. was one of considerable im-

[1] This was the Aryan custom. Remember that both the Iranians and Indians, who had an organized priesthood, had also in each case conquered and incorporated in their ranks well advanced Turanian people. The Druids of Western Europe are a result of the same procedure.

Above p. 730.

portance to Aryan Europe. Psammetichus, pharaoh of Egypt, threw open the ports of that country (670 B. C.), and abandoned the policy of isolation that had been pursued for ages. This must have given a great stimulus to the commercial and intellectual life, and this caused a wonderful expansion of the intellectual horizon of the Greeks. This century also witnessed the growing power of the Aryans in Asia. The tribes that were to overthrow Semitic power were growing into one homogenious whole under the head of Media and Persia. This cause, no less than the former, conduced to the expanse of the Greek intellect.

It is not strange then that, as this century drew to a close, we should find evidence of a general scepticism among the educated classes in Greece regarding the mythology still held in reverence by the masses of the people. It would not do to be too bold in openly denouncing it, but day by day the misty forms of the Olympian gods grew fainter, while philosophical speculations grew clearer. The various opinions of Greek thinkers finally assumed systematic shapes, and we are presented with what are called schools of philosophy. We must remember that no one school was peculiar to any one time. Representatives of the various schools of thought were to be found at all times. We have already had occasion to mention the views of some of the Greek philosophers. We here need only to show their position in the scale of Aryan culture. At the earliest time, we find divergent views held, and it is interesting to take a general survey of the field.

The Ionic school taught that matter was the one eternal principle. Even the gods took their origin from thence. They differed, as we have seen, as to what form of matter it was, that was the elementary substance. While one said it was water, another called it air. These

older philosophers do not seem to have concerned themselves very much with the spiritual part of man. Everything sprang from the material element assumed as the primary one.[1] But alongside of this reasoning we see another line of thought. Anaximander[2] was not willing to adopt any one concrete substance as his element, he falls back on an abstract speculation —*The Infinite*, meaning thereby, perhaps, primal matter.

This idea of the Infinite was closely akin to the Pythagorean philosophy.[3] After all researches there yet remain considerable mystery in regard to this last named school. In many ways, we detect an Oriental influence.[4] He formed a society resembling in many respects similar societies in India. Only after a long novitiate were members admitted to full membership. The life in this society was largely ascetic. They believed the body a prison for the soul. They believed in transmigration of the soul; a pure and holy life was the only escape from this evil.[5] All this betrays an unmistakable Indian influence. We must also reflect that at this time the Orphic and Bacchic mysteries spread throughout Greece,[6] and there is a strong probability that these spread into Greece from India.[7] We may therefore be sure, that the real doctrine of the Pythagoreans was a secret one, to be divulged only to the initiates. Hence perhaps, the great uncertainty in regard to it.[8] It is evident from what we have just stated that

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1 Such is the general view of writers on this subject. Mahan: "History of Philosophy," argues the contrary view for Thales.

2 Anaximander is not always classed as an Ionic philosopher. Lewis: "History of Philosophy," Vol. I. p. 13.

3 Cf. Lewis, l.c. 4 Mahan: "History of Philosophy," p. 187.

5 Cf. Schwegeler: p. 14. 6 Zeller: "Greek Philosophy," Vol. II., p. 497.

7 Taylor: "Eleusinian and Bacchic Mysteries." Wilder's edition, p. xx. note, also p. 125. note.

8 Above p. 488.

the Pythagorean school was an exotic in Greece, still it exerted a great influence on Greek thought.[1]

In the third school of Greek philosophy, the Eleatic, we see the current of Greek thought setting steadily towards Pantheism. The "Being" of Parmenides is strikingly similar to Brahma of the Hindoos. He, equally with them, denied the reality of the phenomenal world; but, like them, he was obliged to attempt a practical explanation of it. The pure "Being" was sometimes united with an opposite influence. For instance if we call Being light, it was at times united with darkness; or if we designated it heat, it was at times united with cold; or if we call the former rare, the latter was dense. What is this but Brahma united with illusion?[2] In the teachings of Heraclitus, the obscure, Pantheism is also taught.[3] We have already pointed out how he attempted to surmount the difficulty, sure to rise in every system of Pantheism, of accounting for the phenomenal world.[4] Here notice the distinction between the Ionic and Eleatic philosophers. They both sought for some one principle or element from whence all was derived. The first school found such an element in some form of matter; the second school found it in some formal cause. The maxim of the Eleatics was that "All comes from one," this

Pythagoras.

[1] Bunsen ("Angel Messiah," p. 67 *et seq.*) writes to show that Pythagoras was a Buddhist. Cf. etymology p. 75.

[2] Zeller: "Greek Philosophy," Vol. II. p. 593. [3] Zeller, Vol. II. p. 46. [4] Above p. 491.

was but another statement of the Hindoo maxim that "the Atman is Universe."

But if both the schools so far discussed taught *Monism*, we find philosophers in Greece who taught a *Dualism*. They recognized the reality of the world of matter, but to explain the many problems, they had to conceive of the co-working of a second incorporal element. Anaxagoras (500 B. C.) thought that matter had always existed in the shape of an infinite number of elements; but these elements are not the atoms of later thought, but compound molecules which by coalescing form sensible bodies. For instance elementary molecules of flesh were conceived to exist which united to form the flesh of a body, so of all other bodies, such as stone, bone, and wood.[1] But the movement of these molecules was effected by an eternally existing *Intelligence*—in short, by *mind* or *spirit*. This is the great merit of his philosophy, still, as Anaxagoras reasoned, the great office of this intelligence was simply to energize matter, and thus his conception was far short of the conception of an intelligent ruler of the universe.[2] Diogenes of Apolonia (460 B.C.),tried to combine the doctrine of Anaxagoras with Ionian philosophy. Others again, impressed with the doctrines of Anaxagoras concerning the infinity of the molecules, but rejecting his ideas as to intelligence, introduced the Atomistic philosophy; the great leader of this school was Democritus (460 B. C.) They too believed in the eternity of matter. It existed in an infinite number of atoms, but the combination of these atoms was effected by

[1] Lewis, Vol. I. p. 87. Zeller, Vol. II. p. 332.

[2] On this important point, compare Lewis: "History of Philosophy," Vol. I. p. 76. Zeller: "History of Greek Philosophy," Vol. II. p. 344, *et seq.* Schwegler, Op. cit. p. 29. The contrary view is maintained by Mahan: "A Critical History of Philosophy," p. 186 *et seq.* Some (Mahan) have supposed that Anaxagoras derived his ideas from the Jews. This is generally given up. Cf. Zeller, Vol. I, p. 37 *et seq.*

*necessity*, not by chance as it is sometimes represented, but by inexorable laws inherent in matter.[1] Empedocles (440 B. C.) with his four elements[2] shows us the Greek intellect striving to get back to unity; for the many of Democritus, he returns to four elements, united by love, disassociated by hate.

We are now down to the age of Socrates. Taking a general view of Greek thought as far as we have gone, we notice that the tendency is in the direction of either materialism or pantheism. We need not be surprised to note that some of the acute thinkers of Greece were fast drifting towards scepticism. This result was inevitable. Philosophy was talking learnedly about the "Being" and the "Becoming," and showing how the common notions, respecting time, space, motion, etc.,[3] were all in error, denying in fact the reality of the phenomenal world. As a natural consequence, a reaction was sure to occur; and we find those subtle disputants, the Sophists, furnishing the arguments to convince the people that nothing really could be known, and that there was no real criterion of virtue.

Socrates.

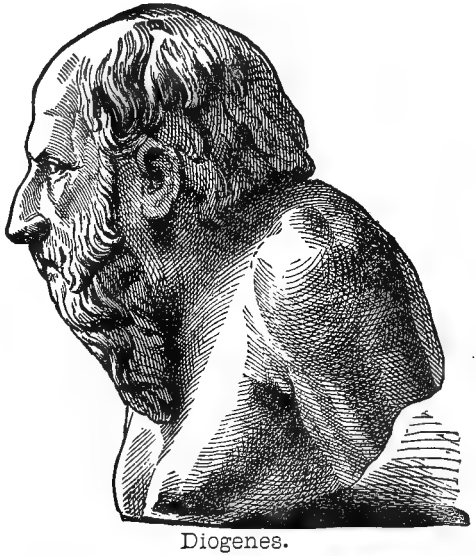
It was at this stage that Socrates appeared. An account of his life has already been given.[4] Now the great value of Socrates' teachings was not in any philosophical scheme which he supported, for he had no philosophy. But he did teach a new method of search. He did insist on a clearing up of thought. He wanted to know what people

[1] Zeller, Vol. II. p. 237. [2] Above p. 492.
[3] Above p. 491. [4] Above p. 493.

meant when they used the learned phrases of philosophy; and by a most skillful cross-examination showed them the weakness of the definition given, and attempted to asssist them to form clearer ideas. He insisted on the practice of morals, and exemplified it in his own life. Socrates thus made a great impression on Greek thought, heightened by his tragic death. The historian Xenophon wrote an account of his life.[1] After his death, several schools attempted to follow out what they conceived to be his doctrines. The doctrine of the Cynics, of which the churlish Diogenes was a member, was rather a perversion than a development of the Socratic movement.

Xenophon.

Plato, the disciple of Socrates, marks such an important epoch in Greek philosophy that we must enlarge to some extent on the account of him already given.[2] After the death of Socrates, Plato spent some years in travel and study, and acquainted himself with the philosophical views of the principal philosophic schools of that time. In this way, he became ac-



Diogenes.

[1] Memorabilia.

[2] Above p. 497.

quainted with the views of the Eleatic school, and with Pythagoreanism. Tradition relates that he traveled in *Egypt*.[1] When he returned to Athens, he established a school known as the Academy, and here he taught his doctrines, in which we find elements taken from all the older systems.

If the Pythagoreans had esoteric doctrines different from their exoteric teachings, we might reasonably look for such a distinction in the teachings of the older Academy. It is admitted that a great deal of confusion exists as to what Plato's philosophy was.[2] Scarcely one of the really important points of his theory has been left so clearly stated that all agree on what he taught.[3] It is supposed by some writers that Plato was purposely obscure on these points. He only wished to be understood by initiates.[4] This view, however, is not favored by the best scholars.[5]

The central point of Plato's teaching was the "World of Ideas." Socrates had insisted on the necessity of clear general concepts. For instance if arguing in reference to a horse, he did not want to know about some particular horse—this black one, or that red one, big or little, old or young—but a clear definition of horse in general. The importance of this will be at once apparent when we reflect how much scientific advance to day depends on this very process. Now Plato and his school, strange as it may seem to us, called such general terms as this *ideas*, and

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1 Vide Zeller: "The Older Academy," p. 23 note.

2 Vide Lewis: "History of Philosophy," Vol. I. p. 205, *et seq.*

3 Pres. Mahan ("Critical History of Philosophy," p. 236) states five points which "all authorities admit Plato did hold and teach," yet the most of them are questioned.

4 Vide "Isis Unveiled." Vol. II. p. 39 Zeller: "Older Academy." p. 87.

5 Ibid. And yet as an initiate in the Greek Mysteries, some doctrines he either would not mention at all, or else cloak them in obscure language.

imagined them to have a separate independent existence. Every sensible thing we see around us—trees, stones, animals, material objects such as houses, bedsteads, etc.—has its living idea in the shadowy "world of ideas."

Probably with our utmost endeavors, we could not fully understand Plato's reasoning on this point. We have pointed out the Hindoo conception of Brahma, the only real existence, and all this phenomenal world is only an illus-

Plato.

sion, and have also pointed out that the "Being" of Parmenides corresponds to this idea among the Greeks. Now among the Eleatics generally, this pure Being was unity, one eternal essence. Plato's "world of ideas", taken collectively, corresponds exactly to this thought Or we may say that instead of one eternal essence, he conceived of an infinite number of such essences.

The Hindoos said that the material world was simply

Brahma conjoined with illusion. The Platonists said that sensible things are formed by the participation of the eternally pre-existing ideas with—matter. But when we seek further to know what this matter is, we find language employed that seems to come to about the Indian meaning. It is the *no-being*, the *non-existent*; it is to be apprehended neither by thought, nor by perception; it is the *empty*.[1] It does not become clear what is meant by the word participation.[2] Ideas are, in short, the only true existence. Things only really exist in proportion as they participate in the idea. From the foregoing it is seen to be hard to show wherein he differs from the Hindoo theory of things, save that they held to but one essence, he to an infinite number.

But we are not yet through with this singular theory of ideas. They were not only really existing things, but they were *powers*, he regarded them as *living*, *active*, *intelligible*, and *reasonable*.[3] In short, ideas are supernatural powers, *gods* in other words. And now notice; the supreme idea of all, that is the idea of good, becomes the Supreme God. As this is the highest and noblest concept that can be found, it is not strange that it should be considered as the Supreme God.[4] If this view be correct we can see at once that Plato's monotheism was not of a very high order.[5]

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1. Other views of course exist, we must refer to Zeller: "The Older Academy". Alleyne and Goodwin's translation, London, 1876. p. 293 *et seq*. See also Schwegler: "Hist. of Philosophy," Sterling's translation. New York, 1885. For opposite view see Mahan, Op. cit. p. 236.

2 Zeller, Op. cit. p. 235. Ueberwig, "Hist. of Phil". p. 116.

3 Ueberwig, Op. cit. Zeller, Op. cit. p. 267.

4 In Timaeus, the Demiurge, who shapes all things for good, is the "Idea of Good," Ueberwig, p. 116.

5 Vide Zeller: "The Older Academy," p. 279 *et seq*., especially note 181. Also Schwegler, Op. cit. p. 81. We must understand however that the "Idea of God" is the highest generalization possible. It is the idea of ideas; Lewis: "Greek Philosphy," Vol. II. 259. Ferrier: "Lectures on

Plato's ideas as to the soul are equally strange. There is first of all a "world-soul" filling all space. This soul is intermediate between the ideas and the things. It partakes of the nature of both.[1] Human souls consist of three parts—the cogitative, courageous, and appetitive souls.[2] There seems to be some confusion in the writings attributed to Plato whether these three souls were equally united in pre-existing life, and whether all united were immortal.[3] But at least the highest soul of man was immortal, and indeed had existed as part of the world-soul from past eternity. It is well known that Plato also taught the transmigration of souls.

Epicurus.

Plato's methods of work were more valuable than his results. Both Socrates and Plato by insisting on the necessity of forming clear opinions of subjects discussed performed a most invaluable service for men. We need not longer dwell on Greek philosophy. The work of Aristotle has been sufficiently mentioned.[4] In the schools of Epicurus and Zeno the Stoic, we see the pendulum once more swinging towards scepticism. Such a result was to be expected. Plato's philosophy could no more satisfy them than the preceding systems.

In order to give completeness to our present review, we must glance now at the conflict between Aryan and Semitic thought. We must recall to mind that, near the

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Greek Philosophy," Vol. I. p. 344. The opposite line of thought may be found in Mahan: "Hist. of Phil." p. 251.

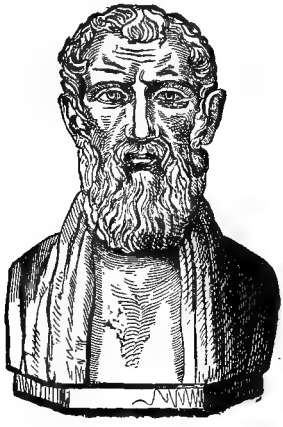
[1] Zeller, Op. cit., p. 341 *et seq.* Ueberwig, p. 123.

[2] The appetitive soul is possessed by plants, the appetitive and courageous souls by animals, but only man has all three souls.

[3] Zeller, Op. cit. p. 389. *et seq.* [4] Above p. 499.

beginning of the sixth century B. C., the kingdom of Judea was destroyed and the principal people taken captive to Babylon. When Aryan power supervened in Western Asia, these captives were permitted to return to Jerusalem. Some of them did so, and as we have seen Judaism, as a fully organized church, was then instituted. But we know that a very large number of Jews remained near Babylon, and in that section were located the principal literary institutions of the Jews.[1]

From the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus to the era of the Seleucidae, or for two centuries, Jerusalem remained tributary to Persia. It was a time of internal peace and quiet. It would be more than singular, then, if the religious beliefs of the Jews were not modified by Persian influence. And it may well be, that the religion of Persia was modified in its turn by that of the Jews. Perhaps to this period is to be traced the gradual rise of the belief that both Ahura Mazda and Angra Mainyu were subordinate to Zrvan Akarana. Those of our scholars who think that the Pentateuch of the old Testament was a late production,[2] point out many striking passages in the ritual of the Israelites and the Persians. The numerous regulations in regard to the fire on Yaveh's altar are parallelled by similar rules in reference to the fire of Ahura Mazda,[3] and other equally striking quotations could be given. It may be, however, that we have here to do with customs which arose quite independently of each other.



Zeno.

1 King: "Gnostic Remains," p. 32. 2 See Vol. II. p. 748, note.
3 "Bible Folk-Lore," p. 144, *et seq.*

But passing by that for the present, there is one point on which it is quite generally admitted that Mazdeism made itself felt. Mazdeizm taught the existence of fully organized spiritual kingdoms of good and evil. Now it is not necessary to say that these ideas were for the first time introduced into Jewish thought, but it is true that the ideas of the Jews as to angels and devils were cleared up by this contact, and they even used some of the terms employed by the Persians. In the writings of Ezekiel, and especially in Zechariah, angels play an important part. The seven ameshospands are supposed to make their appearance in the latter writer.[1] The book of Daniel shows a further advance in this direction. There, for the first time, names are given to angels, such as Gabriel or Michael;[2] and they are divided into classes, such as "Watchers."[3] But this influence shows itself still more strongly in the organization of the forces of evil. It is quite generally agreed that Satan is the Jewish version of Angra Mainyu. In this last statement we do not mean to say that the idea of Satan was unknown to the older writers, but his character there is altogether different from his character after the Captivity. In Job, for instance, he is still a servant of Yaveh and undertakes to carry out Yaveh's will.[4]

Another important point must not be overlooked. There was at Babylon a college of Magi. There were three grades of these priests. According to the Bible, Daniel, a Jew, was placed at the head of this college.[5] This priestly organization was not lost on the Jews. The great

[1] Zech. iii. 9; iv. 2-10. Vide on this point Kuenen: "Religion of Israel," Vol. III. p. 38.

[2] Dan viii. 16; xi. 21; x. 13-21; xii. 1.

[3] Dan iv. 13.

[4] Job i. 6. Vide Kuenen: "Religion of Israel," Vol. III. p. 39; Ewald: "History of Israel," Vol. V p. 184. Cf. "Bible Folk-Lore," p. 142.

[5] Dan. ii. 48.

Synagogue, as founded by Ezra, appears to have been of a similar nature;[1] the three grades of scholars—Rab, Rabbi, and Rabboni—corresponding to the three grades of Magi.[2] The sect of the Pharisees may possibly be traced back to this same period. Some have suggested that their name was derived from *Pharis*, that is "Persian."[3] In short, the ecclesiastical machinery of the Jewish state shows the impress of Persian influence. One result was the gradual formation of a body of secret or esoteric traditions, which ultimately developed into the Kabalah, to which we will refer later.

Now, in order to further understand our subject, it is necessary for us to stop talking about the sayings of the philosophers and turn to consider the state of affairs among the masses of the people. In no country, not even in ancient Greece, were the masses of the people, philosophizing or finding comfort in creeds. Let us then see how the old mythical conceptions of the people gradually changed with time. Let us notice the tendency of advancing culture to attach to the festival gatherings of primitive times more and more religious and philosophical meaning. And here we must lament that lack of space prevents our dwelling on many important details, a full understanding of which would solve many knotty points in the history of the development of religion.

Even the lowest races of men delight in festival

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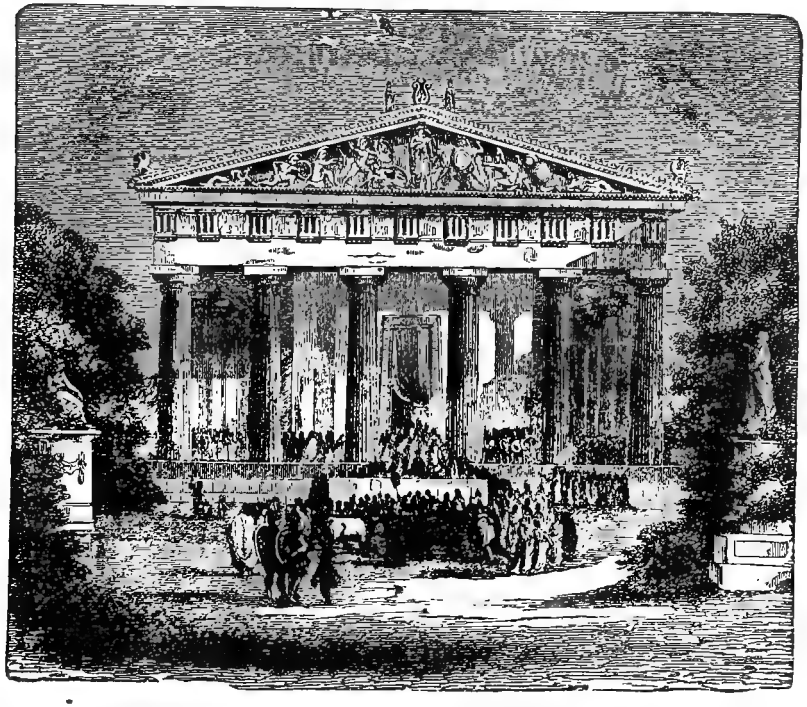
1 Kuenen: "Religion of Israel," Vol. III. p. 4.

2 Bunsen: "Angel Messiah," p. 84.

3 King remarks that this etymology "has something to commend it." ("Gnostic Remains," p. 33.) Bunsen suggests that this may be the source of the name. For this he is fiercely assailed by Kuenen as one who has forfeited all claims to be heard in the matter. ("Hibbert Lectures," 1882, p. 235.) This sweeping criticism is, to say the least, utterly uncalled for. It is an immaterial point in Bunsen's arguments, and he nowhere does more than suggest its possibility.

gatherings. The Australians have their *corroborree* where scenes of wild license sometimes occur. And generally all men have their feast days. Advancing intelligence tends to regulate these feasts and to make them significant. When a people enter on the agricultural life, the feasts are generally significant of some stage of agriculture; the feast of sowing, of in-gathering, etc. But as men advance, the



Festival of the Pan-Hellenic Zeus at Aegina.

great drama of the year enforces itself upon their attention, and we find feasts in celebration of the return of spring or the advent of winter. Feasts of this nature are well nigh immortal. The Christian world still celebrates the spring festival, Easter.

The priesthood, from the most savage people up, has taken advantage of these feasts to further the cause of re-

ligion as much as possible. They have tried to make them significant of important events or epochs in their religious history. We need only refer to the importance of feasts among the Jews where, for instance, the spring festival was made significant of their departure from Egypt; or to the Christian world generally, which has eagerly adopted Easter and Christmas as representatives of the birth and resurrection of Christ.

We have spoken of esoteric and exoteric knowledge. The principle of human nature which gave rise to this division of knowledge is as old as humanity itself. Among the Australians, certain ceremonies are gone through with when the boys are initiated into the ranks of men, the nature of these rites must be kept a profound secret from children and women.[1] Advancing higher we find the savage priesthood making use of this tendency also. The people are divided into various grades; initiation from one into the next higher is generally attended with many ceremonies; with each advance the candidate gains "more light." Mr. Orpen's Bushman guide was induced to explain things as far as he knew, but he soon reached the limit of his knowledge, what lay beyond was known only to men of "another dance."[2]

In a similar way Lieutenant Cushing found among our Zuni Indians secret societies, with several grades of membership, each grade being an advance on the one below it in religious knowledge. In short, this principle is world wide. Advancing intelligence in general does not do away with this means of conveying religious knowledge, but simply changes the nature of the information given. It is only necessary to remark that the Orient is now, and

[1] Vide "Kamilaroi and Kurnai."

[2] Lang: "Myth, Ritual, and Religion," Vol. II. p. 12.

probably has been since some centuries before the Christian Era, honeycombed with these secret religious societies, where they never gained such prominency as in Greece. Let us remark further that the highest knowledge taught to the highest grades of the initiates must have been substantially the same everywhere, simply because the problems and means of solution were everywhere the same. We need not be surprised, then, to find that amongst some people, the festival occasions just mentioned were made to subserve this principle also. This introduces us to what are known as the *Mysteries* which played such an important part in ancient Greece; which, surviving into Christian times, excited the wrathful notices of church writers.

We have pointed out the absence of a strong priestly body in Greece, but have also observed the tendency of the Greek mind to ponder over the many problems of religion. We have observed Pythagoras forming one of the societies to which we just referred; doubtless long before his time there had been somewhat similar associations, certain it is that the "mysteries" delighted the Greeks. Probably that tendency of the human mind which finds comfort in some formal creed (which was denied to the Greeks) found here some satisfaction. Each little town in Greece probably had its local mysteries,[1] but as time passed on and Athens grew in importance, Eleusis in Attica became the place of the celebration of the Eleusinian Mysteries, the life of which long outlasted Greece itself, since they were not crushed out till the dawn of the fourth century of our era,[2] when the emperor finally abolished them.

Without going too much into detail we must give the outline of the myth which formed the base or exoteric part of this mystery; the story which furnished the drama,

[1] Keary: "Primitive Belief," p. 222. [2] Ibid 232.

Rape of Persephone.

which was enacted at each recurrent festival. The chief personages of this story are Jupiter, Demeter, and their child Persephone. Persephone was so very beautiful that her mother hid her in a house built on purpose by the Cyclops. But Pluto had already caught sight of the maiden, and wished her for his wife. Jupiter was willing and instructed Venus, Diana, and Pallas to entice Persephone to go walking when her mother was worshiping.

Although warned by her mother not to leave the house, the maiden consents. This was Pluto's chance, and bursting through the earth he carried away the hapless maiden shrieking in his golden

JAGANNATH TEMPLE.

chariot. The grief stricken mother returns and commences a frantic search for her daughter. Helios (the sun) at length informs her of her daughter's fate. Thereupon Demeter, in anger, quits Olympus. Then the earth was no longer fruitful, nothing grew, and animals ceased to bear young. This course speedily brought Jupiter to his senses, and he sent by Hermes an imperative command to Pluto to release Persephone. Pluto did not dare to disobey, but with cunning malice he induced Persephone to eat a pomegranate seed. The effect was, that, though she was returned to her mother, still for one third of each year she was irresistably impelled to join her husband, Pluto, in the gloomy under-world.[1]

Pluto and Persephone.

Thus much for the story. It may strike some as difficult to see what religious instruction could be conveyed by it. Probably at first it was simply a nature story, a drama of the year. Persephone representing the new year, the four months, during which the earth bore no fruit, being the Winter. This may have been the first stage.[2] But when philosophy began to flourish in Greece, and men began to talk about spirit and matter and the bond between them, a new meaning was read into all these old ceremonies. The tendency in this direction would be hastened by the introduction of Dionysiac and Bacchic rites from India, and the spread of Pythagorean-

[1] Vide Keary: "Primitive Belief," p. 224 *et seq.* Also Taylor: "Eleusinian and Bacchic Mysteries," p. 87 *et seq.*

[2] This is the view of Keary, vide "Outlines of Primitive Belief."

ism.[1] Finally, about the time of Plato, it is supposed by some that a complete change had been effected in the meaning of the old drama.

According to this view, Jupiter and Demeter (heaven and earth) represent spirit and matter. Persephone their daughter is the soul. Pluto represents the body which imprisons the soul. The attendants of Persephone are all symbolical—Venus representing desire; Diana, the natural soul; and Minerva, the intellectual or courageous soul.[2] Attended by these, the immortal soul wanders forth to gather flowers, that is she becomes ensnared by the delusive attractions of sensible form, and thus is taken captive by matter (the body). Other details need not be given. It suffices to say that, in this manner, some think the philosophy of Greece was taught.[3]

The Athenians were greatly devoted to this mystery play. If a person neglected initiation into it, he was deemed atheistical (as in the case of Socrates). Before initiation into the great mysteries they had first to be admitted into the lesser mysteries at Agra by a process of purification. They were then called *mystae*, and took an oath of secrecy and received preparatory instructions. A year later the candidate might receive admission into the greater mysteries. The feast extended over nine days which we will not describe in detail. At the final initiation, the vows of secrecy were renewed, and the candidates were conducted in darkness by the hierophant, or interpreter, to the sacred inclosure. From two tablets of stone were read, by the interpreter,[4] the commandments now binding upon them. The candidates were conducted

[1] See above page 757 and note.—[2] Above page 765. [3] See Taylor, Op. cit.

[4] The two tablets of stone are *Peteroma*, the interpreter in all Oriental countries was *Peter*. Let us recall that, in the temples of old Chaldea, were to be found the two stone tablets, also recall the tablets of Jew-

into the lighted interior; where they learned the secret meaning of the rites. But what they there beheld and heard were secrets of the deepest order. Such candidates were now *epoptae*, or seers. But it seems that to some of the interior mysteries only a very limited number obtained initiation.

Demeter.

This hurried account must suffice for Greek Mysteries. In other countries, mystery plays do not seem to have been so fully acted out, but let us remember the Orient was full of secret societies, all fashioned on about the same model. And thus we see how as time passed on, and the ideas of the people in regard to soul and matter, God and man, grew clearer, there were gradually being formed two great divisions of the people, the one more enlightened than the other. We can further see how, wherever the priestly body was strongly developed, the tendency would be to confine this higher knowledge, wisdom,

ish law, and we begin to catch an idea of the antiquity of some of these rites. Did Christ have any reference to this office of interpreter in Mathew xvi. 18?

or *gnosis*, to their ranks. Now let us trace the first great revolt against this system, the rise of the first religious system world-wide in its aims.

More than one writer have traced out for us the many points of similarity between the mythology of the early Indians and the Teutonic tribes of Europe.[1] Maintaining, as we have, the European origin of the Aryans, some points in this resemblance are of especial interest. For many centuries, the Asiatic Aryans had been cut off from communication with Europe. While the Indians had been developing the system of Brahmanism, the beliefs of the Europeans were also changing. As pointed out above, Odhinn had become a great god of the Teutonic people. The Druids in Western Europe also made their appearance, and we catch sight of religious mysteries.

Near the close of the seventh century B. C., we have seen the Scyths crowding into Asia. By their inroads, the great empire of the Assyrians became so weakened that it fell before the assaults of the Medes and Persians.[2] Tradition has followed these Scyths into Western Asia. There seems to be also plain traces of their eastern wanderings. About the dawn of the sixth century, they invaded India from from the north.[3] Amongst their tribes was the Sakya.[4] Coming thus late from Europe, they probably knew of the later development of European mythology, and brought with them European customs. Amongst these was the building of chambered tumuli over the remains of eminent men,[5] and assembling there to worship his ghost. Their priests, probably organized to some extent like the Druids, were possessed of a secret

[1] Keary: "Outlines of Primitive Belief." [2] This Series Vol. II. p. 798.
[3] Bunsen: "Angel Messiah," p. 15. [4] Vide Beal in J. R. A. S., for 1882, p. 39.
[5] This Series Vol. I. p. 201.

tradition which they brought with them "from beyond," and they probably had some idea of the worship of Odhinn.

About the middle of the sixth century B.C., Gautama (who was destined to become the head of the greatest religious movement the world has yet seen[1]), a member of the Sakya tribe, was born. Tradition has it, that he was the son of the ruling chief. A short sketch of his life has already been given.[2] Judging the man by the results of his life, we can only conclude that he was one of those rare souls but few, the equals of which, have appeared in the history of the world. He was evidently a natural leader among men, his personal character must have been high and pure, he must have deeply pondered over the question of how to elevate his fellow men, he must have felt a deep compassion for the woes of humanity. The result of all this was, that he left such a profound impress on the people of his age that time has heightened the glory of his renown, rather than allowed it to fade away. But around that name and history, myths have been exceptionally busy, as we will point out.

As we have seen, his tribe had but recently been brought into contact with Hindoo life and thought. When Gautama appeared on the scene he seems to have been impressed with Hindoo philosophy. He determined to devote himself to it, to master its deepest secrets. Abandoning his kindred, we next hear of him in the vicinity of Vaisali, near Patna, about one hundred miles south of his former home on the flanks of the Himalaya.[3]

[1] Rhys Davids: "Buddhism," p. 6. At present Christians of all denominations, including the Greek Church, are only about three-fifths as numerous as the Buddhists. [2] Above p. 171.

[3] This step constitutes the "Great Renuciation" of the Buddhists. As to the question of the location of Buddha's home, see Oldenberg: "Buddha," 95.

Here he went through the severe training of a Brahman ascetic.[1] He chose his spiritual teacher, his *Guru*.[2] By him, he was doubtless made acquainted with the secrets of esoteric Brahmanism. Under the direction of his Guru, he doubtless went through the usual steps to obtain that

Statue of Buddha.

blissful state of mind known as *Yoga*.[3] The meaning of the

[1] Hence the origin of the name Sakya-Muni. That is Sakya Ascetic Beal: "Romance History," p. 152.

[2] This teacher was Alara Kalama ("Birth Stories," p. 89.) He chose another teacher, Uddaka, later.

[3] The trance state sometimes brought about by strong religious excitement is a feeble imitation of Yoga.

mystery treatises, the sacredly guarded Upanishads,[1] was explained to him. On his part, Gautama must have faithfully observed the many hard and puerile duties of a disciple.[2] As the result of all this, he became *Brahmacharin*, a seeker of Brahma.

In order to complete his training as a Brahmacharin, he crossed the Ganges into the province of Magadha, and there for six long years he practiced the terrible austerities of the Yogis. His sanctity became noised abroad "as when the sound of a great bell is heard in the sky."[3] Five disciples choose him as master, and rendered him all manner of service.[4] These six years of Gautama's life is known as the "Great Struggle." So far, Gautama's career had not differed from hundreds of other Hindoo ascetics. But now we come to the first great feature of Gautama's system of religion.

At the present day, no one is called upon to deny that Gautama and other men of his character experience, as a reward for their acts, inward peace and joy. How can it be otherwise when they have spent years in obtaining complete mastery over *self?* But in India, at the time of Buddha and since, this knowledge was confined only to the ranks of the initiates into higher Brahmanism. Others could gain this knowledge in the same way they had. It was a personal matter, the knowledge they had acquired was to be kept secrect. And so they were content to pass their lives in dreamy meditation. Buddhist history relates the effort it cost Gautama to overcome this fatal tendency.[5] But his better nature triumphed, and he determined to preach his doctrines to all "who have ears to hear," and

[1] Lillie: "Buddha," p. 103.

[2] Vide Williams: "Hindooism," chapter iii. [3] "Birth Stories," p. 91. [4] Ibid. 90. [5] Mahavagga, i. 5.

who would "send forth faith to meet it."[1] In other words, he was about to make public the esoteric knowledge of the past; he was going to try and induce the world to accept his teachings.

In carrying out this decision, the practical talents of Gautama became apparent. "He invented the missionary He invented the preacher. He forged an apparatus of propagandism, that has never been surpassed."[2] Like other great inventors, his ingenuity consisted in making a new use of existing materials. From the very earliest times, the life of the ascetic had been a very common one in India. In the old collections of Sacred Laws of the Hindoos, we find regulations for their lives. They are required to live chastely, not to amass any store, they must enter a village only to beg, must not stay two nights in the same village, their clothes are to consist of old rags which they shall have washed, etc.[3] Nor did these ascetics always live a solitary life. One whose reputed sanctity was great would attract many followers. We have just seen that Gautama, himself, was attended by five disciples during his great struggle.

And, if we may credit recent investigators, one association of these ascetics had already become very large and numerous, and was well organized; the texts of its faith and its customs in general being not greatly different from those finally adopted by Gautama. That sect still exists in India to-day under the name of *Jains*.[4] Out of such materials, Gautama gradually perfected his plans, which

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[1] "Mahavagga, i. 5,12. [2] Lillie: "Popular Life of Buddha," p. 286.
[3] Gautama's Institutes, III. ii. 24. "Sacred Books," Vol. II.
[4] On the Jains, consult Oldenberg: "Buddha," p. 66-77. Bunsen: "Angel Messiah," p. 12. Colebrook's "Essays," ch. xii. See also Thomas: "Early Faith of Asoca" in J. R. A. S. for 1877. Cf. with the foregoing, Barth: "Religions of India," p. 140 *et seq.*

were for the establishment on earth of the "Kingdom of Righteousness."[1] By his followers, Gautama soon came to be called by another title, and by that he is principally known to-day. He was called Buddha, the enlightened one.[2]

One great trouble in following up the outline from this point is to determine what was the primitive custom. We know with some certainty what the method of procedure finally came to be. We can not be so sure of its first stages. Buddha first took steps to gather around him a band of disciples. The five mendicants, who had served him during his six years' struggle, were his first adherents. Others joined their ranks, and Buddha, before any great length of time, found himself at the head of sixty-one disciples.[3] Buddha adopted for the government of this order substantially the same laws as to dress and mode of life governing other ascetic bands. But we now come to the first great improvement, which shows the originality of Buddha. Heretofore, discipleship was a personal matter in India. A band of disciples would gather around a leader. His personality held them together, at his death the association was broken up. But Buddha gathered his sixty-one disciples about him and sent them forth to preach his doctrines. "Let not two of you go the same way" was his first command. It was a strange mission that these homeless, begging monks started forth to perform. They were to preach the necessity of living a "perfect and pure life of holiness."[4] But this was not all, if they found other like minded ascetics willing to embrace Buddha's doctrines, they were to be at once initiated into the order, without

1 Davids: "Birth Stories", p. 111.

2 More than one investigation has pointed out the resemblance between *Buddha* and *Woden* (Odhinn). Cf. Lillie: "Buddha and Early Buddhism," p. 230, *et seq.*

3 Mahavagga i. 10. 4 Mahavagga i. 11, 1.

journeying to where Buddha himself might be staying.[1]

A very simple innovation, this, but thereby was set in motion the lever destined to largely influence the Oriental world. Another important point was, that this "proselyting" was not solely to re-inforce the ranks of Buddhist monks, but an effort was made to reach and influence the masses of the people. This was largely a new departure.[2] Laymen, who did not feel inclined to abandon the world, were received into a sort of church membership, they formed the *Upasaka* (adherent) class. A large share of Buddha's preaching was directed solely to this class. So, from the very earliest period, they make their appearance.[3] Few and simple were the positive rules they were to follow.[4] But they were urged to walk in the "Noble Path," and to pay due attention to the monks, who, on their part, were expected to "instruct them in religious truths, clear up their doubts, and point the way to heaven."[5]

Buddha is supposed to have lived for more than forty years after establishing his order; and is supposed before his death to have seen it already grown rich and powerful. Although the Buddhist literature of Ceylon professes to give quite full particulars of this important period, it is strongly argued, that we really know but little of it, that in all probability Buddhism spread first as a secret society, and that not until all India was filled with adherents of this new religion, about the time of Asoca, was it openly promulgated.[6] We can not settle this point; but if

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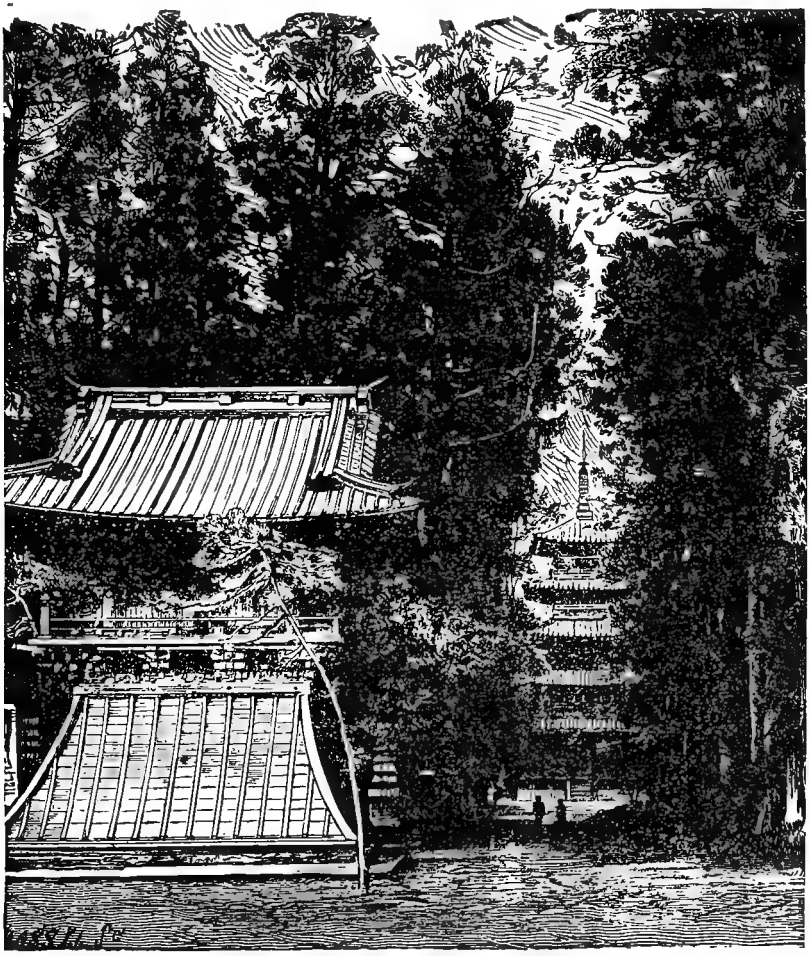
1 Mahavagga i. 12, 1. 2 This statement must be made with due allowance for ignorance regarding the nature and extent of the Jainist movement.

3 Kullavagga, v. 20. 4 Oldenberg: "Buddha," p. 383 note.

5 "Admonition of Sigala." Childers in "Contemporary Review," Feb. 1876.

6 Lillie: "Buddha and Early Buddhism," p. 131. "Popular Life of Budda," p. 142.

we recall the great number and influence of mystic societies in the Orient, it would not be at all strange if Buddhism grew first as a secret society.[1]



Buddhist Temple—China.

We must now inquire more particularly as to the doctrines taught by Buddha. When he made his appearance

[1] Secret in the sense that a formal initation was undergone when joining the ranks; their proceedings were more or less in secret; the laymen who gave in their adherence were not necessarily known; and the government of the order was more or less secret.

in India, we must remember that the common masses of the people were grossly superstitious. The Brahman priesthood had usurped the right to perform all religious offices. The educated classes were either passing their lives as ascetics or waging endless disputes as to the nature of Brahma, the Atman, the power of Illusion, etc. What Buddha desired to do was to substitute some practical morality for this superstition and too subtle metaphysics. All metaphysical discussions were therefore discouraged. What he wanted was actions not words. What he wanted was "no questioning about existence or non-existence, about eternity or non-eternity." He wanted the "boundless and illimitable realized but not talked about."[1] He accordingly empasized the every-day duties of morality. His discourses to the laity were almost entirely taken up with them.

If it were deemed advisable, whole pages could now be quoted with beautiful sayings that are recorded as coming from Buddha's lips. Space forbids, however, and we will only give a general idea of his teachings.[2] He aimed to awaken *spiritual* life in his hearers. He taught, that all manner of impure thoughts and unworthy actions produced pain; [3] if not in this world, then in the next.[4] He gave practical discourses on such subjects as "Earnestness," which, he says, is "the path of immortality;"[5] on "Thought," which, when "well guarded brings happiness."[6] The duty of "happiness" was pointed out. "Let us, live happily not hating those who hate us"[7] was his desire. The sin of "anger" was commented upon. He advised: "Let a man overcome anger by love, let him overcome evil by good.[8]

[1] Beal: "Romance History," p. 175. *Vide* "Sabbasva Sutta," 9.

[2] We would especially mention the following: "Sacred Books," Vols. X. and XI. Beal: "Dhammapada." Rockhill: "Udanavarga."

[3] Dhammapada. i. 1. [4] Ibid. 17. [5] Ibid. 21.

[6] Ibid. 36. [7] Ibid. 197. [8] Ibid. 223.

He insisted on the necessity of *personal* action. His last recorded words are "work out your salvation with dilligence."[1] In another place, he exclaimed "you, yourself must make an effort."[2] He condemned the idea that bloody sacrifices could atone for sin. He asked: "Having a body defiled with blood will the shedding of blood restore it to purity."[3] He condemned asceticism of all kinds. He wanted his followers to follow the "Middle Path," between the two extremes, which are a life given over to pleasure, and a life of self mortification;[4] and in all things, he insisted on upright conduct. "Great is the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation, when set round with upright conduct."[5] "Good works receive a man who has done good and has gone from this world to the other, as kinsmen receive a friend on his return."[6]

It is a melancholy fact, that it is not truth that conquers the world but *organization.* Buddha clearly realized this, and forwith trained and disciplined his monks and established his order. A large part of Buddhist writings are concerned with rules for the regulation and guidance of the monks. There were two stages of initiation into the order, the *Pabbajja* and the *Upasampada.* Entry into the first grade might be as early as fifteen years,[7] provided the parents gave their consent, [8] or, in special circumstances, even younger.[9] They could not be received into full membership before the age of twenty.[10] It required a chapter of at least ten monks to confer the Upasampada initiation.[11] While, in general, this order was open to every one, yet certain classes were excluded, as soldiers,

1 Maha-Parinibbana Sutta, vi. 10.
2 Dhammapada, 276. 3 Beal: "Romance History," p. 159.
4 Mahavagga, i 17. 5 Maha-Parinibbana Sutta i. 12.
6 Dhammapada 220. 7 Mahavagga i. 50. 8 Ibid i. 54. 9 Ibid. 51.
10 Ibid. i. 49, 6. 11 Ibid. i. 32, 2.

those afflicted with diseases, criminals, debtors, slaves, etc.

Admitted into the order, the new member had to choose a spiritual leader, and remain for ten years under his instruction.[1] The rules for their conduct were numer-

Angcor-Wat, Buddhist Temple—Siam.

ous and minute. Twice in each month, the monks in any given district, which was duly determined by bounds, were expected to meet and hold religious services. There was a sort of open confessional. The list of offences was gone

1 Mahavagga i. 25.

over; and, if any monk had transgressed, then was the time to make it known. This part of their work was secret, but we also read that the people went there in order to hear the Dhamma.[1] This word means the precepts of Buddha.[2] So it would seem as if we here have something in the nature of ethical discourses to the people.[3]

It is not necessary for us to speak about the order of nuns. Let us study the growth and political development of Buddhism. While he lived, Buddha was the head of the order. The books of the southern Buddhists, from which we have been quoting, and which we will consider more at large soon, represent the order as being left without a head on Buddha's death.[4] It is supposed that, for a time at least, those first disciples and companions of Buddha exercised a nominal authority.[5] We will soon show that, by the middle of the third century B. C., there was an official head to the Buddhist church, his title was "the priest of all the world".[6] Perhaps for a long time before this, there had been some such an officer as this in existence.[7]

The real history of Buddhism does not begin until the middle of the third century B. C. Buddhist histories give us glowing accounts of the rapid spread of Buddhism. Wherever Buddha went, thousands were converted and monasteries were provided in abundance by the thankful zeal of newly converted kings and princes. Within a few

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[1] Mahavagga ii. 2.

[2] Muller, Introduction to the "Dhammapada," p. xlv.

[3] This is opposed by Dr. Oldenberg: "Buddha," p. 371, note; also p. 384.

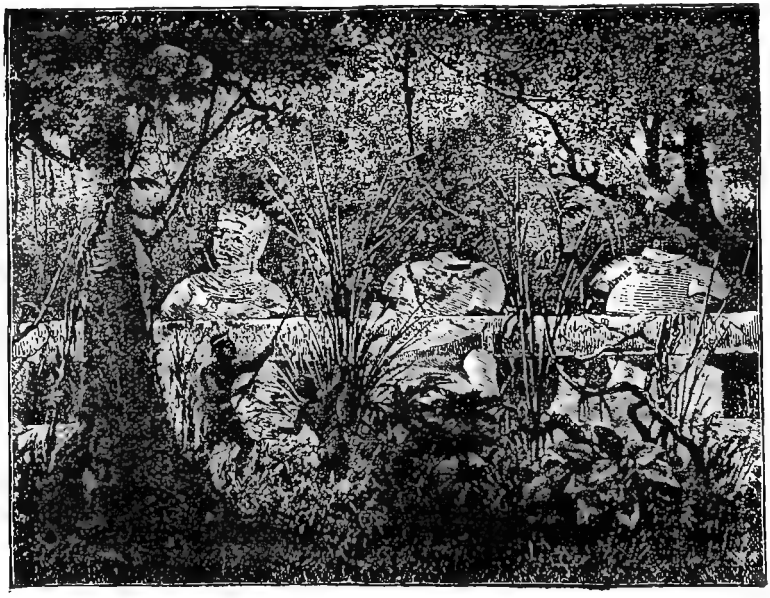
[4] Oldenberg: "Buddha," p. 341, note.

[5] Ibid. 342.

[6] Lillie: "Buddhism in Christendom," p. 215.

[7] The "Mahawanse," a sacred historical book of Ceylon, certainly implies that there were various grades of priests from the start. It speaks of the *high* priest who was about to unfrock some of the subordinates, immedialety after the death of Buddha. It speaks of *grand* priests, of *chief* priests, and of priests of *high degree*. What do all these expressions mean if there was no gradation of authority?

months of his death,[1] a council of five hundred monks is said to have been held to settle the articles of faith; a hundred years later, a second council is recorded. These accounts can scarcely be called historical.[2] Back of the third century B. C., we have only the uncertain light of tradition to guide us. Before that date, writing was not common in India. It was used only for imperial proclamations etc.[3] We hear considerable about the wonderful memories of the Indian priests, and how faithfully traditions are



Bas Relief-Angcor-Wat.

1 The date of Buddha's death varies widely. Muller gives 477, B. C. Rhys Davids, 412, B. C. Westergard 368-70, B. C. Kern, 388, B. C. The Southern Buddhists assume 543, B. C. *Vide* "Sacred Books," Vol. X. p. xxxv.

2 Tiele: "History of Religion," p.139. Lillie "Popular Life," ch. xiii.

3 Taylor: "The Alphabet, "Vol. II. p. 256. *et seq.* also chapter x. It was considered almost a desecration to put religious books in writing. (Rhys Davids: "Buddhist Suttas," p. xxii.) Although the knowledge of writing is mentioned in the earliest books of Ceylon, yet the Sacred Books themselves were not reduced to writing before the first century B. C. Oldenberg: "Vinaya Texts," Introduction, p. xxxiii. *et seq.*

handed down by them. But nothing is more certain than that three or four centuries of oral transmission will give us anything but a faithful account of primitive times. The tendency is inevitable for recent events, customs, and manners to be transferred to early times.

We can, then, only surmise that Buddhism grew with considerable rapidity, silently, perhaps secretly, until the era of Asoca. That king was converted to Buddhism and forthwith made it the state religion. Basking in the sunshine of royal favor, it is not surprising that Buddhism lost somewhat of its early purity, nor is it strange that the reaction should carry it in the direction of superstition and mysticism. Then it is, that we begin to hear of the "Priest of all the world," the head of the Buddhist church; then it was, that Buddha was made a veritable god, and the worship of saints became established; then it was, that the slowly enveloping myths suddenly shot up into a luxuriant growth and so completely hid the historical Buddha from sight that we can hardly be sure of any details respecting his life.

This was the "Golden Age" of Buddhism. The Achary (high priest) of Magadha grew in power and influence. Later the great monastery of Nalanda became his head quarters. His person was esteemed so sacred that even his name was not to be pronounced. Whoever was admitted to the high honor of an interview with him was expected to fall prostrate before him and kiss his feet. Such a system as this implies a well graded hierarchy. When, in subsequent years, Buddhism was crushed out of India, the achary of Nalanda took refuge in Thibet, and is probably represented by the "Grand Lama." Otherwise it would be difficult to explain why China and Japan, which derived their Buddhism from India, should acknowl-

edge the authority of this Thibetan Pontiff.[1] Many writers have traced out the resemblance between the hierarchy of the Thibetan church and the position of the Grand Lama, and the hierarchy of the Catholic church and the position of the Pope.[2]

The Catholic missionary Huc observed to his astonishment among the Buddhists of Thibet "the cross, the mitre, the dalmaic, and the chasuble—that the superior lamas carry with them when traveling or performing some ceremony out of the temple—the choral service, the exorcisms, the censers supported by five chains and made to open and shut, the blessings which the Lamas bestow on the faithful—laying their hand upon the head of the supplicant—the rosary, the practice of ecclesiastical celibacy, of spiritual retreats, the worship of saints, fasts, processions, holy water, litanies, and many other details of ceremonial which are in use among the Buddhists precisely as in our own church."[3] The Catholic bishop Bigandet speaks also of this state of affairs in Thibet and of the hierarchy in Burmah.[4] What they are describing is but the final form of the order and religion of Gautama and, when we reflect on the conservatism of religion, we will doubtless agree that in all essential points it is not materially different from the same cult in the palmy days of King Asoca.

We must now turn to the consideration of the development of doctrine in Buddhism. Many centuries have elapsed since Buddha sent forth his sixty-one disciples. His followers have now separated into two great divisions; one theistic, and the other atheistic. Considerable

1 *Vide* Lillie: "Popular Life of Buddha," p. 183, by same author, "Buddhism in Christendom," p. 227.

2 *Vide* "Hibbert Lectures," 1881, p. 192.

3 "Christianity in China, Tartary and Thibet," Vol. II. p. 15.

4 "Life of Buddah," Vol. II. p. 261.

dispute has arisen of late years as to the priority of these schools and which better represents primitive Buddhism. It seems to us that here, as in many other cases, the truth lies between two extremes. Buddha, as a Brahmacarin, was thoroughly posted in Indian Wisdom. But his mission was to sharply emphasize the necessity of morality. This colors all his sayings. In his discourses with the young Brahmans, he does not at all undertake to overthrow their ideas as to Brahma, but does insist that the way to union with him consisted in the discharge of moral duties and in purity of life. On their part, the Brahmans recognized that he was simply a reformer. They exclaim that he "sets up that which is thrown down....points out the right road to him who has gone astray."[1]

Buddha is described as being well versed in the "way of Brahma." He talks about the "world of Brahma," and the "Brahma heaven."[2] As St. Paul many year's later points out the difference between a Jew outwardly and a Jew inwardly, between circumcision of the heart and circumcision of the flesh;[3] so Buddha points out to the young Brahmans the distinction between a Brahman, who was one outwardly, and one inwardly.[4] It seems to us therefore reasonable to agree with many scholars that Buddha meant simply to reform the Hindooism of his day.[5] He would therefore not attack its philosophy, and it is more than probable that he accepted and taught, at least to the higher order of his monks, the estoric doctrines of higher Brahmanism.

But as remarked he wanted to emphasize the moral

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1 Tevigga Sutta. 2 Birth Stories. 3 Romans ii. 28-29.

4 Tevigga Sutta, i. 25 etc.

5 This is now not questioned. See, for instance, Kuenen: "Hibbert Lectures," 1882, p. 256.

side of life. He well enough knew the fatal tendency of Brahmanical life. He therefore condemned metaphysical discussion. He utterly repudiated the idea that purity could come by philosophical views.[1] In one of the writings of the Southern Buddhist, a disciple comes to Buddha and requests him to clear up his doubts as to whether man is immortal or not. Buddha explained to him that knowledge on this and similar points "did not conduce to a life of holiness," and hence he refused to express himself.[2] It is not strange, then, that, as time passed on, confused and even contradictory opinions arose as to what were the beliefs and teachings of Buddha.

When Buddhism entered on its "Golden Age" under Asoca, it would be passing strange if it had retained its primitive simplicity. Judging from various symbols engraved on the ancient topes in India,[3] especially at Sanchi,[4] at that time the Buddhists worshiped first a trinity,[5] consisting of *Buddha*, *Dhamma*, and *Sangha*. These terms, indeed, earlier had a very literal meaning. The candidate for initiation into the order of monks had to proclaim three times that he took refuge in Buddha, Dhamma, and Sangha, meaning thereby Buddha, the law, and the order.[6] This was called "taking refuge in the holy triad." For all we know to the contrary, there may have been an esoteric meaning given to these phrases from the start. But it is certainly not singular that such a meaning came to be applied to them in after times. Neither is it strange that, in the esoteric meaning so applied, we find simply a statement of Indian philosophy.

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[1] Parayanavagga 8. [2] Oldenberg: "Buddha," p. 276.

[3] The Tri-Ratna, found engraved on monuments wherever Buddhism went. *Vide* Pincott: "The Tri-Ratna" in J. R. A. S. 1887.

[4] Above p. 176. [5] Cunningham: "The Bhilsa Topes," p. 351.

[6] Mahavagga i. 12, 4.

Briefly expressed then we may say that Buddhism appears to have at that time believed in the existence of one infinite, eternal essence *Aditi-buddha*, (Supreme Buddha) corresponding to Brahma. It denied the reality of the phenomenal world.[1] Aditi-buddha in conjunction with *Dahmma* (the infinite mother of all), produced *Sangha*, the creator, analogous to Iswara.[2] Judging from the ritual (which changes much slower than the literature), from their representation of heaven (still extant in their sculptures), they further held that the highest destiny of the spiritual part of man was to be reunited with Aditi-buddha; but this was a lot attainable only by the Buddhas; other people, if worthy, enjoy a life of immortality in one of the lower heavens.

Let us recall that from a train of superstitious notions seven was a sacred number generally throughout the Orient. As there were seven great gods in the Chaldea, seven ameshospands in Persia, seven holy rishis in the Vedas, so Gautama was said to have been the seventh Buddha. Each Buddha was held to be an emanation from the supreme Buddha,(Aditi-buddha), Dhamma was the mother of each, so each was a god-man, consenting to descend from the highest heaven, Tusita, and pass a life on earth for the good of men. Such a being is also called a Tathagatha, meaning, perhaps, the coming one or the one who "was to come." Buddha explained to inquiring Brahmans that "from time to time a Tathagatha is born into the world," his mission being to "make known the higher life, in all its purity and in all its perfectness."[3]

1 Oldenberg: "Buddha," p. 238.

2 *Vide* Lillie: "Buddha and Early Buddhism" ch. ii: "Popular Life of Buddha," p. 249 *et seq.* Hodgson in J. R. A. S. for 1835. Cunningham, Op. cit.

3 "Tevigga Sutta," i. 46. As for this definition, see Bunsen: "Angel

The ritual of all Buddhist countries contain references to the worship of these past Buddhas.[1] Once when Buddha was preaching, an apparition appeared in the sky. It was the throne of one of the Buddhas of the past, and from it proceeded words of praise for the Tathagatha's preaching.[2] At the Stupa of Bharhut, General Cunningham found carvings representing the thrones and holy trees of each of the great Buddhas of the past.[3]

From the foregoing, we can perhaps form an idea of the Buddhism of the first period, by which we mean from the reign of Aṣoca down to about the commencement of the Christian Era. We see the theological side, held in abeyance by Buddha himself, finally winning a large share of attention. We see the order he had established growing in power and organization. Ancestor worship, which appeals so strongly to the feelings of primitive men, had also won recognition. Saint worship had sprung up. Seven Buddhas were worshiped instead of one. Relics of the great Buddha, or of the eminent saints, were priceless relics. It is not considered improbable that religious wars were undertaken to get possession of such treasures.[4]

About the commencement of the Christian Era, we come to the first great innovation largely due to a Hindoo sect, the *Tantrikas*. This sect were great believers in the powers of magic. There were no gods, or rather their own adepts were possessed of greater power. They affirmed that everything arises from nothing. Though they made

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Messiah," p. 18. For criticism on the same, see Kellogg: "Light of Asia, etc." p. 107. Admitting with Dr. Kellogg that the meaning is "thus come," still taking this in connection with the statement in the Sutta "that from time to time," such beings are expected to become "thus come," what is so out of the way with Bunsen's definition?

1 Lillie: "Popular Life of Buddha," p. 231, 217.

2 Saddharma-Pundurika, xi. 3 Lillie in J. R. A. S. for 1882.

4 Ferguson: "Tree and Serpent Worship," p. lxxxviii. (Sanchi.)

use of such terms as Maker, they considered them as mere words.[1] The nature of their knowledge they guarded with the utmost secrecy. But this continued to grow and to exercise more and more influence in India. After some centuries of conflict, Buddhism took up with some of their ideas.[2]

A council, assembled by the Turanian King Kaniska

Buddhist Temple, Island of Java.

(A. D. 10), first promulgated these new views.[3] The followers of this new Buddhism were known as the followers of this *Great Vehicle.* According to the Chinese Traveler Hwen Thsang, the primitive Buddhists (*Little Vehicle*) called this movement (in reference to its Atheism) the "carriage which drives to the great no-where;" they further said that it differed in nothing from the Tantrikas' philosophy.[4]

1 Lillie: "Buddhism in Christendom," p. 217. 2 Cunningham: "Bhilsa Topes," p. 158. 3 Ferguson: "Tree and Serpent Worship," p. 64.
4 Lillie: "Populor Life of Buddha," p. 177.

Dr. Lillie further shows that though this doctrine was at first opposed by the acharya of Magadha, yet he finally accepted it. Another change had been going forward, which received the support of the new movement.

The belief had grown up, that several Buddhas had appeared in the past, and also that from time to time they would appear in the future. Those who will appear in the future are called *Bodhi-satwas*. The idea finally arose that the one destined to next appear was now enjoying a life of bliss in the highest heaven, Tusita. They gave it a pretty name, *Maitreya*, kindness. This was to be the future Buddha to rule the world. The next step was to worship this future Buddha. How early this movement arose we do not know, but the Great Vehicle movement took it up. The Chinese Pilgrim Fa Hian expressly states that the disciples of the Little Vehicle (primitive Buddhists) worshiped the Buddhas of the past, but those of the Great Vehicle worshiped the Bodhi-satwas.[1] This same traveller, who was in India about the beginning of the fifth century of our era, found Buddhist monks and monasteries in great numbers, belonging to both vehicles from Cabul to Magadha.[2] Hweng Thsang, two centuries later, found both vehicles in Magadha; Ceylon must have been a stronghold of the Great Vehicle movement, since Thsang left on record that there were ten thousand monks, followers of that vehicle on that island;[3] in general, the Great Vehicle must have been in the majority. Hweng Thsang himself presided at the council summoned by King Siladitya to settle the vehicle question. This council suppressed the Little Vehicle. By this victory, those doctrines and ideas

[1] Lillie: "Popular Life," p. 174.

[2] Rhys Davids: "Buddhism," p. 143.

[3] Lillie: "Buddhism in Christendom," p. 218. Rhys Davids also shows that the worship of Maitreya existed there. ("Buddhism," p. 201.)

in Buddhism which give it the appearance of atheism, so strongly commented on by some,[1] were rendered a permanent feature.[2]

It is now necessary to glance at the development of Buddhist sacred literature. It is probable that many of the rules for the government of the order and ritual go back to a very early period. This is the part that was repeated at the fast days. Tradition doubtless clung tenaciously to the reputed sayings of Buddha. It is none the less true that the tendency would be for these collections of stories to grow with time. Asoca carved on the Bairat rock a list of seven tractates which he orders the Buddhists to recite in the temples. Besides these nothing else was to be recited. Some of these tracts can now be found buried up in the accumulation of later literature.[3] We may suppose that when the alphabet was fairly introduced such legends, histories, and doctrinal books would commence to grow. So, by the time that it was considered allowable to put the sacred literature into writing, it had grown to be quite voluminous.

About the beginning of the fifth century of our era, a young Brahman joined the Buddhist monastery at Nalanda. From his eloquence he was named *Buddha-ghosa* One day he was informed that in the island of Ceylon there was a commentary on their sacred texts, written in the Singalese language.[4] He accordingly went thither for

[1] Kellogg: "The Light of Asia etc." p. 176 *et seq.*

[2] Those who are acquainted with the discussion on Buddhism will see that we have come to the conclusions set forth by Dr. Lillie in his various works on Buddha and Buddhism, and opposed to Rhys Davids. We can not go into details further. But it seems to us that Dr Lillie amply sustains his views. See especially the new material in "Buddhism in Christendom," p. 220, and "Popular Life," chapter xvi. "The Hibbert Lectures" for 1881 gives Rhys Davids' views.

[3] Lillie: "Popular Life," p. 208 *et seq.*

[4] Muller: "Sacred Books," Vol. X. p. xxii.

the purpose of translating this back into Pali. Now Buddhaghosa, as a monk from Nalanda, was a follower of the Great Vehicle, this was also the orthodox faith in Ceylon. He had been but recently converted from Brahmanism. We of course cannot tell what school of philosophy he embraced before his conversion to Buddhism. It is at least possible that he belonged to some of the materialistic schools.[1] It is admitted that he was an able and ambitious man. He has been compared to Hildebrand.[2] It is extremely probably, therefore, that in his new translation he would insist on giving prominence to his own personal views. The importance of this becomes at once apparent when we realize the great influence he exerted on southern Buddhism.[3] Not only his commentary is employed, but, we are told, that all of the Buddhist pitakas are derived from Ceylon.[4] They were doubtless all subject to his influence. All these facts must be borne in mind by those who insist that the books of the southern Buddhists give us the truest ideas of primitive Buddhism. On the contrary, as they exist now, they give us Buddhagohsa's version of the teachings of the "Great Vehicle".

In many ways, Dr. Lillie thinks he can show that Buddhaghosa's version departed from the primitive teachings. It is difficult to account for the ritual and some of the symbols of Ceylon if Buddhism there has always been of the type described in the writings of Buddhaghosa. For instance, the worship of the seven Buddhas is covered up

[1] For instance the *Charvacas*, who were influential at an early day. They denied the existence of a soul, or of a life after death. They had confused ideas that the personal traits of character might go to another body after death. Colebrook's "Essays," p. 259-60.

[2] Ferguson: "Tree and Serpent Worship," p. 65.

[3] The Buddhists of Burmah, for instance, owe their scriptures to him Bigandet: "Buddha," Vol. II. p. 134 note.

[4] "Buddhist Suttas," p. xxii.

by a story about a charm. Yet ritual and incidental notices in the writings show that such a worship did really exist. In the Chinese Dhammapada, certain expressions occur regarding the heaven of Brahma. Buddhaghosa omits those passages, yet in other parts of his writings, clear references to them exist, showing that they must have existed in the account before Buddhaghosa. It is quite probable that he deliberately interpolated suttas before him so as to make them either teach his doctrines or else to make them contradictory.[1]

One more phase of Buddha and his life must now be treated. Around such a character as Buddha, who had succeeded in establishing a religion which by the third century B. C. was embraced by hundreds of millions of people, would speedily gather innumerable myths and legends. Nor is it at all singular that the old sun myths would once more gather around him as a center.[2] We can understand how, as his religion grew and the old formula of initiation (Buddha, Dhamma, and Sangha) grew into an expression for the trinity, Buddha himself would become deified, at least worshiped as the last of the seven Buddhas.

And this last idea, taken in connection with the doctrine of Bodhisatwa, the coming Buddha, would lead to the belief of his angelic life before his birth. Hence the legend begins with him as the anointed angel, waiting in the Tusita heaven for the hour to fully arrive; and here we be-

[1] For instance the Brahmajala Sutta. Dr. Davids quotes from it to show that the Buddhists deny, "in a complete and categorical manner," that there is any soul or any existence after death. ("Buddhism," p. 99) In the same Sutta is a passage, which Dr Davids strangely forgets to quote, which does teach, "in a complete and categorical manner," just the contrary, viz., that there are souls, and that existence continues after death. ("Popular Life" p. 223).

[2] A French scholar has written a book to show that Buddha was an altogether mythical personage. "A sun God" ("La Legende du Boudha.")

gin to notice the sun myth. He was born on Christmas,[1] because, at this time, ancient myths in many nations believed the sun of the new year to be born.[2] As a pre-existing angel, of course his earth life began by a miraculous conception.[3] His mother, though married to King Suddhodana of the Sakya tribe, was still a virgin. In a dream, she was made aware of the happy destiny in store for her, and angels informed the good king of the nature of the child to be born to him.

The queen was on a journey, when Pushya, "the king of the stars," showed by its position that the hour had come. In an Indian grove under a Sala tree, which bent its branches down to conceal her, amid many signs and wonders, the heavenly child was born. Four Brahmans received the child on a golden net, four great kings of the cosmos were present to render him homage, flowers and other offerings were presented to him, and above immortal spirits sang his praise. The holy nature of the child attracted great attention. A holy ascetic, dwelling afar, perceived by his magic power that a Buddha had been born, and he hurried to the city of Kapilavastu to see him. He took the child in his arms but wept to think he would not live to see his glory. When sent to school, he dumfounded the teachers by his miraculous knowledge. No matter how difficult the question he could answer.

Quite in the manner here pointed out there grew up a romantic life of Buddha. Every important event of his life was set off with some incident testifying to his supernatural character. These accounts must have early commenced

[1] Bunsen: "Angel Messiah," p. 23.

[2] Lillie: "Buddha and Early Buddhism," p. 22.

[3] In Egypt, India, Greece, in fact in the ancient world generally, every individual, who attained any prominence, was considered the son of some god or goddess.

to grow. Judging from the carved sculptures at the Sanchi Tope, as well as at Amrivati, the legends must have assumed a systematic shape as early as three centuries B. C.; though until they were finally reduced to writing, they would be subject to changes and new arrangements.[1]

We have now only space for a few remarks concerning the spread of Buddhism. In a general way, it is known how it spread over Eastern Asia, and even out on the islands off the coast. The Island of Java, for instance, was overrun with Buddhist missionaries at an extremely early date. Abbe Huc tells us that the fourth class of Lamas in Thibet are known as the "Wandering Lamas". Their life is devoted to wandering and preaching their doctrines. They visit every country at all accessible to them. They climb mountains, ford rivers, cross deserts, and brave all dangers. We need not doubt that we have in these wandering Lamas fair representatives of the first monks that Buddha sent forth to preach Dhamma. His command was to preach his doctrine to all without exception.

He was obeyed. His ragged missionaries traveled far and wide. Only of late years are we learning how far they did go, carrying with them the doctrines of the kingdom of righteousness. Some eminently respectable authorities think they penetrated to America. We have not space to investigate this subject. We need only remark that some of the carvings found in Central America and Yucatan are easy to explain on this hypothesis.[2] But the

[1] Beal ("Romantic Legend") gives these legends and many more. We have given quite enough to show their general character. Most any of the lives of Buddha contain incidents of these legends. Most of the incidents we have here referred to are represented in the Amrivati carvings (250 B. C. Ferguson: "Tree and Serpent Worship"). It would be well to compare what Dr. Kellogg has to say on this point, "The Light of Asia etc." p. 109.

[2] Consult Vining: "An Inglorious Columbus;" also Lillie: "Buddha

east was not the only direction of travel. They went west as well. We have referred to the connection between the name of Woden and Buddha. Long ago that quite eminent scholar, Godfrey Higgins, wrote a book to show that the Druids were in reality a sect of Buddhist monks.[1] More recently, Prof. Holmboe has marshalled a strong array of facts to show that Buddhist monks must have reached Norway.[2] Prof. Muller refers to the existence of Buddhism in Russia and Sweden.[3] The celebrated Round Tower in Ireland, dating from pre-Christian times, is thought by some to be a Buddhist monument.[4]

Here we will bring this chapter to a close. We are now down to a most interesting point in the history of religion; to the conflict between Greek Philosophy, Jewish Mysticism, Orthodox Judaism, and the doctrines of Buddha. Out of the conflict, their emerge the numerous Gnostic sects; and finally, when the hour was fully come, Christianity was given to the world. But this must be reserved for a future chapter.

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and Early Buddhism," chapter iv. Some of the carvings to which we allude are the following (This Series Vol. I. p. 570 *et seq.*): The Statue at Copan, Stone Tablet at Palenque, Statue from Palenque, the Beau Relief at Palenque, Two Headed Monument from Uxmal, The Seated Figure over the Doorway at Uxmal, etc.

1 "The Celtic Druids," London, 1829.

2 "Traces de Buddhisme en Norvege."

3 "From Vining", Op. cit.

4 Lundy: "Monumental Christianity," p. 255.

Of course, any power, that aspired to a very extended sway, must sooner or later, come in contact with Babylon. The glorious reign of Nebuchadnezzar had passed into history before Cyrus had commenced to extend the boundaries of his empire. The successors of Nebuchadnezzar were not by any means his equal; and it was probably apparent that the star of Babylonia was as rapidly sinking to final extinction, as it had risen to its meridian height. When such a state of affairs exists, there is always a discontented party; and when Cyrus was planning the downfall of Babylonian power, he seems to have intrigued with the discontented party in Babylon. His intrigues were successful; and when, after his conquests over the various Aryan powers in Asia Minor, his forces appeared before Babylon, the city gates were open to him, and, almost without opposition, his soldiers entered the city. And thus Persian supremacy supervened in Western Asia. They now wielded the power once held by Assyria. The whole history of the conquest of Babylon is recorded on a terra cotta cylinder only recently discovered, so that we have historical evidence of this period in Persian history.[1]

From this, we learn that there was no long siege of Babylon. Cyrus appears as the ally of a disaffected element. His success is claimed as an evidence of favor from the gods of Babylon. Cyrus acknowledges himself, as the servant of Bel and Merodach. He showed a great deal of tact in not antagonizing the religious culture in Babylon. This kindness was even extended to the Jewish captives. With his consent, a portion of them, as an organized church, went back to their ruined city, Jerusalem, and there established Judaism.[2] Cyrus ruled until

[1] Budge: "Babylonian Life and History," p. 78.
[2] Vol. II. p. 761.

529 B. C., and it is not positively known when or how he died. There is a plain marble tomb of ancient date standing on the plain of Mergab, which has for centuries been called the "Tomb of Cyrus." It is claimed that it bears the inscription: "O, man, I am Cyrus who won dominion for the Persians, and was king of Asia. Grudge not this monument to me."[1] Recent researches have proved that this tomb can be none other than that of a female; and while the natives claim that it is the tomb of Solo-

So-called Tomb of Cyrus.

mon's mother, Dr. Oppert asserts that it is the tomb of "Kassandana, the beloved wife of Cyrus, and the mother of Cambyses."[2]

Cambyses succeeded his father as ruling chieftain without any manifest opposition, though one of his first acts was to put his brother, Smerdis, to death. Cambyses spent his short reign in extending the rule of Persia over the states of Western Asia, and especially Egypt. In this he was successful. It is related of him

1 "Story of Persia," p. 97.
2 Records of the Past," Vol. VII. p. 89 also Vol. IX. p. 69.

# HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION

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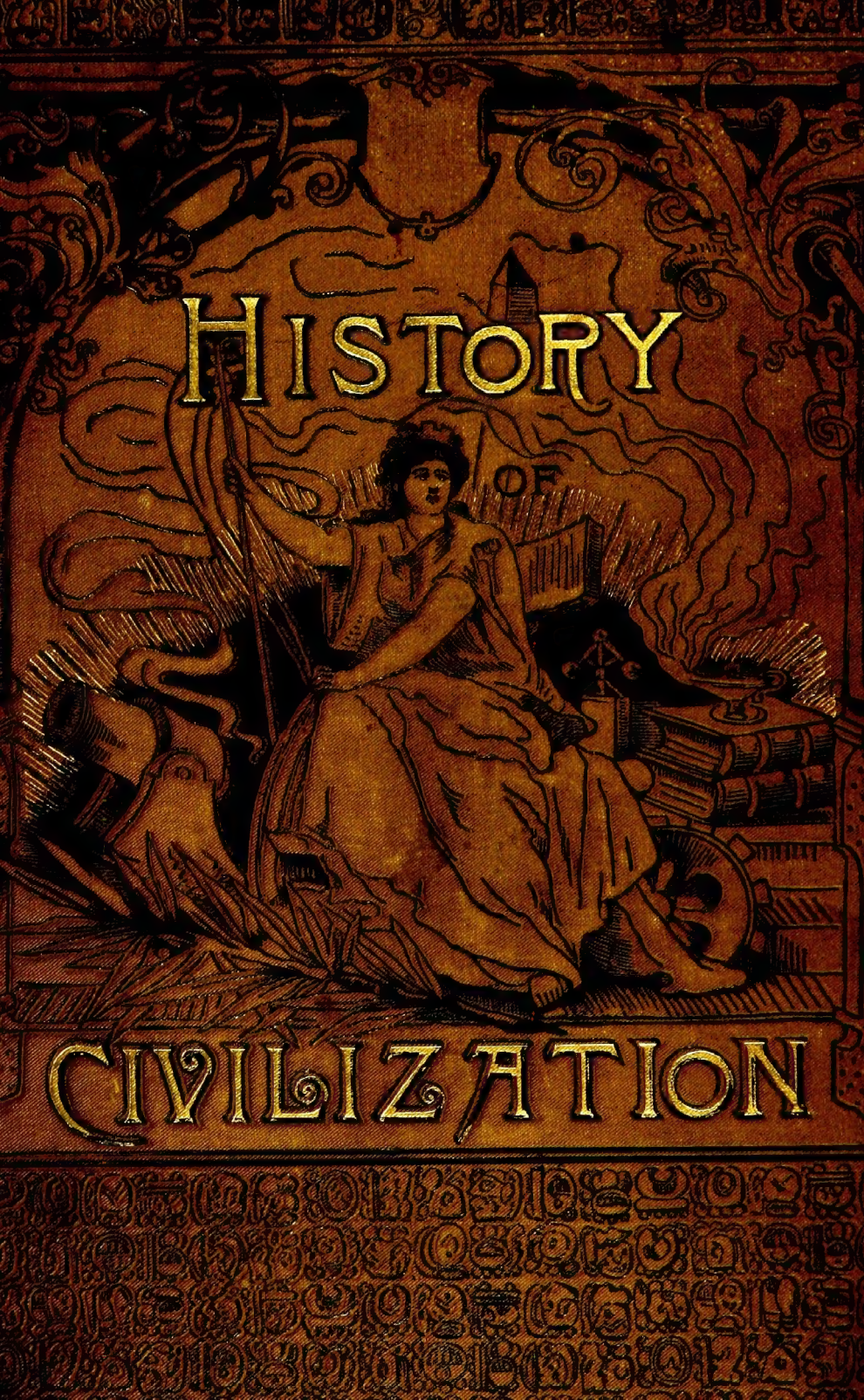

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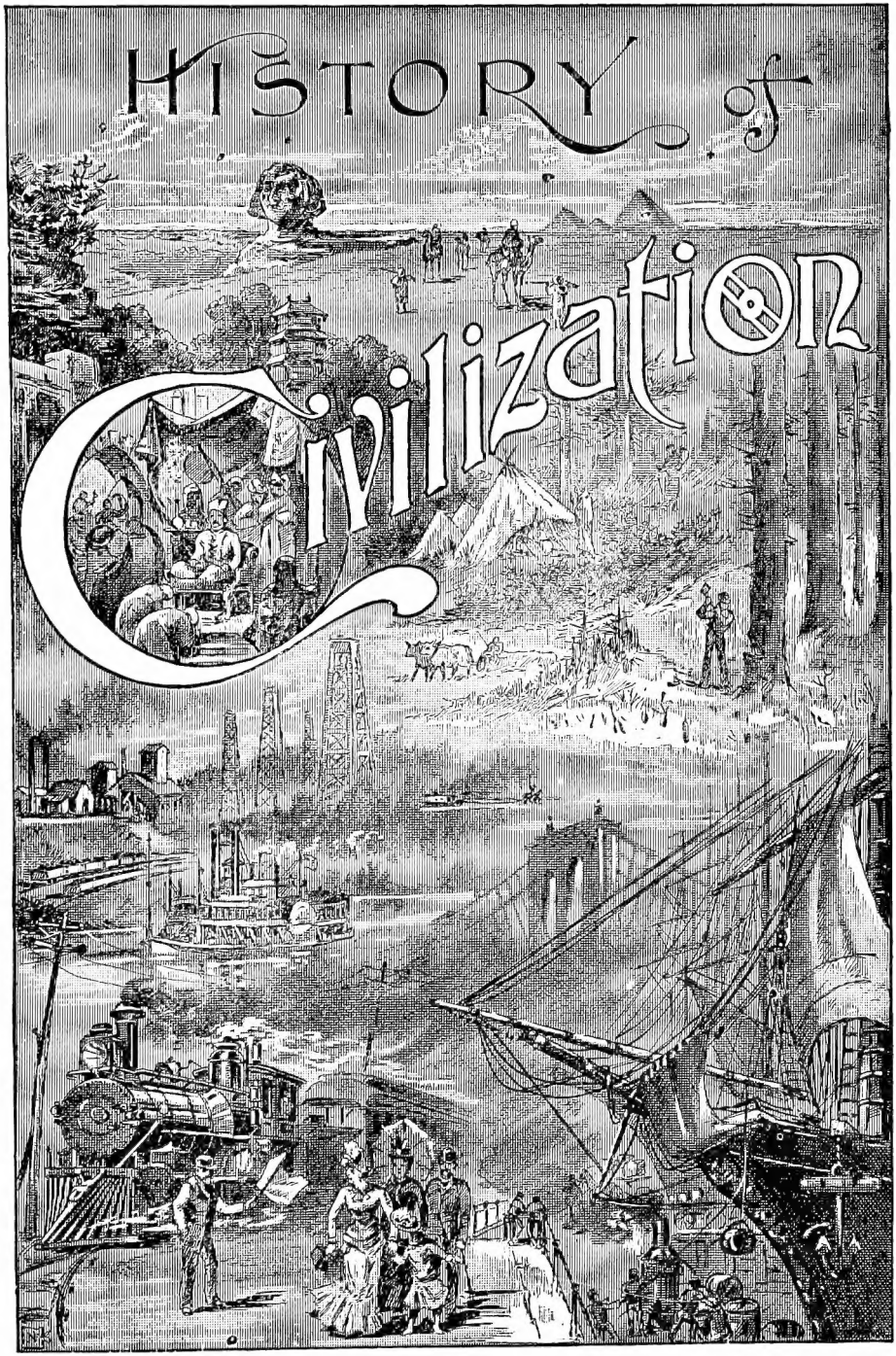
HISTORY of
Civilization

# HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION

VOL. IV.

## The Modern World;

OR

## Civilization of To-Day,

BY

E. A. ALLEN,

CINCINNATI:
CENTRAL PUBLISHING HOUSE,
1889.

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# PREFACE

ARE now at the end of the line of investigation proposed for this series. Let us look over the ground whence we came. We have been considering the growth of man in culture. Our first volume is devoted to the consideration of the prehistoric period of man's life on the globe. This period, which is widely different in the various nations of the world, covers by far the largest portion of man's life. Aside from gathering information of a most interesting character on the antiquities of our own country, we wish to establish the general proposition that man's life on the globe dates from a most profound antiquity, going back indeed to a previous geological age; and we wished to show that man has lived a life of progress.

The second volume we divided into two parts. We discussed the divisions of men into races, the basis of classification, the most probable place of man's first appearance, and the condition of primitive man in culture. We aimed to trace out the origin of various social and governmental institutions. Not resting satisfied with the general statements that tribal society preceded our present form of government, we sought for the origin of tribal society itself. We took up and discussed various questions relating to primitive culture and primitive religion not usually considered in historical books. Yet their consideration is most essential in a history of culture.

We then passed in review the early history of the Yellow Races. The main position sought to be established was, as in geological history of the past one form of life slowly grows into prominence, culminates, and then declines; so did the Black Races, after long possession of the world, give place to the Yellow Races, and these in their turn give place to the Whites. The early period of half legendary history in Western Asia shows us the closing stages of this conflict between the Yellow and the White Races. We then give a further outline of the history of the Hamitic and Semitic people in Western Asia and in Egypt. Their outline, we considered, closed the ancient period of the culture history of the world.

In the third volume we entered on the Aryan age of the world. We sought to establish the European origin of the Aryans; and we aimed to show that the intellectual unfolding of Europe is like that of a cymiferous flower, the terminal blossoms are the first to unfold. Beginning with Greece, we watched the successive unfolding in culture of that country, then of Rome, and finally of Teutonic Europe. We devoted a separate chapter to Aryan religion. We do not think the Aryan race has had justice done it in this department of culture. We found that the first system of religion, world wide in its aim, sprang from Aryan beliefs.

In the present volume we have aimed to show that our present culture is simply the developed form of the culture of the Medieval World. We can not point to the merging of a new race into the light of history, possessed of the energy and buoyancy of youth, who take up the culture of the world and hurry it along to new and more exalted heights, but we can point to a combination of circumstances which resulted in starting the Aryan world forward with renewed energy in the paths of progress. These were the revival of learning, and the discovery of a new world. The revival of learning was very much assisted by the invention of printing.

In our opinion, the time has come when the general ideas as to the past of man on the globe must be reviewed and very great changes made in the current conceptions of the same. The history of man is almost the only field which has not responded to the great discoveries of modern times. Astronomy, geology, biology in both of its two main divisions, have all felt the influence of this spirit of modern learning and have accustomed themselves to new

and daring theories the comprehensive sweep of whose laws are almost startling to contemplate. It is high time to correct the exceedingly narrow views of man's past life, his progress in culture, and his destiny as a race.

This series is an effort to accomplish this work. We trust we have made it clear, that man has lived on the earth for a very long while, that his starting point was very low in the scale, that he has lived a life of progress, and that nations and races, no less than individuals, enter into the struggle of life with diverse faculties; they fulfill their allotted task and then decline in importance. Everything that goes to make up our present culture, all our governmental and domestic institutions, all our arts and sciences, the very language that we speak, are but the result of long ages of experience. It is useless to flatter ourselves that the position now reached in any of these departments of culture is the final one. When there is nothing more for man to learn, then, but not until then, may we look for change in any department of culture to cease.

A true idea of the dignity and worth of man is gained only when we take these broad general views of his antiquity and his growth in culture; when we reflect on his career in the past, we may hope to prophesy of his growth in the future. A citizen of ancient Rome in the first century of our era, could not foresee the culture of our day. It is fully as difficult for us to realize the possible civilization of one thousand years hence. Of one thing only we are sure, that advance in all departments of culture will continue. Of his life here, no less than of his life hereafter, it is true that "It doth not yet appear what we shall be."

We do not, of course, flatter ourselves that we have conclusively established every position stated. Perhaps the time and labor spent in certain directions of inquiry might have been more profitably devoted elsewhere. We believe, however, that take the entire series it will fully answer the purposes intended; that is, give full and sufficient information to those who desire to gather in a brief form the thoughts of our best scholars on these various points. We have also freely indicated to those who care to pursue the subject further where information can be obtained.

The duty of returning thanks is none the less a pleasant duty, although the same names re-appear. Again we acknowledge our

indebtedness to EMIL REICH, D. C. L., and WILLIS BOUGHTON, B. A., and we wish once more to make mention of the kind services of MR. A. W. WHELPLEY, of the Cincinnati Public Library.

In conclusion, we can only hope that as time passes on and we gain clearer light into the history of nations and races who have long vanished from the stage of action, that it will become more and more clear that the positions we have here supported as to the progress of man in culture are in the main the correct ones.

CINCINNATI, *October* 15, 1888. E. A. Allen

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# Part I.

## An Outline of Modern Political History.

I. History of Discoveries.

II. Modern European History.

III. American History.

The Old World bended low beneath a load
Of bigotry and superstition dark,
When Liberty, amid the tottering thrones
Of despots born, with gladness filled the homes
Of men, e'en the Eternal City bade
Her gates imperial open wide; and, like
A cloud, the darkness lifted from the land.
Then Freedom's gentle, buoyant spirit, like
The Magi's wand, extended far across
The sea, and thereupon the gloomy flood
Was parted wide asunder and revealed
A glorious paradise for Freedom's sons.

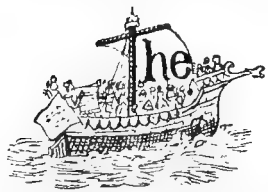
Columbia, beneath thy banner's stars,
The mind of man in rare luxuriance blooms,
Unfolding, one by one, the attributes
Of deity. In vision, we foresee
The perfect man. In form, the image of
His Maker, God. In toleration filled
With charity for all. In Reason's ways
Profound. In thought, he mounts the throne of power
And sways the world. He tries from Nature's grasp
To lure her secrets still untold till we,
Amazed at his bold course, recoil abashed.

WILLIS BOUGHTON.

# CHAPTER I.

## HISTORY OF DISCOVERIES.

INTRODUCTION—Navigation among the Ancients—Among the Phœnicians—Among the Egyptians, etc.—Greek Age of Discovery—Roman Age of Discovery—Saracen Age of Discovery—Voyages of the Norsemen—Discovery of Vinland—Icelandic Sagas—Voyages of other people to America—Venetian Explorers—Theories as to shape of the Earth—Christopher Columbus—Sources of his Knowledge—Improvement in Navigation—Outline of Discoveries.



THE GREATEST events in the world's history are never sudden in their origin. They are preceded by a long train of causes, and many years of slow preparation go by before the time arrives for the final consummation. On a large scale, we see this law exemplified in the slow changes of centuries ushering

in a new geological era. Our scholars are now ready to admit that some such a law as this prevails in the animal and vegetable world. Investigators are hard at work on this important subject, and we may hope some time to clearly understand it. Enough is now known to render it probable that advance has been by slow, almost imperceptible changes, slight modifications to fit slowly changing environments. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that man's advance in culture is subject to the same procedure.

No great and sudden changes seem anywhere perceptible. Slowly, with a certain majesty of movement, has one age of culture taken on the distinctive peculiarities of another.

To-day, we are living in a very advanced stage of society. The morning's sun brings to our doors fresh pages of the world's history—acted, written, read within a day's span of time; while ever the delicate, electric nerves of the busy commercial world are silently wafting to our receptive senses the echoes and instantaneous pictures of the most eventful deeds of men throughout earth's greatest circumference. When we compare this with the most brilliant culture of the Medieval World, we are conscious of a wonderful advance. Yet we err when we conclude that this great advance was the result of any sudden revival of learning, or followed fast the discovery of a new world, or a reformation in religion. These are but the stations reached in the course of the ever advancing intelligence and civilization of mankind. Great discoveries and marvellous inventions, advances in learning and changes in religion are not so much the inciting causes as the perfected fruits of advancing intelligence in general.

Ancient learning was one-sided, local, and territorial. It lacked that breadth of view which comes only with a

knowledge of the great world on which we live. Every ancient people, even those most advanced, thought their province or empire was the richest and fairest portion of the globe, they themselves the only civilized people, their god or gods the only true and powerful one or ones. These egotistical notions were great obstacles in the way of growing civilization. They are unfortunately very strong today; but, from the very earliest times, they have been gradually undermined by increasing knowledge of the world and its people. Only when we understand this, can we fully appreciate the importance of those gradually extending expeditions for trade and discovery which finally culminated in the discovery of the New World. In this chapter, we wish to trace the rise and progress of exploring voyages and show that an increase of knowledge as to the world and its people has always been accompanied by an increase of civilization.

Even in our own land, so full of restless people, the horizon that bounds the world in which the ordinary individual passes his life is very limited. To the great mass of mankind the knowledge of an outer, larger world is only hearsay. To the average man, a trip to a neighboring state is the event of a lifetime, the subject of many a fireside tale. Yet, when we regard the condition of early people, when the savage trail was the highway and the caravan the railway train, we can see that this knowledge was much more limited.

The yeoman was wont to stare with jealous wonderment at the daring individual who had chanced to journey a hundred miles or more and had safely returned to relate his adventures and hair-breadth escapes. A pilgrimage to Rome or to the Holy Land was so fraught with danger that the wise deemed it expedient to settle their earthly

affairs, and record their last wills and testaments before entering upon any such journeys. In those days a knowledge of the world's doing, outside of each one's neighborhood, was blank or else obtained after a long period of waiting.

It was similar in the case of villages, communities, tribes, and nations. The inhabitants of ancient Athens had little knowledge, so far as we know, of the opulent cities of the Orient, though the advance guard of Aryan immigration must have reached the shores of the Troad while yet Chaldean cities were flourishing in their Oriental grandeur. But we cannot define the boundaries of the world in those ancient times with any degree of certainty, for we know not from what distances the old Chaldean and Babylonian traders brought the wares that contributed to the luxury of that pristine civilization.

In tracing the growth of geographical knowledge from the dawn of history to the present time, we are apt to forget that the Egyptians, Hittites, Trojans, Phœnicians, etc., each in turn, must have had an extensive commerce, and therefore an extended geographical horizon. Starting from a classical stand-point, the geographical historian is apt to forget that nearly all the discoveries of classical or southern European nations are but re-discoveries, including even the discovery of America. We must remember, therefore, that the Arabs were perfectly familiar with the fact that Africa could be circumnavigated, that East Indian geography was thoroughly understood by Buddhist priests, that the commerce of the Jews extended from the Azores to China, from the Baltic to Mozambique, at a time when Europeans confined their voyages to the Mediterranean regions.[1] But classical writers did much to reduce the

[1] Draper; "Intellectual Development of Europe," p. 454.

knowledge of geography to its present scientific basis.

In tracing the gradual growth of discovery, we go back to the fifth millenary before the birth of Christ and find ourselves before the gates of old Eridu in Chaldea, situated in that happy, fertile Mesopotamian valley, so near the storied "Garden of Eden," it had become a holy city when the first glimmerings of historical light fall upon that region. We there meet with extensive systems of canals; with enormous buildings, the materials from which[1] they were constructed of necessity being brought from distant countries (for there is neither building stone nor wood in the Mesopotamian region); with beaten caravan routes; and with many other indications of a mature civilization and an extensive knowledge of the world. Perhaps the Tigris and Euphrates were navigated to their sources; perhaps there was traffic with India and China; perhaps vast caravans, loaded with merchandise and accompanied by devout pilgrims, may have been seen, winding their separate ways toward this sacred shrine.

Though we have reached the limits of historical investigation, we must realize that we have by no means found the beginnings of commerce and navigation. From this point backward, mankind is led to theorize upon the infancy and growth of discovery. The savage is represented as too timid to venture upon the waters of even a neighboring brook, and so we are told that overland travel and discovery must have preceded river navigation. But if a Byron could swim the Hellespont, we can not see why the daring nomad of primitive times should not venture upon such streams as happened in his course. Still until canoe building had reached quite a degree of advancement, it is reasonable to suppose that commerce was carried on

1 Vide this series, Vol. II, p. 651–5.

by means of the beast of burden, and discovery by the more rapid travel on horseback.[1]

Among all people and in all ages, traders seem to have been regarded with favor; even among savage tribes their appearance was welcomed with joy, and their safety from injury guaranteed. This was, of course, the case in the Orient when history first dawns upon the world. But restless bands of nomads, who exist by plunder, have always roamed over the great deserts of Asia. Then, too, fatal

A Coracle.

sandstorms might arise at any moment upon those desert wastes and overwhelm the lonely traveler, sometimes endangering whole companies. So we see that the only safety for traders in desert countries was in traveling in bands. Therefore great companies of merchants, with armed escorts, were formed from time to time at the various centers of trade. Trains of camels, laden with the produce of the

[1] Yates: "Growth and Vicissitudes of Commerce," p. 7.

land, were doubtless wont to file out of the gates of ancient commercial cities, and thread their way across the desert to a neighboring people. Such companies of merchants were called caravans and were the predecessors of the modern railway train.

In early times, distances between commercial centers must have appeared much greater than at present. The ancient traveler or merchant entered upon his journey expecting to spend many weary nights under the open sky, with the barren sand for his bed. This led such eminent and wealthy monarchs as David and Solomon[1] to construct highways over the deserts and mountains, and build public houses, about a day's journey apart, for the accommodation of caravans. These were called *caravansaries*, now represented by the inns of modern times. Such caravansaries would in time become centres of trade, from which roads diverged in every direction and where merchants met to exchange their wares. Many of the most flourishing cities of ancient times were at first nothing but caravansaries.[2]

When history dawns, there were caravan routes reaching to the remotest corners of the Old World. Since the dawn of history, Asia Minor and Egypt have been thus joined with Bactria, the Hindoo Koosh region, the Cabul valley, and India and China, while to the south and west the caravan penetrated Arabia, Ethiopia, and the heart of Africa.

During the uncertain centuries that followed the dawn of history, as the political power shifted from point to point, new routes of trade arose, and one city after another became a commercial center. It is the story of

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1 Vide Farrar: "Solomon, His Life and Times,," p. 121.

2 Taylor: "History of the Factory System," London, 1881, p. 184-186.

every city re-told—a fertile country, an industrious people, a superabundance of produce drawing riches from the ends of the world, and transforming the desert into a thriving mart of commerce. We may imagine the busy scenes in the streets of Sirgulla, Ur, and other Chaldean cities—the mingled voices, the varied languages, and the strangely attired foreign merchants, earnestly engaged in bartering their wares or making purchases preparatory to departing for distant regions.

When, at last, maritime commerce is introduced, intercourse not only between different nations, but between parts of the same country as well, must have become much easier and more frequent. But we are still dealing with prehistoric times, for savages in the Neolithic stage of culture had comparatively safe and well made boats. Ancient inscriptions make mention of the "Ships of Ur."[1] Sargon of Accad, who lived about thirty-eight centuries before our era, tells us of the ark of reeds with asphalt lining, in which he, as a child, was cast away to perish.[2] Then, recalling to mind the fertility of Chaldean soil and the absence of all manner of raw material for the manufacture of clothing and other articles, and stone and wood for architectural purposes,[3] we can perceive how necessary the ships of Ur must have been to Chaldean commerce and prosperity. Enormous blocks of building stone could have been brought into the rich Mesopotamian valley in no other way so easily as by water. All these evidences point to an extensive knowledge of the art of shipbuilding in those most ancient seats of civilization.

We know that Egypt was foremost as patron of a

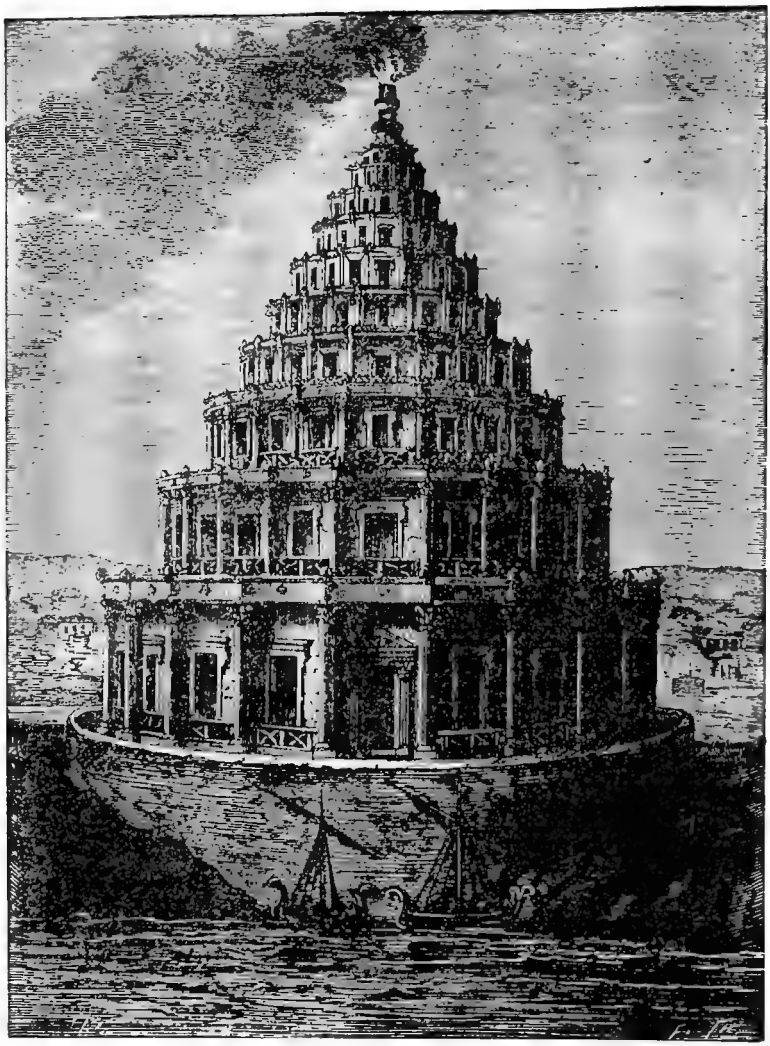
1 Rawlinson: "Egypt and Babylonia," New York, 1885, p. 109.
2 This Series, Vol. II., p. 665.
3 Ibid: p 650; also Rawlinson, Op. cit., pp. 99, 104.

caravan commerce.[1] We have seen how early she was called upon to defend her coasts from invaders by way of the sea.[2] There has been found a bas-relief at Thebes, supposed to represent a naval battle between the Egyptians and the Indians that occurred about 1400 B. C.[3] But the Egyptians give no evidence that they were a nation of sailors, for they, in later times even, employed Phœnician sailors to conduct their maritime enterprises. Such a great commercial people as the Phœnicians were, no doubt, skilful ship-builders and expert sailors, venturing upon any voyage that promised them a sufficient reward. The storming of Ilios by sea proves that the more advanced nations of the twelfth century B. C. understood how to build a strong and durable class of ships.

With the advent of the Phœnicians, we begin to notice improvements in the science of navigation. The nautilus of the Mediterranean, so the poets say, first taught man the use of the sail, and the single square sail appeared upon the Mediterranean at the close of the thirteenth century B. C.[4] Still the oar continued for many centuries more the principal means of propelling a ship. The great ship of Ptolemy Philopater is said to have carried four thousand rowers.[5] Then the Tuscans invented the anchor, and soon the chains gave place to cables made of hemp, flax, or some such material manufactured in Egypt.[6] The first light-house was erected near Alexandria at the beginning of the third century B. C. It was "a white marble tower, one hundred and thirty-five feet high, on the top of

1 Yeats: "Growth and Vicissitudes of Commerce," p. 7.
2 This Series, Vol. II., p. 598.
3 Parker: "Fleets of the World," New York, 1876, p. 11.
4 Low: "Maritime Discoveries," Vol. I., p. 7.
5 Lindsay: "Merchant Shipping," Vol. I., p. 61.
6 Low: Op. cit., p. 11.

which fires were constantly maintained for the direction of ships along the coast."[1]



Pharos at Alexandria.

Still life upon the water was full of danger and un-

[1] Ibid: p. 36.

certainty. There was no mariners' compass then;[1] and the sailor hugged the land as closely as possible, or trusted to the guidance of stars. Sometimes birds were taken on board and at intervals were thrown into the air, the sailor knowing full well that they would take the shortest course to land. If no land were in sight, the frightened bird would soon rest again upon the vessel's deck. But oft the superstitious rover of the seas felt the need of the watchful care of deity, and so he prayed to the "Twin Gods"[2] for help. When he saw the fires of St. Elmo playing about the vessel's spars, he knew that he was in their immediate presence. Improved methods in ship-building kept pace with the increased knowledge of navigation. Princes and kings began to pride themselves on the magnificence of their vessels. Ptolemy Philopater built two that exceeded in size many of more recent construction. King Hiero of Syracuse built a veritable palace upon water, and sent it as a gift to Ptolemy.

As we pass over era after era of ancient history, we perceive that the centers of political power were constantly changing from one portion of the world to another. So, likewise, were the centers of commerce, but we cannot point to a time when we can assert that these ancient cities had lost or forgotten any portion of the earth's surface known to their ancestors. Assyria and Babylonia arose into power and controlled, for a time, the commerce of the world. The luxury loving people of Babylon must have ivory and pearls from India, delicate fabrics and carpets

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1 For though the Chinese may have understood some of the properties of the magnet at an early date, we are in error to suppose that they had anything like the mariners' compass. Vide Lindsay: "History of Ancient Commerce and Ancient Shipping," London, 1874, Vol. I., p. xlii and xliii; also Yeats: "Growth and Vicissitudes of Commerce," p. 94.

2 Gemini—*i.e.*, Castor and Pollux.

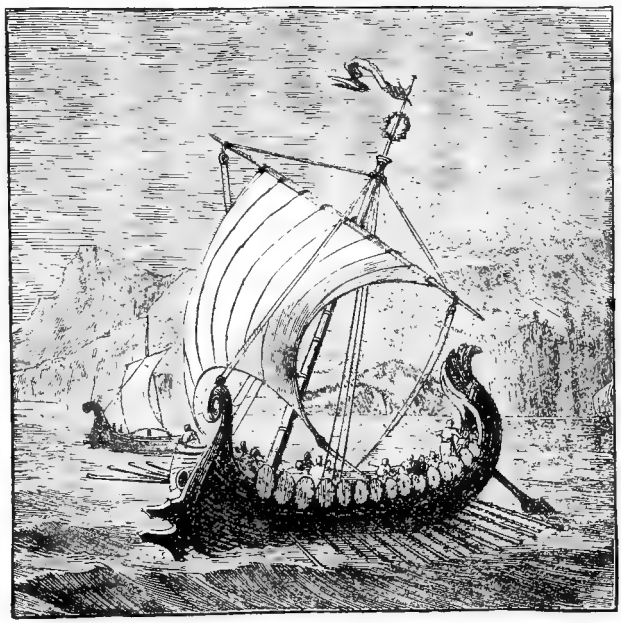
from Kashmir, their spices from Arabia, wares from Ethiopia, their Tyrian purple robes, and enormous quantities of gold, silver, tin, and copper. The demand for all these foreign articles made Babylon, in the eyes of the prophet, a "land of traffic, a city of merchants."[1]

Such was the case, too, in Egypt, whose cities commanded both the Occidental and Oriental trade. The traveler in Memphis might have met Ethiopian, Arabian, Babylonian, Indian, Median, and perhaps, Chinese merchants, bartering their wares in her markets. We must not forget the great Hittite confederacy, whose capital was the flourishing city of Carchemish,[2] the date of whose power carries us back to the fourth millenary before Christ. We are told that they were a great commercial people in the earliest times. They seem to have been the carriers for the nations of the world. The fact that they stood at the head of the commercial world is indicated by their introducing a system of standard weights that, for many centuries, was the principal system used by the trade.[3] Although we are not aware how extensive a knowledge the Hittites had of navigation, we can not believe that they were too timid to explore their own coast-lines and to utilize their knowledge of the sea in carrying articles of trade from one point to another. There is little doubt but that they were well acquainted with the coast-lines of those parts of the Euxine, Mediterranean, and Indian seas that touched their territory.

Ancient Ilios must also have been quite a commercial center, for the ruins that have been unearthed there prove that the Hittites were long accustomed to bring to her

[1] Ezek. xvii., 4.
[2] This Series, Vol. II., p. 390.
[3] Wright: "Empire of the Hittites," p. 67.

markets articles of Assyrian and Babylonian manufacture.[1] Even the Chinese put forward a claim to a share in this ancient commerce. Le Fangpao, Chinese ambassador to Berlin, has recently claimed and interpreted as Chinese, an inscription upon a vase found in the lowest stratum at Hissarlik.[2] Be this as it may, Ilios must have commanded



An Ancient Ship.

the trade of the world, and must have had an extensive knowledge of the world's geography. She no doubt had amassed so much wealth that it aroused the avarice of the piratical Greeks, by whom she was sacked. In fact, her

1 This Series, Vol. III., p.

2 European scholar, however, ridicule the idea that anything Chinese can have found its way to Hissarlik. Still there is no reason why the Chinese, even at that early time, may not have shared in the commerce of Western Asia. Such a conclusion would be directly in keeping with our ideas. Vide Low: "Maritime Discovery," London, 1881, Vol. I. p. 54.

wealth may have been the prime incentive to her destruction by the Greeks. There is little doubt that she had constant commercial intercourse with her ancestral kinsmen, the Thracians, and, perhaps, with many other people of Southern Europe. This is evidenced by the fact, that the traces of the same Hittite influence, unearthed at Ilios, have been discovered in the pre-historic ruins of some of the cities of Southern Europe.[1]

The extent of ancient commerce is indicated also by one of the earliest Biblical records. The sons of Jacob sold their brother Joseph to a company of Midianites, who took him into Egypt where they sold him.[2] Thus, no doubt, did companies of traders thread their way from the cities of one country to those of another; and, even if no Egyptian found his way to distant China, there is no good reason for supposing that Egyptian merchants did not meet Chinese traders at some mid-way caravansary, and there exchange wares, and learn of the customs of the far Orient. In the eleventh Egyptian dynasty, the first recorded voyage to that mysterious land called Punt was made. One Hannu[3] was commissioned "to conduct ships to the country of Punt, to bring back odoriferous gums."[4] Just where this Punt was, is open to conjecture. It may have been in Arabia, where the air is redolent with the perfume of spices, or it may have been in Ethiopia or India. The rarity of the occurrence, however, drew from its commander the boast that "never had a like thing been done since there were kings." The Egyptians were thus among

1 Vide This Series, Vol. III. p. 195.

2 Gen. xxxvii. 27-36.

3 It is claimed that he was a Phœnician. The name would indicate as much. The name Punt has also been traced back to Phœnician origin in the words *Porni*, *Punici* and *Punic*. Vide Rawlinson: "Ancient Egypt," Vol. II. p. 132 and 222, note 3; also This Series, Vol. II. p. 725.

4 Wilson: "Egypt of the Past," p. 132.

the earliest patrons of discovery, though they usually employed Phœnicians to conduct their voyages. The name of the classical god of the sea, Neptune, is even said to be of Egyptian origin.[1]

We have already said much about the Phœnicians[2] and their extensive commerce, but we can probably never know the extent of their knowledge of the world. They conducted the ships of Solomon to Ophir[3] and Tarshish;[4] and, if they visited both places in one continuous voyage, we must allow them a knowledge of the entire coast-line from India to the inmost harbors of the Euxine Sea. They succeeded the Hittites, and, as carriers for King Solomon, must have visited every known land, if the stories of his wealth and luxurious court life be true.[5] Tyre and Sidon were, however, flourishing commercial centers long before the time of Solomon. Whether the Phœnicians had thus early reached China and Britain is a matter for conjecture.

About the middle of the seventh century B. C., we learn[6] that Necho II., of Egypt, fitted out vessels, manned them with Phœnicians, and instructed them to follow the coast of Africa from the Red Sea around to the Straits of Gibraltar, and thence to the Egyptian capital.[7] It required nearly three years to accomplish the voyage. In Summer, they are said to have halted long enough to raise a crop of grain, before proceeding on their way. In sailing around Libya, these daring voyagers were surprised to observe the sun rising upon their right—a fact which Herodotus[8]

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1 Villiers Stuart: "Nile Gleanings," p. 290.
2 This Series, Vols. II. and III. 3 India. 4 Spain.
5 Vide Farrar: "Solomon, His Life and Times," pp. 129-138.
6 Herodotus iv. 42.
7 Wilkinson: "Ancient Egyptians," Vol. I. p. 108.
8 iv. 42.

doubts, but we now claim this statement as the most convincing proof that the voyage was made. As a punishment, Xerxes is said to have commanded one Teaspes to make a sea-voyage around Africa, from the Mediterranean to Arabia, but this is said to have been a failure.[1] Pliny[2] mentions the voyage of one Hanno, a Carthagenian, who, when Carthage was at the height of her power, was commanded to make the voyage from that city to Arabia, which he was successful in doing. We judge from all these accumulated bits of evidence that the entire coast of the African continent was frequently visited by the Phœnicians nearly two thousand years before Da Gama's memorable voyage.

In a northerly direction, the Carthagenian, Hamilco, had been sent upon a voyage to explore the remote parts of Europe.[3] This voyage was made about the same time as that of Hanno. But now, just when they were extending their voyages in all directions, they themselves became the prey of their more warlike contemporaries, and at last they lost their nationality, utterly destroyed by the jealousy of Rome. Though they carried a knowledge of letters to other nations, unfortunately they left no records of their own voyages, hence it is impossible for us to decide how much they knew of the extent and resources of the world. We have now to place ourselves alongside of the rising Europeans, and go with them while they re-discover those parts of the world that were doubtless familiar to the more ancient people of Africa and Asia.

The first Greek historian (of whose writings any great portions are extant), Herodotus,[4] gives a description of the world as known to the Greeks.[5] If we look at the world

[1] Ibid. [2] "Natural History," ii. 67; v. 1.
[3] Pliny: Op. cit. [4] About 450 B. C.
[5] The geographical books of Homer are very blind and indefinite.

through the eyes of Herodotus, it will assume the shape and proportions of the accompanying map,[1] and we can at once see that the knowledge of the world outside of the Mediterranean region among the early Europeans, was very limited. The probabilities are that almost any one of the earlier Phœnician traders could have furnished a more perfect chart of the Old World coast-line. In fact, the Greeks, at the time of Herodotus, were just beginning to re-discover what had for many centuries been familiar to older civilizations.

Xenophon's account of the retreat of the ten thousand Greeks who accompanied the expedition of Cyrus the younger against his brother, Artaxerxes, was a great contribution to Greek knowledge of Asia. Between Xenophon and the time of Alexander the Great there appeared other works on geography and kindred subjects, chief among which was the Periplus of Scylax, the first purely geographical treatise.[2] It shows a more accurate knowledge of the coast-lines of the Mediterranean as well as the more familiar parts of Asia and Africa. Geographical knowledge among the Greeks made a great advance when Alexander the Great pushed his conquests into Asia. He took with him scholars, philosophers, and scientists, and the information that they carried back to Greece, together with that obtained on the voyage of Nearchus down the Indus and along the southern coast of Asia, gave their countrymen a much clearer knowledge of Asiatic geography than they had previously enjoyed. This knowledge was still further increased when Megasthenes returned from

The writings of the historian and geographer, Hecatæus, who wrote about the close of the sixth century B. C., exist only in fragments.

[1] P. 40.

[2] Vide Bunbury: "History of Ancient Geography," Vol. I. p. 379. *et seq*

the court of Sandrocottus with information as to the Hindoos and their country. The Ptolemies finally succeeded to the throne of Egypt, and pushed their explorations into Africa, so that, in the third century B. C., the horizon of the classical world became greatly enlarged, though still vague and indefinite.

Magellan.

Corinth and Athens became at one time the great centers of eastern and western commerce. Miletus, Phocæa, Ephesus, Smyrna, Syracuse, and Massilia, though of less importance, vied with one another in commercial enterprize.[1] About the close of the fourth century B. C.,

[1] Taylor: "The Factory System," p. 192.

Pytheas, of Massilia, made his voyage to Northern Europe, exploring Britain and the Baltic regions. It only remained now for Southern Europeans to familiarize themselves with the regions already vaguely known. This result was brought about by the conquests and government of Rome. Though the Roman Empire never embraced as much of Asia as did Alexander's, their system of government familiarized them with every portion of Roman territory; while their system of roads furnished protected highways for commerce.[1]

Roman luxury has ever been the wonderment of the world. Vast fortunes were spent by her epicures for rarities for their dainty palates. The markets of the world were searched for the luxuries of all countries. Though we can not commend the spirit which initiated these expeditions, we can exult in the resulting increase of knowledge. A writer of the Imperial period says: "If a man will eat daintily, he must indulge in Lamian peacocks, Phrygian fowls, Melian cranes, Ætolian kids, Chalcedonian porpoises, Tarentine oysters, Chian mussels, Egyptian dates, Spanish acorns, sea-eels from Tarshish, pikes from Pessinus, sea-fish from Rhodes." They drank pearls dissolved in vinegar and killed nightingales for their brains alone. They wore the costliest purple robes, the rarest silks that the factories could produce, and the finest furs that the Scythian forests could furnish. Thus we can gain an idea of the world's horizon to Imperial Rome.

With a greater store of facts to draw upon, books on geographical subjects and charts began to appear. In this direction the philosophical Greek took the lead. The first charts were rude and imaginary. The earth's surface was regarded as rectangular in shape, or circular, surrounded by

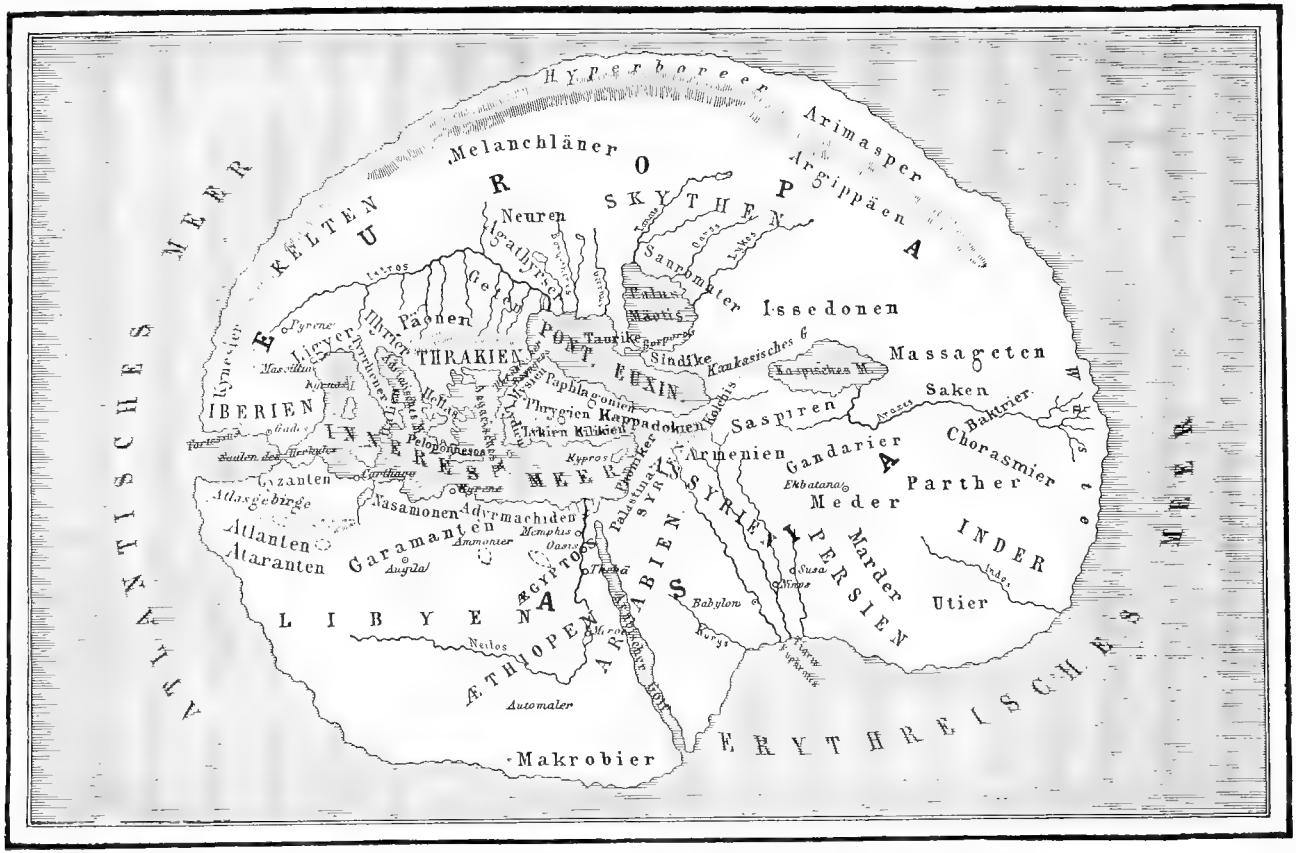
[1] Yates: "Growth and Vicissitudes of Commerce," pp. 61–2.

that endless stream, called Oceanus. Still, as early as the time of Aristotle and Euclid, the spherical form of the earth had many advocates.[1] Eratosthenes appears as the first who made the attempt to reduce the study of geography to a scientific basis. Accepting the spherical form of the earth, he attempted to locate places by means of a system of latitude and longitude which has been perfected into our present system of geographical measurement.[2]

Henceforth we are not wanting in chroniclers of the more important events of the world's history. Such writers as Polybius, Cæsar, Tacitus, Strabo, and Pliny have given us measurably full and accurate ideas of the manners, customs and knowledge of the world during the Roman period though they knew little about the far Orient. Constantinople and Alexandria became the great commercial centers of those days, especially after the fall of Tyre and the division of the Empire. Then came the rise of Mohammedan power, but fortunately the Arabs were friendly to the merchant, and even patrons of commerce. In the seventh century A. D., they gained the ascendency in Asia and Africa, and thus they not only commanded the caravan routes over which the rare luxuries that the Roman epicure demanded must be brought, but even occupied the countries where spice and incense bearing plants grew. This trade was very flourishing. So great was the demand for spices at Rome in the time of Nero, that we are told that the emperor "burnt at the funeral of his wife, Papæa, a quantity of cinnamon and cassia greater than the countries from which they are imported were capable of producing in one year."[3]

On the whole the period of Arab power in Western

[1] Bunbury: "History of Ancient Geography," p. 619.
[2] Ibid. [3] Lindsay: "Merchant Shipping," Vol. I. p. 110.




THE EARTH ACCORDING TO HERODOTUS.

Asia and Northern Africa was one of the happiest and most prosperous that these regions have ever enjoyed. The Arabs seem to have been the merchants and navigators of that period, and added considerable to geographical knowledge. The monsoon or periodical winds of the Indian Ocean were utilized, and thus voyages were made directly across the Indian Ocean.[1] Damascus and, later, Bagdad became centers of Arab commerce. From these points, caravan routes diverged toward all known lands, three of which eventually reached Canton,[2] while Arab merchants of India penetrated to the Indian Archipelago. Of especial importance were the caravans that penetrated Africa even to the banks of the Niger in search of gold, slaves, and wild beasts to supply an ever increasing demand. The eastern coast of that continent, even as far as the island of Madagascar, was well known to them. A love of travel was thus engendered. Wealthy Arabs were accustomed to send their sons to distant lands to complete their education. They were in this way able to select teachers from among the scholars of the world. It should be known

Vasco Da Gama.

1 The first voyage was made by one Harpalus, about 50 B. C. Vide Low: "Maritime Discovery," Vol. I. p. 101.

2 Yates: "Op. cit. p. 86.

that the oldest written account of China extant comes from the pen of an Arab traveler.[1] But, unfortunately, the religious feud that existed between Christian and Mohammedan grew in strength with passing time. All connection between the two gradually became severed. The Christians wanted nothing to do with the "infidels," while the Mohammedans spurned with scorn the "Christian dogs." The long and dangerous caravan route from Constantinople around the Caspian Sea, thence into China and India, rendered Oriental luxuries very expensive to the Christians, but since they regarded it infamous to have even commercial dealings with unbelievers, this was the only road open for eastern commerce. The Saracens moreover held territory on both sides of the Straits of Gibralter, and cut off much of the traffic through this gateway to the ocean. One people, however, the Venetians, continued to trade with the Saracens, and by the fruits of this trade grew into the most powerful and opulent state on the Mediterranean coast.

We must now turn our attention in an entirely different direction. While Moslem and Christian were fighting for possession and supremacy over the lands and waters already known to the world, a new race of sailors suddenly made their appearance in the Mediterranean. These were the hardy giants from the north, who, we have seen,[2] played such an important part in settling the affairs of Europe and building up modern nations. If we would follow the progress of discovery through the next few centuries, we must follow the Northmen as their ships plowed the trackless ocean. Charlemagne had watched their ships sailing the seas, and had foretold the destined power

[1] Kerr's "Voyages and Travels," Vol I. p. 48 *et. seq.*

[2] This Series, Vol. III. ch. v.

and influence of this people. We have already seen how they visited the shores of Britain, France, Spain, Italy, and Greece, how they settled Russia, and controlled the Baltic regions. Even before this, they had taken possession of the fiords and islands of Scotland and the coasts of Ireland. The vessels which they used were of an improved style, distinguished for their strength and the ease with which they could be handled. We find recorded in the Sagas a description of an old Norse vessel called "the Long Serpent," which was one hundred and fifty feet long,[1] but still dexterously handled in battle.

When, by the consent of King Aelfred, large numbers of Danish Northmen became English subjects, they seemed to bear with them the spirit of discovery and adventure, besides furnished the king with the best material from which to construct a navy. But his voyages of discovery concern us the most. Aelfred had, no doubt, heard much of the homeland of these daring Northmen and his first voyage was mainly in that direction, and was commanded by a Dane named Othere. As a result of this voyage, the English were made acquainted with the Baltic shores and the coasts of Norway and Lapland.[2] Nor did King Aelfred's enterprise stop here; for, learning of the distress of some Christians at St. Thomas, on the Malabar coast of India, he is said to have dispatched vessels, loaded with supplies for them, and thus established a trade with India[3] which was kept up during his entire reign.[4] In such ways, Aelfred gained much information, which he embodied in a geographical history of the world that exists among his other literary works.[5]

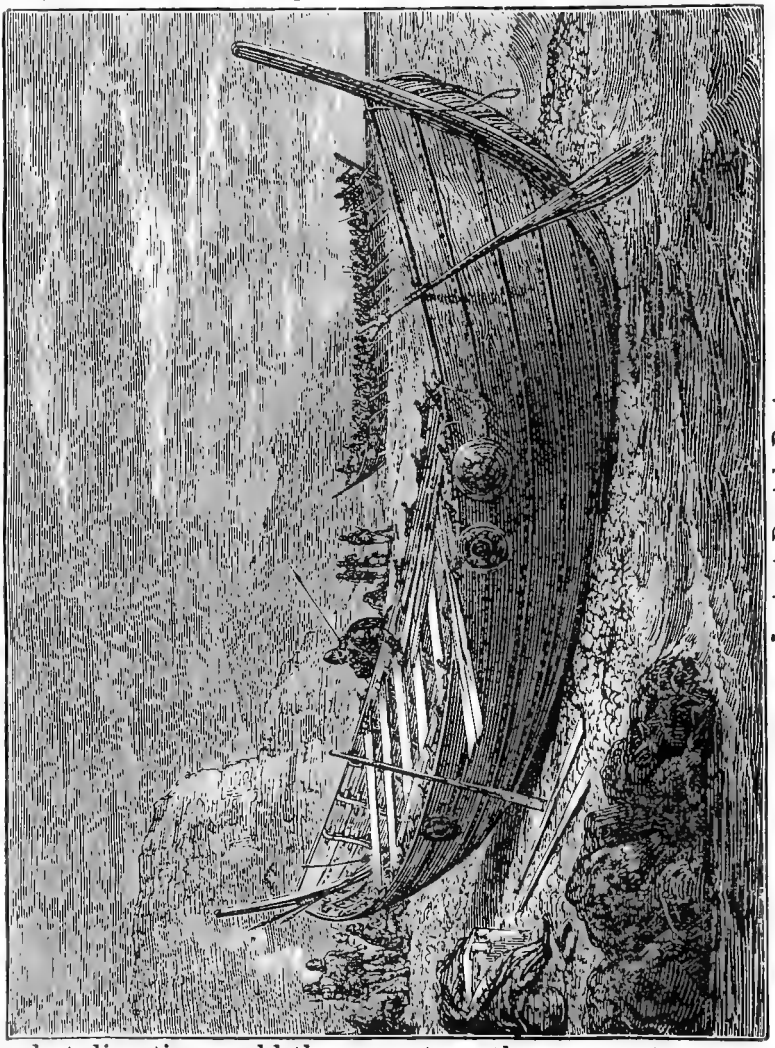
[1] Vide Lindsay: "Merchant Shipping," Vol. I. p. 334. For a translation of the Sagas, see Parker: "Fleets of the World," p. 168 *et seq.*

[2] Low: "Maritime Discoveries," Vol. I. p. 124.

[3] Probably via Jerusalem. [4] Lindsay: Op. cit. p. 350.

[5] Kerr: "Voyages and Travels," Vol. I. p. 22.

By the close of the ninth century, then, these Northmen had formed permanent homes in Britain, France, Russia, and Iceland, while few places near the sea-coast or larger rivers of Europe were safe from their ravages. In



Ancient Danish Boat.

what direction could they now turn the prows of their long ships? The answer to this question is Iceland, "the land of frost and fire." This island has an interesting history,

which we must glance at for a moment. We must remember that it was the haven toward which persecuted Northmen turned, sure of protection if only by the isolation of the place.

Iceland had become known to the Northmen as early as the last years of the ninth century, and was colonized before the tenth century began; but there is a tradition that even these Northmen expelled from that island some Irish settlers who had preceded them there.[1]

So great became the desire to migrate to Iceland, that it was at last forbidden by royal proclamation.[2] Here in their isolation dwelt for a long time a peculiar people. They breathed the air of independence and developed into a flourishing little republic. Iceland, especially the southwestern part, was a much more attractive country then than now. It was a fertile, alluvial district, for Hecla had not then burst forth in flame, and showers of sand and floods of lava were unknown. It was a veritable Eden to the Northmen who had lived in snow-bound Norway.[3] There several families grew in wealth and influence, equal in their little sphere to many petty princes of the continent. In 983, they colonized Greenland, and thenceforth communication between the two countries was kept up.[4] In the place of books,[5] however, they had their professional reciters who were expected to memorize and relate, from time to time, the events that transpired in their lonely home, and the deeds of heroism with which their lives abounded.

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1 De Costa: "Pre-Columbian Discovery of America by the Norsemen," Albany, 1868, p. xxii. *et seq*; also Humboldt: "Cosmos," Vol. II. p. 608.

2 Sclafter: "Voyages of Northmen to America," Boston, 1877, p. 13.

3 Dasent: "Burnt Njal," Vol. I. p. lxviii. *et seq*.

4 Humboldt: "Cosmos," Vol. II. p. 604.

5 Except, perhaps, Runic writing.

As time went on, just as in the case of their classic brethren, there arose a race of poets, who gathered all these sacred tales together, and, beautifying them with song and poetic coloring, were wont to follow, with their listening groups of hardy Northmen, the heroes of their songs on long and perilous journeys. A mass of traditions thus arranged was called a *Saga*, while the reciters were called *Sagamen*. The republic grew and throve; and these sagas and sagamen increased in like proportion. Every prominent hearthstone probably echoed oft repeated songs, and thus the long and bitter winter evenings were happily whiled away. Time passed on, and pious monks arrived in Iceland bringing with them Christianity and letters. One of the first results was to reduce the sagas to writing. The monks were busy copying and embellishing the epics which they heard at every fireside. Their task was not a tedious copying of dry annals. Their pens noted beautiful thoughts, charmingly expressed; thrilling adventures told with life-like power; true historical sketches; and even fiction—in short, all forms of literature, heightened by the rythm and metre of the poet's art.

Many volumes of literature were thus produced in Iceland. They were not hastily written, but carefully transcribed on parchment and beautifully embellished. Every page is a perfect specimen of the penman's art.[1] The thirteenth century was the "golden age" of Icelandic literature. A vast number of sagas were reduced to writing. Each class of literature was a masterpiece of its kind. The fictions are complete works of the novelist's art. The historical sagas have, many of them, been verified by inscriptions and other evidences, so that historians have

[1] Vide fac-simile of these parchment manuscripts in Rafn.: "Antiquities Americannæ," Hafnæ, 1831; also Sclafter, Op. cit. p. 10.

felt inclined to place reliance in them. During our own century, the most of these old volumes have been gathered into the libraries of Copenhagen and Stockholm, where modern scholars have interpreted their contents for us. It will interest us, perhaps, to glance at some of these old sagas.[1]

Among this mass of literature, there are two sagas that have revolutionized early American history. These are the "Saga of Erik the Red" and "Saga of Thorfinn Karlsefne" (the Hopeful). The former is supposed to have been written in Greenland, but the manuscript was transferred to the island of Flatey, near Iceland. There it has been preserved for us. From the manuscript itself, historians have fixed the date when it was reduced to writing as between the years 1387 and 1395.[2] The latter saga is thought to have been written by Hank Erlenson, who was chief governor of Iceland in 1295. It forms a part of the Arnæ-Magnean collection of old Norse manuscripts, consisting of two thousand volumes, now stored in the royal library at Copenhagen.[3]

The Saga of Erik relates, first, his own voyage to Greenland and subsequent colonization of that country. Then we are told of one Bjarni, who attempted to follow his father, one of Erik's companions, to Greenland.[4] None of the sailors with Bjarni knew the way, but they did not doubt that they could find the country. Knowing that it was a mountainous, icy land, they determined to sail until they found such a country. They put to sea (A. D. 986) and

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[1] Vide Sclafter: "Voyages," p. 15.

[2] Vide Rafn: "Antiquitates Americannæ," p. 4; also Sclafter, Op. cit. p. 45, note 44.

[3] Sclafter, Op. cit. p. 17, note 5.

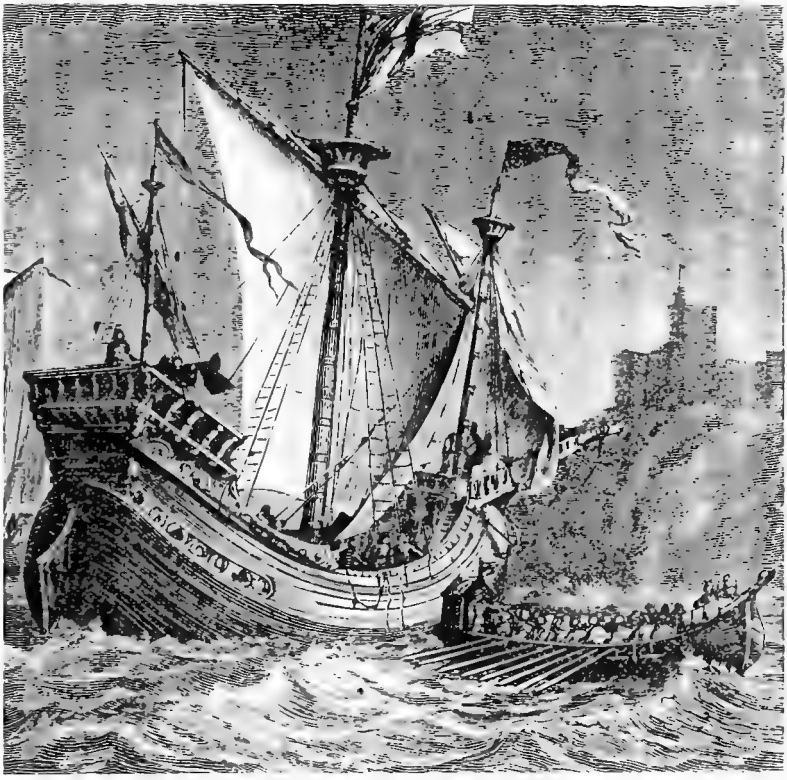
[4] These facts about Erik the Red, and other Greenland discoveries are found in Old Norse, Danish, and Latin, in Rafn, Op. cit. pp. 3-76.

sailed before fair winds for three days, then there arose north-winds and fogs, and for many days they knew not where they were. When it cleared up they continued their westward journey for another day before they saw land. They sailed close to this land which was covered with wood, but was mountainless. Bjarni claimed that it was not Greenland, "because in Greenland are said to be high ice-hills." So he bade his men sail on. They sailed again for two days, when another land came in sight, but it was flat and wooded. So he bade them again sail on. They put out to sea, and, before a south-west wind, sailed for three days more, when they sighted land which, to Bjarni, appeared "little inviting." They spread their sails to the breeze again and spent four days more upon the sea, when they reached a fourth land, which, Bjarni pronounced to be Greenland, and such it proved to be.

The subsequent career of Bjarni does not interest us. He paid a visit to Erik, Earl of Norway, became one of his courtiers, but afterwards returned to Greenland where he dwelt with his father. It was always a matter of regret that he did not land and explore the three countries which he sighted when he was searching for Greenland. Curiosity in regard to them grew apace, and a spirit of adventure having for an object voyages of discovery, sprang up. This spirit finally reached Brattahlid, where dwelt Erik the Red and his three sons, Leif, Thorvald, and Thorstein. Leif, the oldest of these sons, determined to explore the lands which Bjarni had discovered. So he bought the latter's ship and engaged thirty-five men to accompany him. Among them was one Tyrker, a German, who had dwelt in a land where the vine was cultivated.

They therefore prepared their ship and put to sea. They first touched an ice-bound coast, upon which was no

grass; but a floor of flat stones led from the sea to the neighboring mountains. They landed, and Leif called this country Helluland.[1] They sailed on, and found another land, flat and covered with wood. They cast anchor, went ashore, and named the country Markland.[2] They immediately sailed out to sea again, and continued on their



English Ship of Fifteenth Century.

journey for two days before a north-east wind. At last they reached a sound with a large island on one side and a high promontory on the other. They landed and felt that it was good for them to remain here for the winter. So at high tide they passed up a river to a lake, and there

[1] "Flat Stone Land," Supposed to be Newfoundland, vide Rafn, Op. cit. [2] "Woodland," Nova Scotia.

cast anchor.[1] They busied themselves for a few days, erecting houses and booths to shelter them from the winter storms; and then they set about exploring the surrounding country.

This was indeed a fortunate land in the eyes of these Northmen. The rivers were full of large salmon, and the climate was so mild that they judged that cattle would not need house-feeding in winter, for the grass was scarcely withered by the frost. Then, too, the days were of more equal length than in Greenland, "for on the shortest day was the sun above the horizon from half-past seven in the forenoon till half-past four in the afternoon."[2] It happened one evening that Tyrker, the German, did not return to the houses, and much fear was entertained for his safety. But when they went to search for him, they met him returning in a drunken condition, from grapes that he had discovered and eaten. When he had sufficiently recovered from his drunkenness, he explained to them about the grape and its value. From this circumstance they called the country Vinland. They spent the balance of the winter loading their vessels with grapes and grape wood. When their ships were loaded they put to sea and sailed direct to Greenland. This was A. D., 1000–1001.

This winter Erik the Red died, and Leif came into possession of his father's estate. The next year, Thorvald, the second of Erik's sons, determined to visit Vinland. He spent a pleasant winter in the houses that Leif had built. But in the summer following, he was killed in a battle with the natives,[3] and was buried on the coast of

[1] Probably in the vicinity of Nantucket. Rafn, Op. cit

[2] Slafter: "Voyages," p. 33. From this statement the latitude has been reckoned at 41°, 43′, 10″ (Ibid. note 28). Professor Rafn calculated it 41°, 24′, 10″. Vide "Antiquitates," xxiv. cf. Horsford: "Discovery of America by Northmen," Boston, 1888, p. 67 *et seq.*

[3] The description of these natives seems to show that they were Es-

Vinland. The third son, Thorstein, then attempted to go to Vinland, to bring his brother's body home. But it was a tempestuous summer, and he made no headway. At last his vessel drifted to a settlement on the western coast of Greenland where he also died. His wife, Gudrid, returned to Leif with his body and the sad tidings.

In the fall of 1006, there came to Brattahlid an Icelander named Thorfinn Karlsefne, who shared the hospitality of Leif Erikson during the winter. He was a successful trader and an honorable man. So when, at Yuletide, he asked Leif if he and Gudrid might marry, the nuptials were celebrated without delay. In the spring, Karlsefne and his wife, Gudrid, determined to make a voyage to Vinland. They organized a company consisting of one hundred and sixty men. The company visited Helluland and Markland, and, at last, landed in the vicinity of Martha's Vineyard.[1] It was not all harmony among the company and a part turned homeward. Traditions are divided as to whether they were lost or reached the coast of Ireland, where they were made slaves. But Karlsefne remained in various parts of the land for three winters, trading with the natives. The first autumn (1007) there was born to him a son whom he called Snorri. At last (1010), they became discouraged at continual fighting with the natives, and returned to Greenland. Thence Karlsefne sailed to Norway with a ship "so nicely laden that it was generally admitted that a more valuable cargo had never left Greenland." He, however, removed to Iceland where he purchased an estate. There his descendants dwelt for several centuries and were ranked among the

kimos, which at that time probably inhabited the eastern coast of the United States. Vide This Series, Vol. I. p. 299

[1] The Saga of Karlsefne is given in three languages in Rafn: "Antiquitates, pp. 79-200.

noble inhabitants of the island. After his death, Gudrid made a pilgrimage to Rome. In the meantime, Snorri built her a church, and upon her return she became, for the rest of her life, a nun and a recluse.[1] In 1011, Freydis and her husband conducted another small fleet of vessels to Vinland, where they wintered in the dwellings erected by Leif. This company seems to have been gathered from the scum of society, and Freydis was about the worst fiend among them. She caused a large number of the party to be killed, even murdering the women herself. The balance of the party returned to Greenland where Freydis fell into disgrace because of her crimes in Vinland.[2]

Such are the contents of the two Sagas that are now in the library at Copenhagen. But there are other very interesting sagas, one of which refers so prominently to this newly found country that we should become acquainted with an outline of its contents.[3] In the latter part of the tenth century, there dwelt on the western coast of Iceland a lady named Thurid, who, though married and much respected, chanced to shower so many favors on Bjorn Asbrandson, the champion of Breidavik, as to cause evil reports to be circulated, and lead people to suspect that Bjorn was the father of Thurid's son, Kjartan. These reports coming to the ears of that good dame's brother, who was prefect of that province,[4] he went to Bjorn and

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[1] Slafter: "Voyages." Vide his translation of Icelandic Sagas, pp. 43, 69, 110; also Rafn: "Antiquitates," p. xxxiv.

[2] We may mention among those who accept these sagas as historical, Prof. Vigfusson, of Oxford, Eng.; Konrad Marer, of Germany; Paul Riant, of France; J. Elliot Cabot and Edward Everett of this country. Horsford: Op. cit. p. 18.

[3] This narrative is taken from "The Eyrbyggja Saga, or early annals of that district of Iceland, lying around the promontory of Snæfells, on the western coast. It is clearly shown to have been written not later than the beginning of the thirteenth century."—Slafter, p. 79, note 91.

[4] This was Snorri Godi, a really historical personage, and a promi-

advised him to leave the country. Bjorn sailed away but his ship was never after heard from.

Thirty years afterward, one Gudleif Gudlaugson made a trading voyage to the western coast of Ireland, but when he undertook to return to Iceland he met with north-east

Sir Francis Drake.

winds. The ship was thus driven far away to the west and south-west. At last the unfortunate sailors sighted

nent man in Icelandic history. His real name was Thorgrini Thorgrinisen, born 964, died 1031.

land. The summer was far spent, so they determined to land and at least refresh themselves. They had been on shore only a short time when a great band of natives fell upon them and made them prisoners. Then there was a council held as to their disposal. Some advised making them slaves, others were for killing them outright. While they were yet wrangling, there appeared in the distance a much larger company of natives in whose midst rode a large, dignified chieftain. As they approached the prisoners perceived that he was white, though very old, possessing long white beard and hair. Their fate was left to his decision. He addressed them in the Norse language, and in particular enquired concerning Thurid and Kjartan. He told them to enter their ships and sail away, for it was not in accordance with the laws of the natives to give their prisoners freedom. He consigned to Gudleif's care a ring for Thurid and a sword for Kjartan, advising none of his friends, should they suspect who he was, to attempt to find him, as his age was so advanced that he might expect death at any hour. Of course this could have been none other than Bjorn, the champion of Breidavik.

Now a word as to the position of the country visited by Gudlaugson. If we should draw two lines — one from the western coast of Ireland toward the south-west, and another from the western coast of Iceland toward the south-west, marking the probable routes along which Bjorn and Gudleif had respectively sailed in going to this country, these two lines would intersect on the southern coast of our country near the shores of Georgia or Carolina. So we are to conclude that it is somewhere in these regions that Bjorn was found, and that there he was left to die among the natives. This region seems to have been known to these early people, as well as to the inhabitants

of Ireland, as "White Man's Land" or "Great Ireland." Professor Rafn thinks that it was south of Chesapeake Bay, including North and South Carolina, Georgia, and East Florida.[1]

Thus far we have given in a condensed form the contents of the more prominent sagas relating to westward voyages of the Northmen from Iceland and Greenland. Now it is evident to every one that the land that these explorers visited and attempted to settle could have been none other than that of North America; and, if these records be true, it is evident that the Northmen were acquainted with our shores from Newfoundland to Florida for five centuries before Christopher Columbus made his memorable voyages. As to the truth of these records, not only is it a fact that few historians are now found who dispute them, but there is considerable circumstantial and corroborative evidence to uphold the truthfulness of their contents.[2] Although various nations have sought stolen honors by claiming a knowledge of America before the time of Columbus, these records from the north deserve more than a passing notice. The voyage of Leif Erikson to "Vinland the Good" is recorded in both the Heimskringla, or history of the Norwegian Kings, the author of which was Snorre Sturleson, born in Iceland in 1178, and called the Northern Hero-

1 Slafter: "Voyages," p. 96, note 108. Also Rafn: "Antiquitates Americannæ," p. xxxviii.

2 Alex. Von Humboldt refers to the discovery of America by the Northmen as "undoubted." Vide "Cosmos," Vol. II. p. 603. In regard to these Northmen discoveries, Horsford writes as follows: "Somewhere to the southwest of Greenland, distant at least a fortnight's sail, there were, for three hundred years after the beginning of the eleventh century, Norse colonists on the coast of the continent of America, with which colonies the home country maintained commercial intercourse." He also quotes from a letter from Nordenskjoll, as follows: "The Norsemen made numerous long voyages out from Greenland for centuries, and established colonies on the American continent." "Discovery of America by the Northmen," Boston, 1888, pp. 17-19.

dotus,[1] and in the History of Olaf Tryggvason. The former fixes the date by stating that it was the same year that Christianity was introduced into Iceland, and that was A. D. 1000. This was fourteen years after Bjarni discovered Vinland.

The Saga of Thorfinn Karlsefne introduces us to such prominent historical characters that we can not pass it by as mere fiction. Thorfinn was a wealthy Icelandic merchant "descended from an illustrious line of Danish, Swedish, Norwegian, Irish, and Scottish ancestors, some of whom were kings or of royal blood." His son, Snorri, was born in Vinland and lived there until three years old. He inherited his father's Icelandic estate. A grandson of Snorri became Bishop Thoslak, and gave Iceland its first code of ecclesiastical law which is still extant. A great-grandson was raised to the episcopal dignity; another descendant was similarly honored. In our own century, we can mention, as lineal descendants of Thorfinn Karlsefne, Professor Magnussen and the great sculptor, Thorwaldsen of Copenhagen.[2]

Neither are we entirely dependent upon this one saga for our knowledge of Thorfinn and his voyage to Vinland. There is a fragment from a[3] geographical treatise, written near the end of the fourteenth century, which describes the location of these new lands as follows: "South of Greenland is Helluland; next lies Markland; thence it is not far to Vinland the Good. . . . It is related that Thorfinn Karlsefne, cut wood here to ornament his house. . . . Leif the Lucky first discovered Vinland." Then there exists another geographical fragment[4] under the title of

[1] Vide "North American Review," Vol. XLVI. p. 185.
[2] Vide "North American Review," Vol. XLVI. 1838, pp. 176, 184.
[3] Vellum Codex, No. 194.
[4] Codex, No. 115.

Gripla, written before the time of Columbus, which describes the location of Vinland in about the same words.[1]

While all these evidences are of Icelandic origin, we are not lacking corroborative evidence from other sources. Toward the close of the eleventh century, one Adam, canon of Bremen, was attracted to the court of King Sweno, of Denmark, by that monarch's reputation as a patron of letters. While there, Adam collected materials for an ecclesiastical history which he published at the close of the eleventh century. In that history, occurs the following passage: "Besides it was stated (by the king), that an island had by many been discovered in that ocean, which was called Winland, because vines grow there spontaneously, producing excellent wine; for that fruits not planted grow there of their own accord, we know, not by vague rumor, but by certain testimony of the Danes."[2]

With such testimony staring us in the face, it is useless to deny that the Northmen were aware of the existence of the American continent for a number of centuries before the time of Columbus. How frequently they made voyages across the ocean is a question open to conjecture. It is claimed that Bishop Eric Upsi, the first Bishop of Greenland, "undertook in 1121 a Christian mission to Vinland."[3] And a very recent writer claims that there are records in the Church archives at Rome, not only of this mission but also of the visit of Lady Gudrid to Rome immediately before she entered the convent that her son,

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[1] Slafter: "Voyages," p. 70 *et seq.*

[2] Translated from the Latin of Rafn: "Antiquitates Americannæ, p. 338.

[3] The Icelandic Church records substantiate this claim. Horsford, Op. cit. p. 12. Humboldt: "Cosmos," Vol. II. p. 605.

Snorri, built in Iceland.[1] The extent of the Northmen's knowledge of the American coast-line is further indicated by the Runic inscription discovered in 1824 on one of the Woman's Islands, Baffin's Bay, at the latitude of 72° 55′. It tells us that it was placed there "on the Saturday before the day of victory,"[2] in 1135. We are further told that, "more than six hundred years before the bold expeditions of Parry and Ross, the colonists (of eastern coast of Baffin's Bay) very regularly visited Lancaster Sound and a part of Barrow's Straits for the purpose of fishing. The locality of the fishing ground is very definitely described, and Greenland priests from the Bishopric of Gardar, conducted the first voyage of discovery (1266)."[3] The last recorded voyage from Greenland to Markland (Nova Scotia), occurred in 1347.[4]

There is no doubt that the honor of being the dis-

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[1] Vide Marie A. Brown: "The Icelandic Discoverers of America," London, 1887; also see article "Who Discovered America," in *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette*, Feb. 5, 1888.

[2] The 21st of April. This was a heathen festival in ancient Scandinavia, which, at their conversion to Christianity, was changed into a Christian festival. Humboldt: "Cosmos," Vol. II. p. 605, note.

[3] Humboldt, Op. cit.

[4] In passing, a word about the decline of Greenland may interest our readers. Greenland retained communication with Scandinavia for four centuries, and a flourishing commerce existed between these countries. But Queen Margaret (1353-1412, vide Vol. III. p. 404) forbade intercourse with Greenland except upon royal permission. This was a death-blow to that island, which early in the fifteenth century became lost to Europe. It was re-discovered in 1721 by Hans Egede; vide Slafter: "Voyages," p. xxxv. By referring to This Series, Vol. III. p. 404 *et seq.*, it will be seen that Sweden was, for the next two centuries, busied freeing herself from the Danish yoke, and in fighting her wars in Germany, Poland, and Russia, and that Norway and Denmark were united under one sovereign who became more and more involved in the troubles of Europe. It can scarcely be assuming too much, then, to believe that these restless Northmen had warlike employment enough for their subjects to keep them at home, and thus would expeditions to Greenland and Vinland become less and less frequent, and, finally, a knowledge of the way thither be forgotten.

coverers of the American continent has led other nations to put forth false claims. But we detect nothing of that kind in regard to the claims of the Northmen. Their sagas are beautifully and simply written and force the impress of their truth upon the mind. If it be asked why a knowledge of these early voyages has been so long kept from the pages of our histories, we must say with Professor Rafn that it is the fault of the historians themselves. These manuscripts have existed ever since the close of the fourteenth century. Their contents formed the folk-lore of Iceland in her most flourishing days, and the savants of Copenhagen have ever since known of Vinland the Good.

Adam of Bremen knew of Vinland, and told the world about the new country. Malte-Brun claims that "to entertain a doubt of the truth of accounts so simple and probable would be an excess of scepticism."[1] And now we are informed that the records have been for seven centuries buried in the archives at Rome. Whether it has been the policy of writers among Romance nations to disregard these records, whether it has been the policy of the authorities at Rome to bury the records of every enterprise not conducted by Christians,[2] it is not in our province to state. They are generally accepted as reliable records, and the Northmen are at last receiving the honors so long illegally borne by southern navigators.[3]

[1] Vide "North American Review," Vol. XLVI. p. 167 and references. Also Malte-Brun: "Universal Geography," Philadelphia, Vol. III. p. 132.

[2] The Northmen were still pagans when their first voyages were made, and the above is the opinion, positively and rather spitefully expressed, of Miss Marie A. Brown. Op. cit.

[3] As stated, many nations have claimed the honor of discovering America, and to our surprise considerable can be said in favor of some. For instance, vide Vining: "An Inglorious Columbus," New York, 1885, for the claims of the Buddhist priests. Bowen: "America Dis-

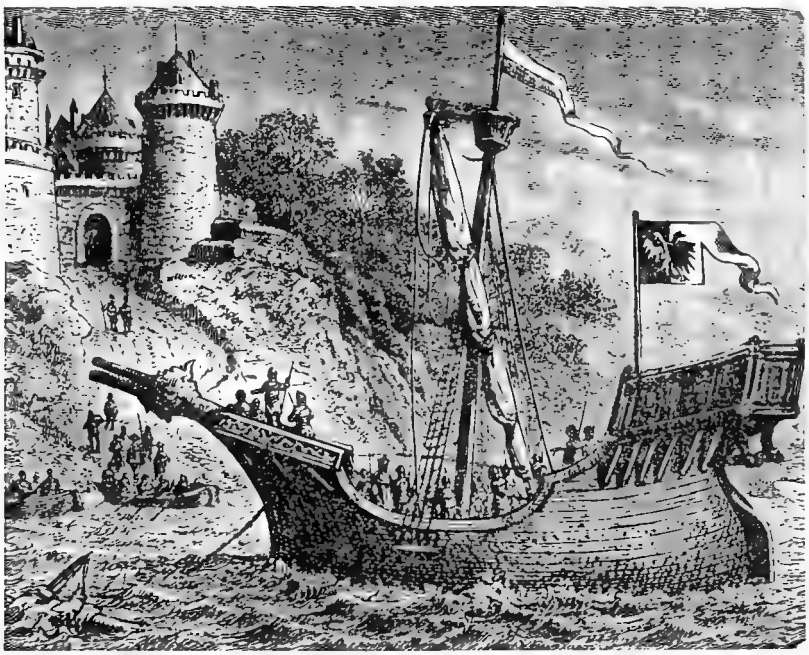
We will now turn our attention once more to Southern Europe. While the Northmen were busy with their northern and western voyages, and with their settlements in England, Normandy, and Russia, the Mongols were overrunning the Mohammedan cities of Asia and interfering with their commerce. Pisa, Genoa, and Venice now assumed control of the trade routes throughout Mediterranean regions. Traders followed the crusaders to the East, and these armies of crusaders, themselves, in marching across Europe, made it possible for merchants to follow. As the Moors, however, held both shores of the Straits of Gibralter, it was dangerous for merchantmen to attempt to carry their wares to the northern shores of Europe by water.

When Venice gained the ascendency and controlled the trade of the Levant, her fleets were dispatched, necessarily in large companies, one to the Black Sea, one to Cyprus and Egypt, one to Greece, and the all-important "Flanders Fleet" to Bruges. Each of the latter expeditions occupied a year or more. As soon as the Flanders fleet reached the Downs, the ships separated and spent the year in visiting the ports of Britain, Normandy, Flanders, and Holland, exchanging eastern wares for western produce. In the North, the Hanseatic League was organized probably in the twelfth century.[1]

covered by the Welsh," Philadelphia, 1876; and Humboldt: "Cosmos," for the claims of the Irish. In fact the oldest sagas relating to America speak of the claims of the Irish. Ewbank, in "Historical Magazine," August, 1867, concludes that there is enough evidence in ancient records "from which to infer that an active European navigation in the north seas was carried on in the fourth and succeeding centuries, equalling that of the Scandinavian rovers" of later times. But in general, the claims of these other various people do not rest on any good historical ground. Future discoveries may however give them greater value.

[1] For the dispute about the date of the organization of the Hanseatic League, vide Taylor: "Factory System," p. 208, note.

The origin of this great commercial league may probably be traced to the uncertainty of protection from the existing governments. Among the petty, quarreling princes who tried to rule Europe at this time, there was little safety for any trader who carried wares worth seizing. The Hanse League was one of those organizations of cities for the protection of commerce, that were so com-



Hanseatic Ship.

mon at that time. It finally came to embrace "eighty of the most considerable places" in Northern Europe. Lubeck, Cologne, Brunswick, and Dantzig were the leading towns. In foreign parts, they had four principal factories, one each at London, Bruges, Bergen, and Novgorod.[1]

Now this organization was not a club of merchants, such as we would now expect to find, but it was a strongly

[1] Taylor, Op. cit. p. 208.

organized political and commercial body. Lubeck was its capital, and presided over all the discussions of the League. It became powerful enough to keep its standing army, and wage wars to enlarge or protect its influence. Its managers, especially in its foreign stations, were subject to the strictest discipline. Marriage was forbidden them, and absolute secrecy as to the workings of the League was enjoined. Upon the decline of the Hanse League, the Netherlands rose to a commanding place among the commercial nations of the world.

Cortez.

During all this time, however, there appeared to be no particular advance in discoveries. But there was a decided advance in the science of navigation, the art of ship-building, and the invention and improvement of nautical instruments. Their ship yards were now able to turn out such ships as the Bucentaur, in which the Doge of Venice went out annually with great pomp and rejoicing to espouse again the Adriatic,[1] and in these stronger made vessels, seamen dared venture further from the land. By construction and improvement in the use of sails, greater speed could be attained than ever before. But above all in usefulness was the discovery of the magnetic needle and the invention of the mariner's com-

[1] It was the custom in Venice for the Doge to enter this vessel once a year, and cause it to be rowed out into the Adriatic Sea, and then to cast a ring into the sea with these words, "We wed thee with this ring in sign of a real and perpetual dominion."—Lindsay: "Merchant Shipping," Vol. I. p. 475.

pass, whereby the sailor could watch his course in the darkest night and in the severest storm. There was now no danger of becoming hopelessly lost, though still there seems to have been many superstitious fears regarding the unknown borders of the ocean world. But there had already begun to dawn upon the world a new era. Science and education took a great leap in advance. Such men as Albertus Magnus, Roger Bacon, and Vicenzius Beauvais had lived; and they had dared to think for themselves in spite of the anathemas of Church.[1] They dared to use every source for obtaining information, whether it were to learn of science from the Arab unbelievers, or to search for truth side by side with the older Greek philosophers. They dared further to give the results of their investigations and speculations to the superstitious world.

As a consequence, geographers now began to study the speculations of the Alexandrian, Greek, and Latin philosophers of centuries before, and reason upon the shape of the earth. They dared follow Pythagoras and Aristotle in believing the earth to be a sphere. They dared follow infidels into the field of astronomy, and study the movements of the heavenly bodies. They dared busy themselves in the occult science of chemistry, and thus was gunpowder discovered, that completely revolutionized military weapons and the science of war. The printing-press appeared. Such travelers as the Polos and Mandeville had demonstrated that there were many powerful nations in the East, and the storied wealth of these Oriental countries excited the cupidity of all. Freedom of thought was springing up among European people. Formerly it had been considered impious to have any

[1] Roger Bacon was by two popes imprisoned on the accusation of practising magic. Vide Humboldt: "Cosmos," Vol. II. p. 615.

dealings with infidels,[1] now Europeans sought some method whereby to secure a share of the gold and pearls and precious stones, out of which the Khans of Cathay are said to have built their idol temples.[2] Then, too, as wealth and culture, with their accompanying demands for rich food and fine clothing, spread toward the north, there was increased demand for spices, silks, pearls, gems, and everything of this kind.

Pizarro

The problem that now troubled the Christian nations was how to reach these lands—Cathay, Arabia, Ethiopia, India, China, Chipangu. Unbelievers jealously

[1] Taylor: "Factory System," p. 206.

[2] For a description of the travels and discoveries of Marco Polo, vide Yule: "Travels of Marco Polo," London, 1871.

guarded the gates to these wealth producing regions, and levied a tax upon all the luxuries that flowed along these channels of commerce. Travelers to these regions, like Polo, were detained for many years, and only with difficulty brought back anything with them. In this dilemma, it is not singular that commerce turned anew to the sea. When the Moors were driven from the Straits of Gibraltar, and even before that, Prince Henry the Navigator, of Portugal, conceived the idea of reaching Cathay (China) by sailing around the coast of Africa and procuring thus, first hand, the spices of Arabia and the jewels of India. Thus was instituted a season of re-discovery, for, as we have seen, the Phœnicians had, eight centuries before, sailed from the mouth of the Nile to Arabia; and Asiatic waters have ever since been known to their successors, the Arabs.

We are down to a most interesting time in the world's history. In 1435, Christopher Columbus was born in the city of Genoa.[1] He enjoyed the benefits of a most liberal education for his times. Of course, Latin was the all-essential language, and he was early taught to read it fluently. At the University of Pavia, he studied geometry, geography, astronomy, and navigation; and he was proficient in drawing and designing. Nourished in such a maritime center, it is not strange that we find such an enterprising spirit as that of Columbus anxious to be upon the water. He was therefore connected with the navy of John of Anjou in his unsuccessful attempt to seize the throne of Naples, an ancient inheritance of the Angevins.[2]

As Prince Henry of Portugal was by all odds the

[1] Vide Washington Irving: "Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus," New York, 1867, Vol. I. p. 20.

[2] Vide This Series, Vol. III.

most enterprising patron of discovery at this time, we are not surprised to learn that Columbus soon found his way to Lisbon. There he married the daughter of a Portugese navigator, and thus became acquainted with the plans of Portugese sailors. Sometimes he made voyages to the coasts of Africa or the islands in African seas, but the most of his time was spent in making charts. In this way, he could prosecute the study for which he had the

Raleigh.

greatest liking and which was to prepare him for his later success in discovery.[1] This profession, besides, introduced him to the most enterprising and learned men of the Mediterranean regions.

He accepted the theory that the earth was round; and

[1] Irving, Op. cit. p. 42.

by an acquaintance with the travels of Polo, he perceived how little a portion of the earth was known to Europeans. Then the thought that the riches of Cathay (China), the home of the great Khan, whom Polo visited, and whose towers were plated with gold and silver,[1] could be reached by sailing west came into his mind.[2] Now that there were lands way out in the western ocean, was no new idea among the people of Southern Europe. Here were the "Isles of the Blest," and here was the Atlantis of Plato, and so the Hesperides had ever been striving to entice to their realm each rising Hercules in search of the golden apples[3] of Juno. So, likewise, the happy hunting grounds of the American Indians were situated far to the west. It seems that mankind has ever striven to follow the sun to its bed as it nightly sinks from sight beneath the ever receding horizon.

Columbus began to treasure up every rumor or bit of information that tended to corroborate his theory. A stray bit of wood that drifted to Madeira or the Azores was unlike anything growing in known lands. It came from the west. Then the so-called idle tales of mariners driven out at sea sighting land in the western ocean were

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1 Yule: "Marco Polo," Vol. II. p. 73.

2 Here we must distinguish between the discovery of Columbus and that of the Norsemen. As early as 1474, he had reached the conclusion that by sailing west he could reach India, and so expressed himself in a letter to Dr. Paulo Toscanelli, of Florence. As we shall see, three years later he visited Iceland. But the knowledge that Columbus had arrived at was scientific. The knowledge of western lands among the Norsemen was accidental. They sailed the seas in search of lands to plunder; and thus discovered Vinland. The knowledge Columbus undoubtedly gained in Iceland must have greatly strengthened his previously formed theory.

3 The eleventh labor, which Eurysthenes imposed upon Hercules, was to visit the Hesperides or "western maidens," and gather the golden apples of Juno.

of value to him.[1] But more significant to us than any of these enticing allurements is the statement of Christopher Columbus, in a work on "the Five Habitable Zones of the Earth," that, in 1477, he visited Iceland.[2] It does not detract anything from the great navigator's genius to suppose that there he learned of the voyages of the Northmen to Vinland, but it does detract from his thoroughness as a student to suppose that he could thus visit the very hot-bed

Cabot.

of northern maritime enterprise without enquiring into the knowledge which these people possessed of the western ocean. He drew his information from every possible source. He may even have seen the records of these voy-

[1] These might well have been founded on facts; as witness the discovery of the coast of Brazil by Cabral in 1500.

[2] Humboldt: "Cosmos," Vol. II. p. 611.

ages that are said to be filed away in the libraries at Rome.

Finally (1481), there came to the throne of Portugal a monarch (King John), who was determined to prosecute still further the plans of his illustrious grand-uncle, Prince Henry the Navigator. John encouraged men of science and learning to gather around his court. He became impatient at the slowness with which his seamen crept down the western coast of Africa, so he ordered his ablest astronomers and geographers to hold a council[1] for the discussion of the best methods of advancing discovery. The result of this conference "was the application of the astrolabe to navigation, enabling the seaman, by the altitude of the sun, to ascertain his distance from the equator."[2] Now with the compass to direct his course, and the astrolabe to tell his distance from the equator, the seaman banished much of his fear of the trackless ocean. No matter how long the storm, as soon as the sun did appear, he could at least find his way to land. It was at such a time that Columbus brought his plans of western discovery to maturity. He thought it useless to attempt such a voyage without royal authority. He laid his plans before King John, but the latter's counsellors, after trying to rob Columbus of his cherished desire of being the first to make this voyage by sending a ship to give the route a trial, ridiculed the idea of there being antipodes. Thereupon Columbus left Lisbon in disgust, and took his journey into Spain.

Columbus is first[3] noticed in Spain in conference with the Dukes of Medina Sidonia, and Medina Celi, who in

[1] These were his two physicians, Roderigo and Joseph the Jew, and Martin Behem.—Irving: "Columbus," Vol. I. p. 65. [2] Ibid.

[3] In 1485, vide Irving's "Columbus," Vol. I. p. 75, note.

wealth and power ranked next to royalty itself. Though he met with encouragement from them, they finally refused aid through fear of the jealous displeasure of their sovereigns in case of its success. He, however, bore a letter from the latter to Queen Isabella, recommending the voyage. Columbus now became a follower of the court of Ferdinand and Isabella, who were too busy with their war against the Moors to have time to consider his petition or give him an audience. But here Columbus formed valuable acquaintances, and to whomsoever he demonstrated his plans and theories, he carried conviction. Six years were consumed in vain endeavors to gain a decision from these sovereigns. Then, disgusted and discouraged, Columbus turned from the court determined to seek aid elsewhere. Then it was that he appeared at the gate of the Convent of Santa Maria de Rabida, and asked food and shelter for his child.

From that time, the tide seemed to turn in his favor. He was again summoned to the Spanish Court; and, at sunrise, on the 3d of August, 1492, we find him in command of three small vessels sailing out of the port of Palos in search of a new route to India. He took the course from Palos to the Canaries. Thence he sailed toward the west. It mattered not if the needle of the compass did vary, it mattered not if his crew did become descouraged and mutinous, he kept toward the west. Over the "grassy sea" they sped and over such an expanse of water that the most daring seamen gave up hope of ever returning. Ten long weeks passed since they left the port of Palos. But at last the signs of land became more and more encouraging. The songs of the warblers resounded from their mastheads and cheered them on their way. On Friday morning, October 12th, 1492, amid the

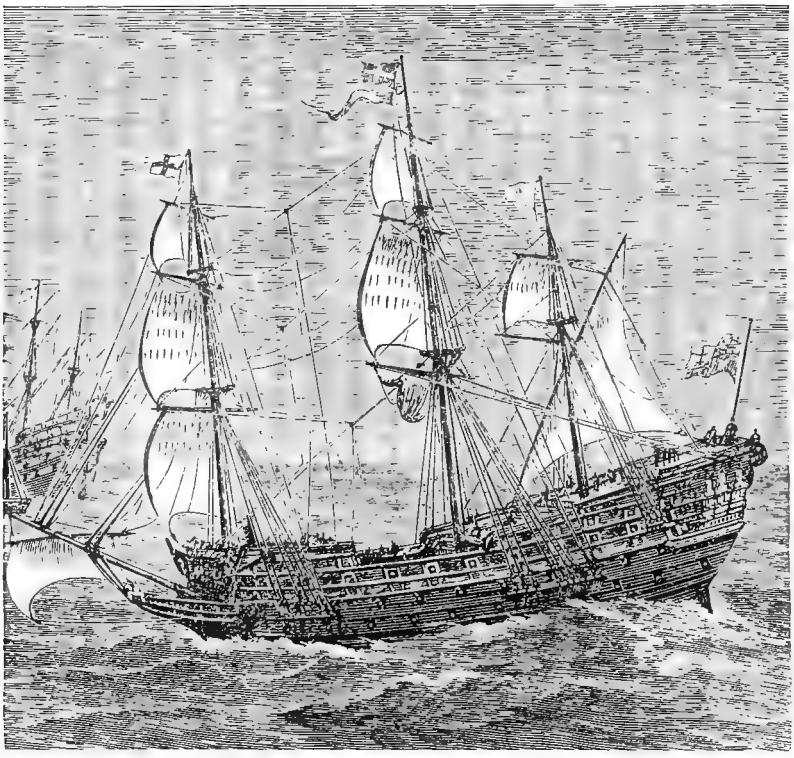
prayers and rejoicings of both admiral and crew, the small party of Europeans landed on the island of Guanahani, one of the Bahama Islands, and dedicated a new world to Spanish rule and to Christianity.

Columbus made three other voyages to the New World, in the third (1498), only, touching the continent. But he died in the belief that it was only a new route to

Frobisher.

Cathay that he had found for the Spanish monarch. The news of his first voyage spread rapidly over Europe. Henry VII. of England immediately authorized John and Sebastian Cabot to discover lands in the western ocean. They touched the eastern coast of our country (1497), even before Columbus had found the mainland. The Spaniards followed the voyages of Columbus with further expeditions of discovery and colonization. This was to

them Cathay, the land of gold and jewels, where might be found the fountain of everlasting youth. They sought these everywhere. In the last year of the fifteenth century, an expedition sailed from Spain bearing among its number a Florentine merchant and geographer, by name Amerigo Vespucci. He made other voyages to the New World, all of which he described in letters written at the time. Some



The Great Harry.

of these letters passed into print, and the name of that Florentine merchant has ever since clung to our country.

Now every American is so familiar with these early voyages of discovery and colonization, that an extended account of them would be out of place in a work of this

character. We can refer to only a few of the more important voyages that gave to Europeans a knowledge of the world almost as it exists to-day. In 1497, Vasco da Gama, sailing under the auspices of the King of Portugal, doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and found the nearest way by water from Europe to India. Portugal then for a time commanded the trade of the Orient.

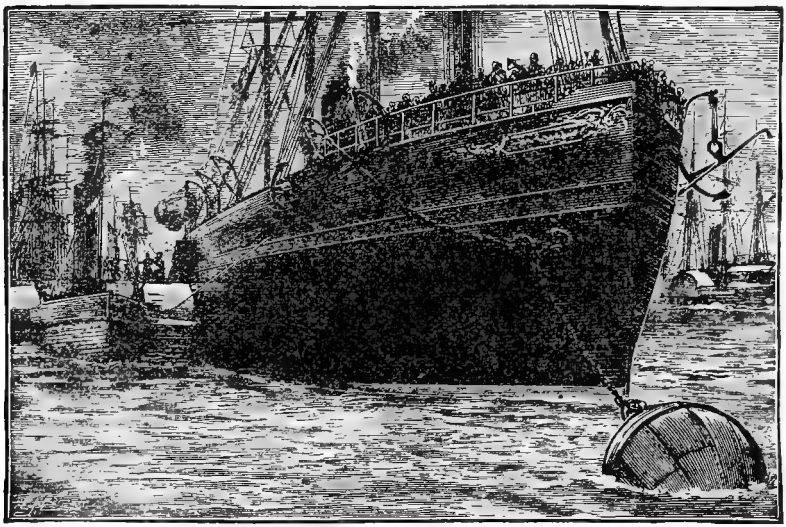
The Spaniards pushed their discoveries in the west. Brazil, Yucatan, Florida, the Pacific Ocean, Mexico, and Peru were all discovered and taken possession of in less than two score years from the time that Columbus first saw the American shores. The Portugese did not wait long before they also sent an expedition to this continent under the command of Cortereal, but their object seems to have been to capture natives to be sold in the Spanish markets as slaves. It proved to be an unfortunate venture and the Portugese never gained a lasting footing on the northern part of the continent.[1]

The French early entered the field of western discovery. The names of Verrazzano,[2] Cartier, Roberval and Champlain established the French claim to American territory, although the Cabots had at an earlier day discovered these regions for England. This was in the vicinity of the St. Lawrence. These explorers were at once followed by fishing vessels. Three years from the date of the first French voyage, there were observed in the haven of St. Johns, Newfoundland, eleven Norman sails, and one Breton, engaged in the fisheries there. The expeditions of Ponce de Leon and of Ferdinand de Soto (Spaniards),

[1] Vide Bancroft: "History of the United States," Boston, 1854, Vol. I. p. 14.

[2] Edward Everett Hale, in his "History of the United States," New York, 1887, most emphatically doubts the voyage of Verrazzano to America. Most authorities mention it as undoubted.

laid the whole southern part of our country[1] open to Spanish colonization. But the French Huguenots forestalled them in establishing a settlement on the coast of Florida. The religious zeal, jealousy, or general bloodthirstiness of the Spaniards led them to murder these colonists and occupy the location, founding there the first permanent settlement of Europeans on the American continent. They called it St. Augustine.

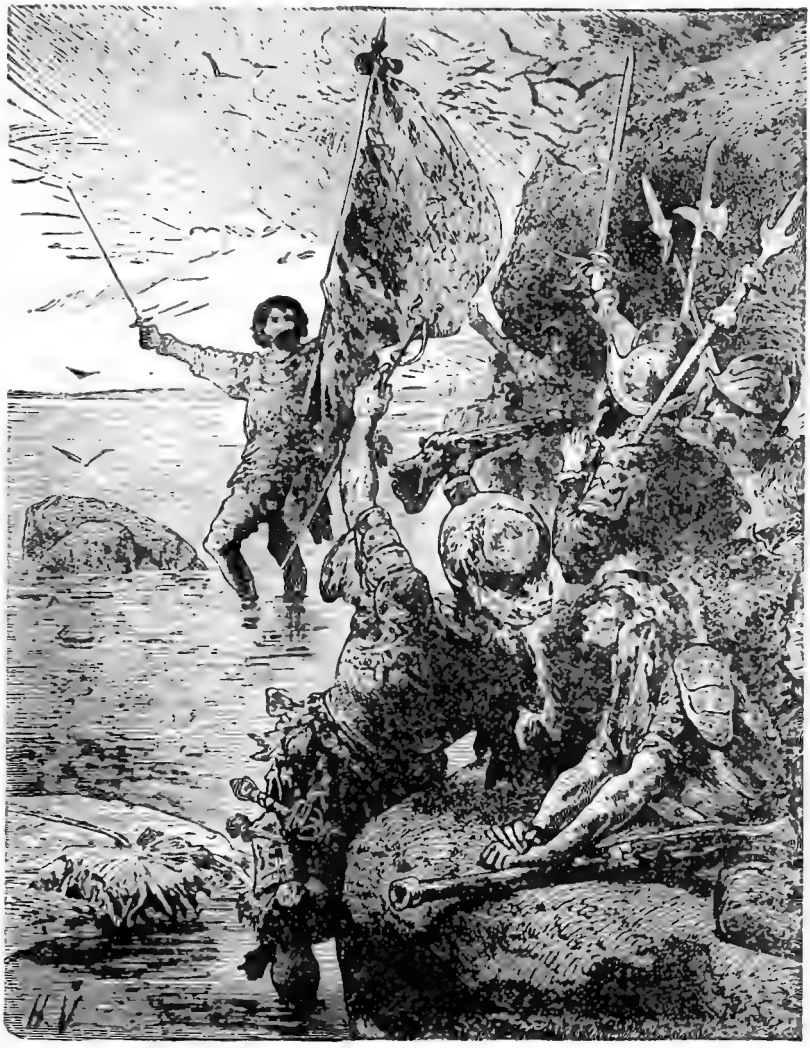


An Iron Ship.

Early in the sixteenth century Magellan started out on his memorable voyage of discovery. Though he did not live to see Spain again, in less than three years, his ships returned by the way of India and the Cape of Good Hope, thus being the first to circumnavigate the globe. The expeditions of John Hawkins and Sir Francis Drake, though under the English flag, seem to have been little more than buccaneering adventures in which it is

[1] Vide Shipp: "De Soto and Florida," Philadelphia, 1887.

claimed that "Good Queen Bess" shared. They captured negroes in Africa, and sold them as slaves to the West Indian colonies.[1] The voyages of Frobisher and Davis



Balboa Taking Possession of the Pacific.

made the northern shores of the New World known to

[1] Low: "Maritime Discoveries," Vol. I. p 272-3. Lindsay: "Merchant Shipping," Vol. II. p. 123 *et seq.*

Europeans. The Pacific coast had been explored by Grijalva, Alvarado, and Cabrillo in the first part of the sixteenth century; but toward the close of that century, Drake entered the Pacific and explored the coast to about 48° north latitude, thence returning to England by the way of the Cape of Good Hope. The cargo and prizes that he had captured from the Spanish netted the owners of his ship, the Golden Hind, two million dollars of our money.[1] For his success and gallantry, Queen Elizabeth visited his ship, when he reached London, and conferred upon him the order of knighthood The close of the sixteenth century ushers in the period of colonization in what is now the greatest nation of this New World. We will learn of its history in another chapter.

From the limited horizon of ancient Chaldea, we have watched the growth of discovery until it has embraced the world. We must not, however, conclude that civilization, even in the most ancient times, was confined to any one, limited spot. Though we have but here and there a ray of historical light to guide us in a knowledge of distant times, we see that every Chaldea has had its Elam; every Egypt, its contemporary Hittites; every Ilios, its neighboring Hellas; every Rome, its rival Persia. As every rising nation has had to discover for itself much of the world that is really old in culture, so Japan, in our own day, is learning that there are many civilized peoples outside of its own sea-girt isles; so is England discovering in India many signs of a culture more ancient than its own.

But we can safely say that the number of contempo-

[1] The Portugese claim that as early as 1520, when Magellan was just finding his way into the Pacific, some of their ships, sailing east from Molucca, crossed the Pacific and struck the coast of California. Vide Winsor: "Narrative and Critical History of America," Boston, Vol. III. p. 68, note 2.

rary, cultivated nations has been constantly on the increase, since history began. As soon as one continent became occupied, a limitless population spread into another. When the Old World became crowded, the glittering gold and sparkling jewels of unknown lands formed an enticing bow of promise whose widening span lured the more venturesome spirits onward until it surrounded the globe. And now mankind settles to rest again, as it did eight centuries ago, as firm as ever in the belief that there are now no more worlds to find. The Age of Discovery reached its zenith when the happy Columbus entered the harbor of Palos with tidings of a New World.

Miles Standish Relics.

# CHAPTER II.

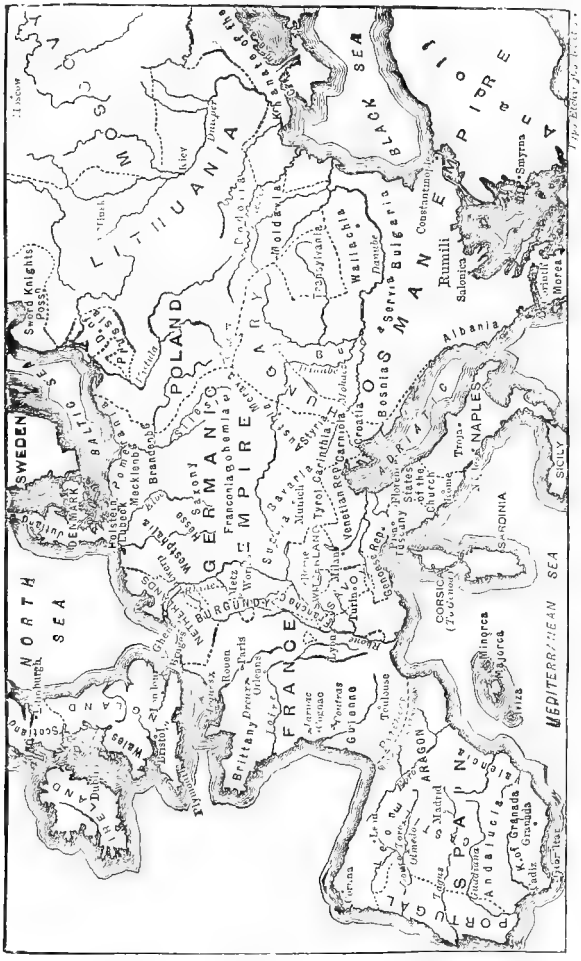
## MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION—Review—English History, Sixteenth Century—French History—Elizabeth's Reign—The Stuart Dynasty—The Protectorate—The Age of Louis XIV.—Rise of Sweden—Of Russia—Decline of Spain—The Thirty Years' War—Wallenstein—Wars of the Spanish Succession—Charles XII. of Sweden—The Bourbon Family Compact—England in the Seventeenth Century—Wars of the Austrian Succession—Rise of Prussia—The Seven Years' War—Frederick the Great—Joseph II. of Austria—Causes Leading to the French Revolution—The Grievances of the People—Louis XVI—The Reign of Terror—Career of Napoleon Bonaparte—The Russian Campaign—European History Since the Abdication of Napoleon—The Revolutionary Struggles in Europe—The Franco-Prussian War—TheRusso-Turkish War—General Conclusion.

IN a general way, the medieval period of European history is said to have terminated with the discovery of America, the invention of printing, and the Protestant Reformation under Luther. But we have taken exception to this view, regarding these important movements as the results of advancing intelligence in general. We can, however, willingly admit that, beginning with the sixteenth century, the intellectual development of Europe had reached such a stage of growth that advance in many directions was exceedingly rapid.

PETER THE GREAT AFTER THE BATTLE OF PULTOWA

We desire in this chapter to obtain a general view of political movements in Europe during the last four centuries, drawing from them, of course, such results as are of especial value for our general inquiry, the rise and progress




Europe of the Fifteenth Century.

of our present state of culture. The era commences with the subserviency of the masses of the people to privileged classes. The divine rights of kings and the general idea that lords and knights of various degrees were in every

way superior to the general mass of the people, were the prevailing ideas of Europe at the opening of the sixteenth century.

Now the present day is not inaptly called the reign of the common people. We have shown that in a former stage of culture the tendency of advancing civilization was to bring to the front individuals and individual rights. That law still holds good, with the further idea now finding expression that one individual's rights were not different from, or superior to another's. Along that line of thought, the conflict was waged for some centuries, and, unfortunately, is not yet finally settled. We will, however, see running through European history of the last few centuries the rising importance of the common people.

Turning now more particularly to Europe, we resume the historical thread dropped in a former volume.[1] At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Louis XII. occupied the throne of France. He had inherited the Italian wars of Charles VIII. with Spain. Each king claimed authority over a number of Italian cities, which led to constant wars for their possession. While this exhausted the resources of both France and Spain, it was still more ruinous to the unfortunate cities themselves. The deaths in succession of Henry VII. of England, Louis XII. of France, and Ferdinand I. of Spain gave the European world three great rulers who may be appropriately called the *tres magi* of European history during the first half of the sixteenth century.[2] These were, respectively, Henry VIII., Francis I., and Charles I. The

[1] Vide Vol. III. ch. v.

[2] Lord Bacon gave this title to three other rulers, viz.: Henry VII., Louis XI., and Ferdinand the Catholic. Vide Patton: "Mediæval History," p. 76.

Hapsburg princes had by this time come to regard the Imperial crown as their inheritance. Charles I., being a Hapsburg, soon succeeded to the Imperial throne (as Charles V.) Spain was now the controlling power of Europe, although Francis I. invaded her possessions as often as he could find the least excuse for so doing. As a

Francis I.

result of one of his invasions of Italy, he spent a year as a royal captive at Madrid.

When Charles V. abdicated his throne, he gave the Imperial crown to his brother, Ferdinand I., the Spanish crown to his son, Philip II. Although the Spanish kingdom and the empire were thus divided, Spain continued,

under Philip II., to hold the ascendency over other European powers. The second half of the sixteenth century witnessed many other changes among the great rulers of Europe. Henry II. ruled the French for thirteen years when the sovereign power passed into the hands of the infamous Catherine de Medici, wife of Henry, who by intrigue had been named as regent for the minor heirs. Her sons, Francis II. and Charles IX. were crowned in succession but speedily removed by the connivance of their mother who is also regarded as the instigator of that horrible butchery of Protestants in Paris and throughout France, known as the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Her third son, Henry III., ruled for fifteen years, when he was succeeded by Henry of Navarre, under the title of Henry IV., who by the celebrated Edict of Nantes proclaimed religious freedom to all his subjects (1598).

Thus much by way of review.[1] Turning to England we find before us a most interesting age. The English throne was occupied in rapid succession by the three children of Henry VIII.—Edward VI., son of Jane Seymour; Mary, daughter of Catherine of Aragon and wife of Philip II. of Spain; and, finally, Elizabeth, daughter of Anne Boleyn, who wore the crown into the next century. Elizabeth's reign was remarkable for its length, for almost universal peace and prosperity throughout her possessions, and for the great number of eminent men whom England produced during this period. Shakespeare, Bacon, Spenser, Ben. Jonson, Knox, Drake, Raleigh, and others, by their literary genius, their enterprise, and their advanced ideas, won for her reign the appropriate title of "Elizabethan Age."

Now Elizabeth was by no means a perfect sovereign.

[1] Vide This Series, Vol. III. p. 390 *et seq.* and 423.

She was, on the other hand, weak and injudicious in many respects. As far as personal character was concerned, she certainly was not in advance of her times, though history records no court scandals. Exceedingly avaricious, she did not hesitate to bestow honors upon Hawkins and Drake (the most notorious freebooters of the age) for a share in their spoils, reaped from the sale of unlawful prizes, and the gains from cargoes of negroes, captured in Africa and sold in the West Indies contrary to existing treaties with Spain.[1] Partially as a result of a long series of trespasses upon treaty rights, and of buccaneering against Spanish commerce, at the close of Elizabeth's reign, Philip II. fitted out the greatest fleet the world had ever seen for the conquest of England. This was the great Spanish Armada. A kindly storm, however, by wrecking the armament, saved the trembling queen and her frightened subjects from an invasion that would probably have proved disastrous to the British. The Spanish fleet was almost annihilated (1588).

Nor was Elizabeth free from the fears and jealousies of many a person of meaner station. Ruled by these baser passions, we find the "Virgin Queen" treating her kinswoman, Mary Queen of Scots, in that cruel and illegal manner which has forever tarnished her name. Jealous of the latter's beauty, and fearful of her title to the English throne, Elizabeth kept her in unlawful confinement for a long period of years, and finally sent her to the block. The empty accusations of conspiracy against the sovereign's life and opposition to reform were the only excuses that could be advanced to cover the act.[2] Still Queen Elizabeth was unusually successful in holding popu-

1 Lindsay: "History of Merchant Shipping," Vol. II. p. 123 *et seq.*
2 Vide Knight: "Pictorial History of England," Vol. II. p. 539 *et seq.*

lar favor, and usually found, among her tools and favorites, a scape-goat for her misdeeds or mistakes.

Now we are not concerned in writing a full and exact history of the succession of the various princes to the different European thrones. It is sufficient to state that the century closed with the Hapsburgs still in possession of the

Elizabeth,

Imperial (Germanic-Roman) throne. But the supremacy of Spain in European affairs was giving way before the rising power of France. We must, however, note the change in favor of toleration which was at that time spreading over Europe. The Northern German states were the cen-

ter of religious agitation, and Charles V. had been so occupied with his wars with France that he had not been able to enforce the decrees of his own diets. Emperor Maximillian II., who succeeded Ferdinand I., was the "first European sovereign to adopt toleration, not from policy but from principle."[1] The English had cast off allegiance to the pope, and Elizabeth was on the whole extremely tolerant, although English Reformers were from the first clamorous for the blood of Mary Queen of Scots, because she was a Catholic. The Edict of Nantes promised the French religious freedom. Reform had triumphed in Scotland, Poland, and Sweden.[2] This was the dawn of better times for Europe; though, as the result of dissensions arising among the reformers themselves, the following century witnessed much cruel fighting among the various religious factions. Each sect, as a general thing, submitted itself to the protection of a political ruler who had some personal aim in espousing the cause of religion; and thus "religion was made subordinate to politics."[3]

Soon after the seventeenth century opens upon Europe, Queen Elizabeth was succeeded by James VI. of Scotland, son of Mary Queen of Scots, who, as James I., introduced the Stuart kings to England (1603). The Britons were not well pleased with their foreign king and his Scotch courtiers, but were somewhat appeased by the cessation of the border warfare between the two kingdoms, for England and Scotland were henceforth united. The Catholic element in the kingdom, however, was far from being satisfied with the Stuart king, because James had renounced

[1] Labberton: "Historical Atlas and General History," New York, 1887, p. 124. This subject will be treated more extensively in a subsequent chapter.

[2] Gregory: "Handbook of History," p. 33.

[3] Ibid.

the faith of his mother and adopted the established religion. This course of action led to the "gunpowder plot," in which conspirators, under the lead of one Guy Fawkes, planned to blow up the Protestant king and his entire parliament. Fortunately a timely warning led to the arrest and execution of the conspirators instead of their intended victims.[1]

Subsequently, James gained the ill-will of his Protestant subjects by justly declaring that, whereas this small band of conspirators were alone cognizant of this plot, only the guilty should be punished. The fact is, ideas of toleration were so narrowed by the spirit of the times that the reformers had at least hoped for an extensive persecution of the Catholics. In this, the English king seems to have been in advance of his age. But there is another side to his character. For, while he could have materially hindered Queen Elizabeth in her persecution and criminal slaughter of his mother, Mary, he contented himself with too tardy and idle remonstrances. And later, by withholding his aid from his son-in-law, he caused the ruin of Frederick V., elector of the Palatinate,[2] the first leader of the Protestant cause in the Thirty Years' War.[3] Also on mere accusation of having been connected with a conspiracy to dethrone the king, that eminent navigator, Sir Walter Raleigh, was confined to the Tower for thirteen years, and then ordered to the block. Thus do we gain a true picture of a king who is further described as a pedant and a believer in the "divine right of kings."[4]

When his son, Charles I., came to the throne, as

[1] A good account of this conspiracy is contained in Hume: "History of England," Vol. IV. pp. 400-405.

[2] The Palatinate was a small territory along the Rhine. Vide Vol. III. p. 343. [3] See below.

[4] Vide Hume, Op. cit. p. 494.

might be expected, he entertained still more strongly these same ideas. In trying to enforce them, the king found himself involved in a dispute with Parliament which finally ended in his deposition and execution. In attempting to assert his supposed rights, Charles tried browbeating, arresting, and imprisoning members of Parliament. Then Parliament was dismissed, the king trying for eleven

Mary Stuart.

years to rule without its aid. Money, however, must be raised; and, among other schemes to procure it, was his plan for raising "ship money," really a tax for the support of the navy. This brought into prominence the celebrated patriot, John Hampden, who resisted the collection even in the courts, though, of course, he was defeated.[1]

[1] On this subject see Knight: "Pictorial England," Vol III. p. 197 *et seq.*

The immediate cause of the outbreak against Charles was a rebellion of his Scottish subjects, because the king had tried to enforce a new liturgy in their churches. To put down this rebellion, money was necessary. To raise

Execution of Charles I.

money, Parliament must assemble. Another Parliament was therefore called, but shortly dissolved. Another call was soon issued and the celebrated "Long Parliament" (so called from the length of its session) began its work.

Instead of turning its attention to a settlement of the Scottish difficulty, this Parliament began, at once, to adopt measures for resisting the tyranny of the king. Almost the first act was the arrest, trial, conviction, and execution of his chief adviser, Stafford, whom Charles ignominiously deserted to his fate.[1]

Though the king made many promises to Parliament, he did not hesitate to break them whenever he saw fit. Still Parliament removed one barrier after another that stood in its way. At length, the crisis arrived. Parliament submitted to the king nineteen propositions which tended to greatly increase its power. These were of course rejected; and Parliament forthwith appointed a "Committee of Public Safety," raised an army, and civil war began. "Charles unfurled the royal standard at Nottingham." His followers were called "cavaliers," and the rebellious subjects "roundheads."

The parliamentary army was victorious at Marston Moor and at Naseby, Oliver Cromwell having greatly distinguished himself. Finally, Charles surrendered to the Scotch, who sold him to Parliament, by which latter authority he was kept in confinement until a dispute between the Puritan and independent factions was settled by placing the latter into power. The Independents controlled the army, with Oliver Cromwell as general. They carried matters with a high hand; obtained possession of the king; utterly defeated the Scots at Preston Pans; and, finally, tried, condemned, and executed the king himself—an act that has since been condemned by all mankind (1649).[2]

[1] For this trial, see Macaulay: "History of England," Vol. I. p. 98.

[2] Vide Labberton: "General History," p 131. This verdict is just, though this conflict and its results eventuated in great good for the cause of constitutional liberty.

For the sixteen years following, England was ruled by Oliver Cromwell, who exercised all the powers of a king, even to the appointment of his son as his successor, though he would accept no other title than that of Lord Protector. This period in English history is, therefore, called the Protectorate. The House of Peers was abolished and the Commons constituted the only popular assembly.

Charles I.

Cromwell's government was vigorous both at home and abroad, and is an honorable epoch in English history. But Richard Cromwell was a failure as a ruler; and, after a few month's trial, withdrew from public life. Charles II., the profligate son of Charles I., though he had previously made several futile attempts to seize the throne, was called from his wanderings to become King of England, though made entirely dependent upon Parliament for his revenue.

In the reign of Charles II., there occurred in London, the "great plague" and the "great fire."[1] The superstitious regarded these as visitations of Divine wrath because of the shameful profligacy of the king.[2] Aided by the Cabal,[3] "a most tyrannical and unscrupulous agent of royal prerogative," the king was able to extort money from Parliament for purposes of defense, only to waste it in riotous living, while he was usually a pensioner of the French king. England sank to so low an ebb that the war vessels of Holland, with whom a war arose, even entered the Thames and threatened the British capital. Still it is claimed that this was a season fruitful in reforms and that the very profligacy and wantonness of the king left Parliament free to legislate for the people.[4]

Upon the death of Charles, Protestant England was thrown into a state of fear and anxiety by the accession of Catholic James II. His declaration of toleration (a just measure), followed by the arrest and trial of seven bishops for not reading it from their pulpits, was a further cause for alarm. Then began that train of events which led to William of Orange, husband of James' daughter, Mary, being called to the English throne. James took refuge in France, and England thus became involved in the long-existing struggle between Holland and France. Still the reign of William has been called, all things considered, "the most successful and the most splendid recorded in the history of any country."[5]

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[1] For a description of these calamities, consult Knight: "Pictorial England," Vol III. pp. 695-699. Macaulay: "History of England," Vol. I. p. 181. Hume: "History of England," Vol. VI. p. 50

[2] Vide Buckle: "Civilization in England," Vol. I. pp 279-80.

[3] So called from the initial letters of the names of his cabinet, viz: Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale.

[4] Vide Buckle, Op. cit. p. 275 *et seq.* [5] Buckle, p. 290.

Such is an outline of events in England during the seventeenth century. During this period in France, we learn of the rule in succession of three statesmen who must be ranked among the few great men of all times. These were Richelieu, Mazarin, and Louis XIV. The first two were cardinals and were in succession raised to the office of prime minister of France, during the reign of Louis XIII. and the minority of Louis XIV. Mazarin was a pupil of Richelieu, and Louis XIV. a pupil of Mazarin. As long as they followed the teachings of their great master, Richelieu, France firmly held a ruling place among the powers of Europe; but when at last Louis ventured to strike out a new course of action for himself, his power began to decline.

As Richelieu cuts so important a figure in French history, we must glance at the succession of events leading to his rise in power. Louis XIII. had ascended the throne upon the death, by assassination, of his father, Henry IV. Louis was nine years old at this time, so his mother, Mary de Medici, was made regent. Under Henry IV., the great financier, Sully, had restored the credit of France and had paid a great share of the debts of the crown. But the regent mother could not firmly control the nobility who forced Sully to retire. Affairs became so turbulent that the regent assembled the great council of the people, the nobility, and the clergy, known as the States-General. Its deliberations was a scene of stormy disputes, and it was finally dissolved. This was its last meeting until the troublous times of the Revolution, nearly two hundred years later.

At this council, appeared a young priest, who soon arose to the rank of cardinal, and two years more saw him prime minister of France. This was Richelieu. He at

once gained complete control over the young king, even to the banishment of the regent mother and another son from court. He put down the nobles and made the king's power absolute throughout his kingdom, before interfering with general European affairs. The greatest internal troubles were the rebellions of the Huguenots, though they were at last forced to yield to the laws of the lands,[1]

Cardinal Mazarin.

not simply because they were Huguenots, but because they were rebels. This is evident from the fact that they were still guaranteed the protection of the existing edicts of toleration.[2] Both the king and his distinguished minister died within the same five months. Louis XIV., at the age of five years, succeeded to the throne (1643). Another cardinal and a pupil of Richelieu, Mazarin, became prime minister, and the queen mother, Anne of Austria, regent. But Mazarin had not his master's ability, and his season

[1] Russel: "History of Modern Europe," Vol. III. p. 144 *et seq.*

[2] Buckle: Vol. I. p. 416.

of power was a turbulent one. He seems to have been hated by a large share of the population. During the civil war known as the Fronde, the court was driven, not only from Paris, but Mazarin was forced to leave the kingdom. But he was recalled again when the war had been brought to a close.

When Mazarin died, Louis took the reins of government into his own hands, and ruled for fifty years with such success that the "Age of Louis Fourteenth" is sometimes called the most brilliant era in the history of France.[1] His ambition, however, led him into many wars, which will be mentioned hereafter. He erred in departing from the policy of the great statesman, Richelieu, for he revoked the "Edict of Nantes," and forbade the Huguenots to leave the kingdom. Thus was begun a cruel, religious persecution which, in spite of the care of the king to prevent it, drove a hundred thousand families into foreign countries, where they were gladly welcomed on account of their wealth and industrious habits. It was indeed a great loss to France for which no mere brilliancy of reign could atone. The century closes on that country with Louis XIV. still in the vigor of his reign.

Holland and the Spanish Netherlands were a bone of much contention among the powers of Europe during this century. The latter, though often the battle ground for the armies of France and Spain, remained at the close of the century, as at the beginning, in the possession of Spain. On the other hand, the Dutch had jealously guarded their freedom so dearly bought by William the Silent. The

[1] Gregory: p. 57. But of this same reign Buckle more justly remarks (Vol. I. p. 491 *et seq.*), that it "must be utterly condemned if it be tried even by the lowest standard of morals, of honor, or of interest." Probably the greatest blot on it is the cruel religious persecution that he sanctioned.

princes of Orange were usually the leading figures in Dutch history, though in the third quarter of the century the republican element under John De Witt dominated. The Dutch became masters of the sea, formed the great Dutch East India Company, and vied with England in commerce and colonization. This was the period of their settling our own country in the vicinity of New York and the Hudson River. At the close of the century, through two successive marriages,[1] William and his wife, Mary, succeeded to the English throne, thus uniting the fortunes of England and Holland against Louis XIV. of France.[2]

Northern and Eastern Europe began to take a more active part in international affairs during the seventeenth century than previously. The young Gustavus Adolphus ascended the throne of Sweden and, early in the century (1611), became the leader of the Protestant League. He raised his country to a height of power that she had never before enjoyed, and one winter held his court at Mayence, upon the banks of the Rhine. He added greatly to Swedish territory, but was killed in battle at the moment of his greatest victory, and while still in the prime of life. He had, however, already rescued Protestantism from an early death, and thus rendered an immortal service to civil and religious liberty. At the close of the century (1697), Sweden again flashes out before the world like a meteor, when Charles XII. arms himself against his allied enemies.

He was only fifteen years of age when Russia, Poland, and Denmark thought it an opportune time to snatch from him some of his cherished possessions. Their dream of

1 William II. of Orange and Mary, sister of Charles II.; and their son, William III., of Orange, and Mary, daughter of James II.

2 For the history of the struggle of Holland against the usurpation of France, see Russell: "Modern Europe," Vol. II. p. 461 *et seq.*

easy conquest was rudely broken. They found that they had challenged one of the greatest generals of the age. He did not wait their convenience, but was first in the field. He compelled the Danes to sue for peace, and defeated forty thousand Russians at Narva with a force of but nine thousand Swedish soldiers. He placed a king of his own

Charles XII.

choice upon the throne of Poland; and then he entered Russia to dethrone Peter the Great. But here his star suddenly waned, he suffered such a terrible defeat before Pultowa that he was never again able to rally an army of conquest. This brings us down to the opening of the eighteenth century.

The seventeenth century closed on Russia rising in culture and taking her place among the powers of Europe under its great sovereign, Peter the Great, who introduced many reforms and many new branches of industry. He built for himself a capital, our present St. Petersburg. Henceforth, international affairs of Europe cannot be settled without consulting the interests of this new power. Near the close of this century, the Turks invaded Hungary and for the last time laid siege to Vienna (1683). When almost upon the point of victory, John Sobieski appeared with a Polish army and drove them farther back from the borders of Germany than where they had stationed themselves for years.[1]

From her position as the foremost power of Europe, Spain witnessed a gradual decline all through the seventeenth century. Philip III. was the first ruling sovereign. He it was who drove the remnant of the Moriscoes, or descendants of the Moors, from Spain. They were given thirty days to leave the kingdom on pain of death for noncompliance. Vessels were ordered to transport them to the shores of Africa, where they bore with them five-sixths of Spanish wealth, for they were the merchants of the kingdom, peaceful and industrious.[2] Such a course as this inflicted a greater blow on Spanish prosperity than could have been wrought by an armed invasion of some hostile power (1609). Philip IV. was sixteen years old when he became king of Spain. He busied himself and drained his treasury with useless wars against France. Spain speedily became so weakened that Portugal was enabled to again assert her freedom, the powers of Europe acknowledging

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[1] To give completeness to our present review, we have here briefly retouched some topics already treated in Vol. III. ch. v.

[2] Patton: "Modern History," p. 216.

her independence (1640). Charles II. succeeded to the Spanish throne at the age of four years with his mother as regent. This whole reign was a season of disputes about the regency. The queen-regent's favorites[1] became unpopular. Don John of Austria, natural son of Philip IV., was called into power as prime minister. But, upon his death, the queen returned to power. Then, too, it became probable that Charles would die childless, and as he was the last of the Spanish Hapsburgs, the subject of Spanish succession became of international importance. Before this question was settled it involved Europe in the convulsions of war.

Even before the death of the king, there were three claimants to the Spanish throne—The Dauphin (crown prince of France); Joseph, the Electoral Prince of Bavaria; and the Emperor Leopold. The Prince of Bavaria, though named by Charles as his successor, died before the king. Then Charles named Philip of Anjou, second son of the Dauphin, as his heir. He was indeed the nearest male heir, for his grandmother was the oldest daughter of Philip III. and his mother, the oldest daughter of Philip IV., but both of these princesses, upon marrying into the royal family of France, had solemnly renounced all claims to the throne of Spain. Emperor Leopold was son of a younger daughter of Philip IV., who had not renounced her claim to the throne of her father. He was, besides, a Hapsburg. In the first year of the eighteenth century, the Spanish king died. Louis XIV. had his grandson crowned at once as Philip V., while Emperor Leopold declared his second son king, under the title of Charles III. Thus opens the "War of Spanish Succession."[2]

[1] The Jesuits, Mitard and Valenzuela. [2] On this question see Labberton: "Historical Atlas and General History," pp. 135-6.

We have thus far been learning the names and stations of the chief characters who were upon the stage of European history in the seventeenth century. Let us now turn to review those great international struggles that shook the civilized world. Combining the two, we will then have a fair idea of the political development in Europe. Heretofore the wars of Europe, except the Crusades, were petty struggles for supremacy among the princes of some one kingdom, or at most between two nations. Now we are to view Europe in a state of turmoil, where a number or, perhaps, all the great powers were constantly involved. The idea of a balance of power was gaining ground. It had first been advanced by Henry of Navarre, but he died before he could execute his plans. It simply means that the territory of Europe had become so adjusted among the rising modern nations that every established power was interested in the succession of the princes and the plans of conquest that transpired in all the other countries.

In 1618, war finally broke out in Europe. It lasted for thirty years and is known as the "Thirty Years' War." The real cause of this war was of a religious nature. The Protestants of the Empire were fearful of intolerance on the part of a promised succession of emperors. There had already been found two strong parties in the empire —the Protestant Union, headed by Frederick V., Elector Palatine and son-in-law of James I. of England; and the Catholic League, headed by Maximillian, Duke of Bavaria.

Emperor Matthias was childless, and was likely to be succeeded by his cousin Ferdinand, a strong Catholic. Indeed the Emperor had already secured for Ferdinand the crowns of Bohemia and of Hungary. The Bohemians

however deposed him and called Frederick V. to their throne. In the mean time, Ferdinand had become emperor as Ferdinand II., and called upon Maximillian and the Catholic League to champion his cause in Bohemia. Then followed four years of war known as the Bohemian-Palatine period. Frederick, looking in vain for aid from England, was defeated in nearly every battle, and finally was driven from his hereditary possessions in the Palatine. The most distinguished general of this period was Tilly who led the troops of Maximillian.[1]

New leaders of the Protestant cause arose in what was called the circle of Lower Saxony. These states chose as their leader Christian IV. of Denmark, who forthwith warned the Emperor against quartering troops upon the princes of this circle. Ferdinand continued the practice as well as took occasion to increase his forces. Thus began the Danish period of the Thirty Years' War (1625) Count Ernest of Mansfield entered into the war, but in trying to carry it into Austrian territory was utterly defeated and died. The Danish king marched to meet the imperial army under Tilly but was defeated.

The greatest military commander, unless we except Gustavus Adolphus, of this age now offered his services to the Emperor. This was Wallenstein, duke of Friedland, who raised a large army at his own expense and made war against the Protestant princes. Everything fell before him. Denmark was overrun and the king driven out upon his islands. All of Northern Germany submitted and peace was established (1629.) Now the Emperor determined to kill Protestantism, and to reduce the German princes to the condition of the nobility in other monarchies.

[1] For this period see Kohlrausch: "History of Germany," New York 1876, p. 318. *et seq*

Bohemia felt the extreme force of his anger where many were executed, and Catholic worship was restored. So zealous was Wallenstein in carrying out the edict of restitution, restoring all lands that had been seized from the church by laymen during this Danish period, that even the Catholic princes clamored for his dismissal. He was at last retired from command of the army.

Gustavus Adolphus.

It is said that on the same day that Wallenstein was dismissed by the Emperor, Gustavus Adolphus crossed from Sweden into Northern Germany to champion the Protestant cause (1630.) Heretofore, success had been with Ferdinand and his Catholic armies. The great statesman Richelieu, had at last become alarmed at the power of the Hapsburgs, and had promised material aid to the young king of Sweden. Gustavus met Tilly at Leipsic where the

imperial army was utterly defeated. The next winter Gustavus held his court at Mayence on the Rhine, "the head of Protestant Germany."[1] Success followed the young king everywhere and now the Protestant princes flocked to his camp. The next Fall in an engagement with Gustavus, Tilly, the imperial commander, was defeated, and in a subsequent battle he not only suffered a defeat, but received his death wound.

Wallenstein was now recalled to aid the Emperor. He came on the conditions, that he be made supreme commander, that he be allowed to raise his own troops, and that he be not subject to a second dismissal at the will of his enemies at the imperial court. The Emperor was willing to concede everything for the assistance of his greatest general. Again enormous numbers of soldiers flocked toward Wallenstein's camp, attracted by the scent of rich plunder. For it was of necessity granted that Wallenstein's army should support itself from forage gathered in the countries through which it passed.

Gustavus seized and fortified Nuremburg, and Wallenstein pitched his camp near by. But no battle was fought there. Then the Swedish king led his forces into Bavaria while Wallenstein entered Saxony. Gustavus turned about and followed the imperial army into Saxony. The armies met on the plain between Lutzen and Leipsic, and the greatest battle of the war was fought. Although Gustavus lost his life, the Swedish army was victorious and the greatest imperial general of the age was defeated. The great Protestant leader was gone, however, and Germany was at the mercy of Wallenstein. Jealousy on the part of imperial princes, and fear lest he were planning to build for himself a kingdom in the heart of Germany, led

[1] Labberton "General History," p. 129.

again to his dismissal from the chief command, and at last to his assassination (1634).

Now France could oppress her own Huguenot subjects, but at the same time support the Protestant princes of Germany and thus reduce the power of the Hapsburgs.[1] Still Richelieu did not engage actively in the war. He sought rather to keep the flames of war burning in order that they might destroy the Austrian royal house. Twelve years before the end of the war, this great statesman began to negotiate a treaty that would benefit France. About this time, Ferdinand III. became emperor, and a speedy settlement of affairs was looked for. But the Swedish general, Torstenson, kept up the struggle with a considerable degree of success, although it is claimed that now such generals as Torstenson, Banner, and Wrangel, Protestants; and Piccolomini and Merci, imperialists, were fighting for glory rather than for any particular cause.[2] The death of Richelieu and Louis XIII. postponed the proposed treaty until the Hapsburgs had tested the strength of their successors.

The Spaniards, hereditary enemies of the French, joined the imperial cause.[3] This led to renewed activity. The French general, Conde, won the great battles of Freiburg and Nordlingen, while the great Swedish generals, overran the whole of Northern Germany, and made even Vienna tremble. The Emperor was at last willing to come to some terms. Envoys from the various states assembled

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[1] Though this is the usually accepted idea, Buckle shows very plainly that Richelieu, though a cardinal, did not advocate intolerance, but that the French Protestants were allowed perfect freedom of worship, denied Catholics in their midst, and that Richelieu's policy was to suppress rebellion but to confirm all articles of religious freedom allowed by existing edicts. Vide Vol. I. p. 412 *et seq.*

[2] Labberton, Op. cit. p. 130.

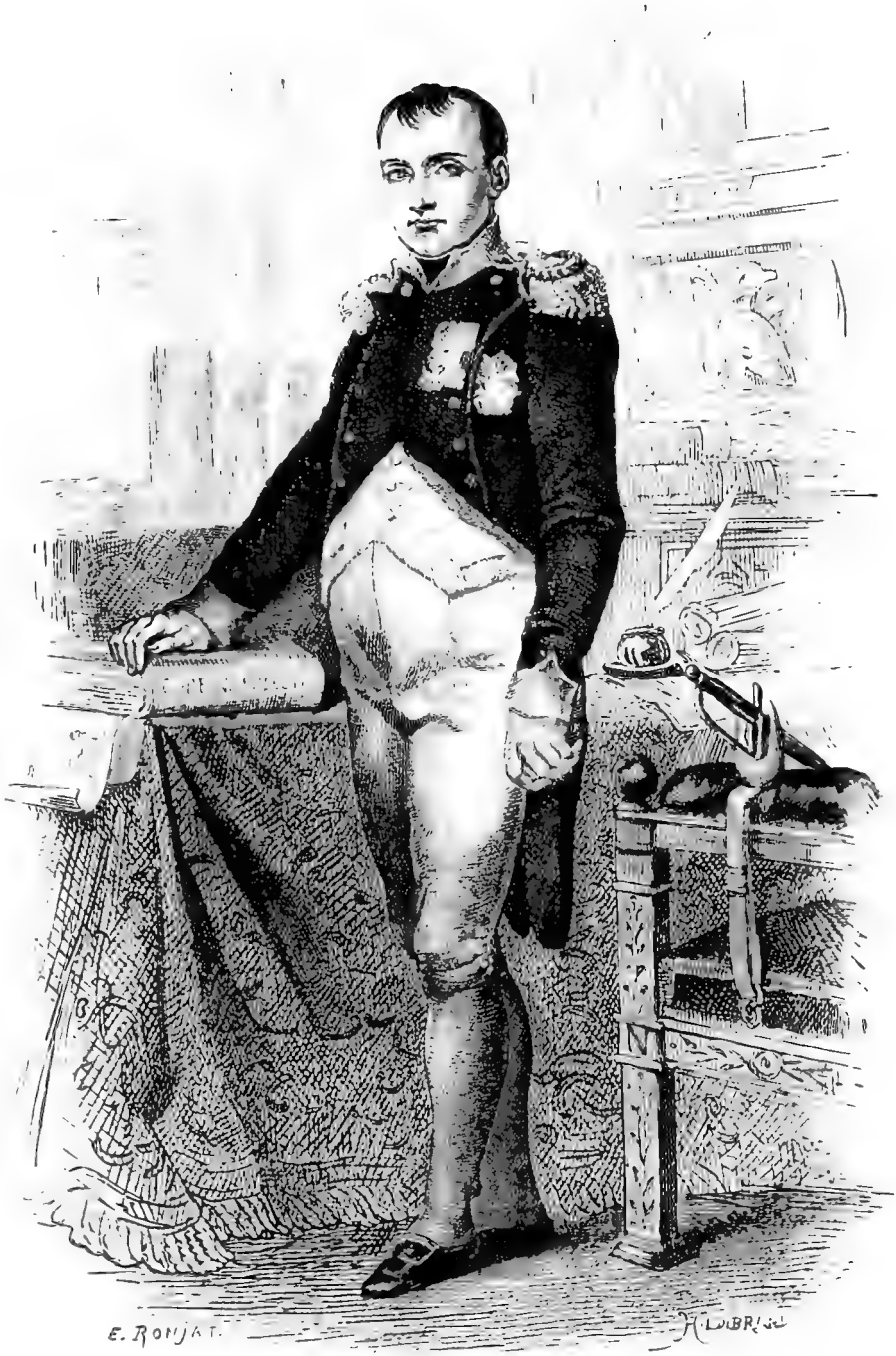
[3] Kohlrausch: "History of Germany," p 340 *et seq.*

at Osnaburg, and, after five years of wrangling, Germany and the empire were forced to submit to the dictation of foreigners anxious for spoil. Sweden, and particularly France, which had stood aloof but had figured every way to keep the cauldron of war boiling on German soil, now put in claims for heavy damages.

As a contemporary German writer said about these delegates at Osnaburg, "They already, in the very heart of Germany, discuss and dispute together over Germany, as to what they shall take from, and what they shall condescend to leave us, what feathers they shall pluck from the Roman eagle, and therewith decorate the Gallic cock."[1] At last the peace of Westphalia was signed, closing the war (1648). It established the individual independence of German princes, so long as they formed no alliance detrimental to the interests of the empire; it provided for the payment of indemnities to Sweden and several other states; it legalized the independence of the Swiss states; it restored the heir of Frederick V. (who had died) to the greater part of his possessions in the Palatine, and made him the eighth elector;[2] it gave Sweden a part of Pomerania, Wismar, and the Bishopricks of Werden and Bremen, and three votes in the German Diet.[3]

But France did not forget her own interests. She "received the bishopricks of Metz, Toul, and Verden, as much of Alsace as had belonged to Austria, the Sundgan, and the important fortresses of Brisach and Philipsburg." And Germany was forced to destroy a number of fortifications along the Upper Rhine, thus leaving the way clear for further conquests in the empire.[4] Thus ended the war which had devastated Germany, season after season, for

[1] Ibid. p. 345. [2] Vide Vol. III. p. 376.
[3] Labberton, Op. cit. p. 131. [4] Kohlrausch, Op. cit., p. 345.




NAPOLEON I, AS EMPEROR

thirty long years, and annually cost her millions of dollars. All that was gained by the war as a heritage to mankind was a spirit of greater toleration. We can but regret, however, the state of bigotry and persecution that necessitated this pearl of priceless value being bought at such a cost of life and bloodshed.

Cromwell.

Spain had not been a party to the treaty of Westphalia, and so hostilities did not cease between that country and Louis. On the other hand she had assisted the Frondeurs in their rebellion against their king and especially against his minister Mazarin. This was sufficient provocation for war. In fact hostilities had never really ceased. The French general, Conde, for siding with

the rebels, had been forced to find a home in Spain. Smarting under a sense of injustice, he afterward led a Spanish army into France.[1] Cromwell was now at the head of affairs in England, and formed an alliance with France. The English fleet swept the seas of Spanish vessels, and even blockaded some Spanish ports.[2] This war was closed by the peace of Pyrenees, whereby Louis obtained the Spanish princess, Maria Theresa, in marriage and large additions of territory. Conde was pardoned and restored to his possessions.

Seventeen years later, this marriage led to another war with Spain, for Louis supported his wife's claim to the Spanish Netherlands and to Burgundy, although one of the terms of the marriage was that she give up all claims as heir to Spanish possessions. The spirit of ambition thus displayed by Louis aroused the nations of Europe and led to the formation of the Tripple Alliance, or the union of England, Holland, and Sweden against France, which finally resulted in the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1668). Louis had to content himself with French Flanders;[3] but he was only abiding his own time for revenge. Mazarin died, and Louis grasped the reins of government, determined to rule alone. He called to his assistance the great financier, Colbert, who managed to supply the king with means for accomplishing his vast schemes.

The storm first broke over Holland. Louis was enraged at the Dutch for the seeming obstruction to his plans, and so he began to scheme for the conquest of Holland. First he purchased the neutrality of Sweden and of Charles II. of England. Then he sent his armies under

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[1] Patton: "Modern History," p. 347.

[2] Russell: "Modern Europe," Vol. II. p. 398 *et seq.*

[3] Vide Labberton: "General History," p. 247.

Conde and Turenne into Holland, where William of Orange was rapidly rising through the confidence of the people to the position of leader. By cutting dykes and

Louis XIV.

flooding large portions of his country, the latter checked the advance of the French (1672). The Dutch fleet was

now overmatched by the combined French and English navies. Van Ghent and De Ruyter were the commanders of the one, the Duke of York and Earl of Sandwich of the other.[1]

Holland was making every endeavor to obtain help in this unequal struggle. Sweden was in the pay of Louis, but the Prince of Orange enlisted the sympathies of Spain and Austria, or rather they saw that their own peace and safety were connected with those of Holland. England withdrew from the coalition with France. The struggle raged with varying success. Frederick William, the Great Elector of Brandenburg, joined the allies and defeated the Swedes; but Duquesne, the French admiral, defeated the Spanish and Dutch in three naval battles in the Mediterranean, in one of which battles De Ruyter was killed. Turenne, one of Louis' best generals, was also killed shortly before this time. Finally Louis signed the treaty of Nimeguen (1678). France gained possession of Franche Comte (the Burgundies) "and many large fortresses and towns in Flanders,"[2] and the Great Elector, Frederick William, restored his Swedish conquests in Pomerania. The sleepless ambition of Louis soon brought on another war. Anxious to have a share in the business of all other European powers, he put forward the claim of his sister-in-law, Charlotte Elizabeth, to a portion of the Palatinate. In the meanwhile, the League of Augsburg had been formed among the states of the Empire, Spain, and Holland as a protection against the power of Louis.[3] Because this league protested against this claim of Louis and urged the fulfillment of the treaties of Westphalia, the

[1] Russel: "Modern Europe," Vol. II. pp. 464-5.
[2] Gregory, p. 157.
[3] On this see Russell: "Modern Europe," Vol. II. p. 524.

Pyrenees, and Nimeguen, Louis ordered his armies to devastate the Palatinate. William of Orange had now become king of England, so that the natural English senti-

William, Prince of Orange.

ment of enmity against France was nourished and inflamed by their king. Then, too, Louis had enlisted himself in the

cause of the deposed English king, James II., and hoped to restore him (1686).

But Louis had passed the summit of his power. All Europe was uniting against him. The forces of Holland, Spain, the Empire, Sweden, Denmark, and Savoy, known as the Grand Alliance, were united against France. Louis was not at all dismayed, but marshalled his armies and sent them into the field. Fate was for a time kind to him. His generals, Luxembourg and Catinat, were victorious in a number of battles; but France felt unable to continue the unequal contest. Louis ceased hostilities and retired into his own kingdom. This was but a preparatory step to the peace of Ryswick which closed the war (1697). Louis restored all of his conquests and acknowledged the Prince of Orange as William III. King of England.

The motives that Louis had in dropping this contest were probably two-fold. First, France had become completely exhausted by her continued wars; and, second, Louis was planning to place his son, the Dauphin, or at least his grandson, Philip of Anjou, upon the Spanish throne. Just as the seventeenth century was closing, Charles II. of Spain breathed his last, willing his throne to Philip of Anjou, who was crowned Philip V. The house of Hapsburg was changed for the house of Bourbon.[1]

We have once more arrived at the War of the Spanish Succession, and have now considered under two aspects the political events of the seventeenth century. We will commence the eighteenth century with this war. Leopold considered his son, Charles, entitled to the Spanish crown. While Philip was acknowledged as king at Madrid and in Castile, Leopold's son was declared Charles III. and his standard was raised in Catalonia, Aragon, and the

1 Above p. 100.

Balearic Islands. Louis reigned for fifteen years in the eighteenth century, thirteen of which were occupied with this "War of the Spanish Succession." William III. died in the second year of the century and Louis supported the son of James II., or the Pretender, in his claims to the English throne. Thus Louis soon found himself in-

Prince Eugene.

volved in another war with the allied powers of Europe, under the lead of three great men—Marlborough, the English general; Eugene, the prince of Savoy and Imperial general; and Heinsius, grand pensionary of Holland.[1] This was the war of the Spanish Succession. In addition, Louis had internal troubles, for the Calvinists of

[1] Vide Labberton, Op. cit. p. 136.

Cevennes were in open and armed rebellion. Marlborough and Eugene are spoken of as supreme in their own countries. "In the summer they fought, and in the winter they governed and negotiated."[1] Such were the leaders with whom Louis had to contend. While one French army was trying to subdue the Calvinists, another, under Tallard, met Marlborough and Eugene at Blenheim, where one of the most terrible battles of history was fought. The slaughter was so great that only a fraction of the French army reached the Rhine.

France was now almost exhausted, and Louis was willing to purchase peace at almost any price. But the terms offered by the allies, one clause of which was that Louis should send an army into Spain to dethrone his own grandson, were, of course, rejected. However, after the fall of Marlborough in England, after the death of Emperor Joseph, and the Hapsburg claimant to the Spanish crown became Emperor, the alliance dissolved and the various powers formed separate treaties with France, which are comprehended in the Treaty of Utrecht (1713).[2] Philip V. remained king of Spain; Emperor Charles V. received Mantua, Naples, Milan, and the Spanish Netherlands; Italy and Flanders became alienated; Victor Amadeus of Savoy received Sicily; and England was secured in the possession of the fortress of Gibraltar, commanding the entrance to the Mediterranean.

Thus was ushered in the eighteenth century. While Louis XIV. was almost dictating to the great powers of Western Europe, the world was astonished by the sudden appearance on the stage of action of two soldier-rulers in Northern and Eastern Europe. We have already mentioned their names—Charles XII. of Sweden, and Peter

[1] Ibid. [2] Ibid. 137.

the Great of Russia. The first decade of the century witnessed the brilliant part of the former's career. We have already seen him dictating to the Danes, the Saxons, and the Poles. We have seen him defeating the armies of Peter the Great at Narva, but have also seen his army almost annihilated by the Russian Tzar at Pultowa. Hoping for a turn of the tide, Charles spent five years in vain endeavor to arouse the Turks against Russia, and then returned to his kingdom to organize new armies and plan new victories in the Baltic regions. Prussia, Russia, and England had, in his absence, taken possession of some Swedish territory along the Baltic, and Charles, though overmatched, was about to try to recover his territory when he was killed—shot, it is thought, by one of his own attendants. This Northern war was ended by the peace of Nystadt, which gave Russia her Baltic provinces.[1] Peter was vested with the title of Emperor of all the Russias, and styled "the Father of his country," Peter the Great (1721).

The Swedish crown now passed to a succession of weaker monarchs, the king loosing much of his hereditary power, until the last third of the century, when Gustavus II. occupied the throne. He restored the power of the king, and waged a successful war against Russia, the old enemy of Sweden. After Peter the Great, none of the sovereigns of Russia were remarkable for strength or energy until Catherine II., dethroning her husband, Peter III., usurped the powers of the throne. "She reigned with great sagacity and brilliancy,"[2] and we might add very despotically as well. Another Turkish war occurred during her reign.[3] Holland, Belgium, and Denmark played unim-

1 Labberton: "General History," pp. 141-2.

2 Gregory: "Handbook of History," p. 124.

3 For which see Russell: "Modern Europe," pp. 521-2.

portant parts in the affairs of this century. Italy was mostly divided among the other powers of Europe. Spain had come to occupy a secondary place in the affairs of the continent, although her power was by no means to be ignored. Philip V. ruled nearly half a century. By seiz-

Catharine II.

ing Sardinia and Sicily, he brought the great Quadruple Alliance (England, France, Holland, and the Empire) against him, forcing him to give up these two islands, and to dismiss his prime minister, the ambitious and offensive Alberoni (1718). The last years of his reign were occupied by a war with England, arising on account of his punishment of English smugglers captured on his coasts.

Philip left one son, Don Carlos, king of Naples; another, Philip, Duke of Parma; and his Spanish crown to another, Ferdinand VI. Thirteen years afterward, Don Carlos became King of Spain as Charles III. These three Bourbon kings instituted reforms that were gradually raising their country in prosperity and power, and would have finally resulted in elevating Spain to its former place among European nations, had their successors pursued the same wise policy.[1] In the reign of the last of the three, was formed the Bourbon Family Compact by which the kings of France and Spain bound themselves to protect each other from all enemies. The enemies of one were the enemies of the other and the possessions of the different branches of the house of Bourbon became as one nation—the subjects of any part were admitted to naturalization in all other Bourbon dominions. It was under Charles III. that Spain allied herself with France to assist the American colonies in gaining their independence. An attempt was made during this war to drive the English from Gibraltar, but the fort was besieged in vain. Charles IV. wore the crown when the century closed.

Let us now glance at England. We have already noticed the connection of this country with the wars of Louis XIV. William III. was succeeded by Anne, another daughter of James II., and wife of the Danish prince, to the exclusion of the Pretender (son of James II., acknowledged by Louis as James III.), and the war dragged along. Her reign[2] was rendered remarkable by the number of brilliant authors who wrote at this time. Such were Addison, Steele, Swift, Pope, Thompson, Young, and Watts. Though Anne was the mother of seventeen

1 Vide Buckle: "History of Civilization," Vol. II. p. 92 *et seq.*

2 Buckle calls her a "foolish and ignorant woman."

children, none of them lived to succeed her. Consequently, on her death, George of Hanover, a descendant of Elizabeth, daughter of James I., was crowned king. In his person, England had a king who could not speak the language of the people over whom he was called to rule (1714).

Anne.

We are to notice another effort of the Pretender to secure the crown. He landed at Peterhead, but soon returned to France. During the reign of George I., England became a party to the Quadruple Alliance against Spain, mentioned above. The South Sea[1] Scheme, a wild speculating plan for creating an extensive trade with Spanish South America, and by its profits paying the public debt,

[1] Consult Knight: "Pictorial England," Vol. IX. pp. 372-3.

was one of the unfortunate events of this reign. But at last Sir Robert Walpole became first lord of the treasury, and premier of the English cabinet. His long term of twenty-one years was a season of prosperity to England. His was a peace policy. Being a whig, his measures met with bitter opposition from the tories.

Here then we are introduced to the two political parties in England who were striving for supremacy. The tories were the conservative party believing in the old institutions—the ancient constitution, the divine right of kings, etc. The whigs were the progressive party. The latter came into power in the time of William III. (Prince of Orange), and maintained itself at the head of affairs for half of a century. Bolingbroke, one of Queen Anne's favorites, who had exiled himself upon the accession of George I., was soon pardoned and became one of the most bitter leaders of the tories against the government of Walpole. Still the latter continued to rule the kingdom until long after the accession of George II. (1727).

George II. became involved in a war with Spain, to which we have already referred, although Walpole was always for peace. In the war of the Austrian Succession, that distracted the powers of Europe during the middle of the century, England sided with the Austrian Queen, Maria Theresa, this too, even while the war with Spain continued. King George accompanied the troops. At the battle of Fontenoy, in Belgium, the English army suffered a great defeat. Once more England suffered from the ambitious dreams of a descendant of James II. His grandson, Charles Edward, supported by the French, landed in Scotland, captured Edinburgh, was victorious at Preston Pans, and then advanced on England, but was

utterly routed at Culloden, barely escaping to the Continent. The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle restored peace to Europe (1748).[1]

Scarcely eight years passed before England became involved in another continental war known as the Seven Years' War.[2] France, of course, sided with the enemies

Walpole.

of England. This war extended to the colonies that these two nations had planted, side by side, in both America and the East Indies, known in American history as the French and Indian War. In fact, the American colonies had been fighting for two years when war was declared (1756). William Pitt, the Great Commoner, was at this juncture called upon to form a ministry. The success of

1 This treaty must not be confounded with the earlier Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. See above. 2 Described below.

England during this part of the century is greatly due to his skillful management.

In India, the famous Surajah Dowlah was induced by the French to march upon Calcutta, and the story of the prisoners in the deadly Black Hole is connected with his name (1757). But Lord Clive[1] at last conquered this native chieftain, drove the French from Calcutta, and "laid the foundations of the great empire of the English

George III.

in the East Indies."[2] The English were successful upon the sea also, under Admirals Boscawen and Hawke. But, in the midst of this war, George II. died, and George III. "the best of the Hanoverian kings," succeeded to the throne (1759).[3] The war in America also finally turned in

[1] Vide Macaulay: "Essays," Lord Clive. Gregory, p. 94.

[3] The following is Buckle's estimate of George III.: "Every liberal sentiment, everything approaching to reform, nay, even the mere men-

favor of the English. Havana was taken and the French possessions conquered. At the Peace of Paris between England, France, and Spain, England obtained the French possessions east of the Mississippi, and from Spain, Florida (1763).

William Pitt had retired from the premiership, to be succeeded by the Earl of Bute, and then by George Grenville, who was the author of the "Stamp Act," which was

William Pitt.

the first act that led the American colonists to resist the English government. The second term of William Pitt, now Earl of Chatham, was short. He came into power too late to prevent the American war. But it was in the premiership of Lord North that the war of the American Revolution occurred. We will treat of that in a future

tion of inquiry, was an abomination in the eyes of that narrow and ignorant prince. Without knowledge, without taste, without even a glimpse of one of the sciences, or a feeling for one of the fine arts, education had done nothing to change a mind which nature had more than usually contracted."

chapter. During the ten years of this struggle for independence, however, England became involved in war with France and Spain. The exercise of her assumed right to search vessels belonging to neutral countries for articles contraband of war, led to the formation of the great "Armed Neutrality" for the protection of neutral vessels. By the terms of this league, Russia, Prussia, Sweden, Denmark united for the protection of their merchants. The Peace of Versailles closed this war and established the independence of the United States.

At the close of this war, William Pitt, "the younger," became prime minister of England at the early age of twenty-four. In India, Tippoo Sahib, Sultan of Mysore, rose in arms against the English, but Warren Hastings concluded a satisfactory treaty of peace with the Sultan. Upon the return of Hastings to England, however, he was impeached for maladministration. After a trial of seven years, in which Burke, Fox, and Sheridan distinguished themselves by their eloquence, he was acquitted.[1] At the close of the century, England, as well as the rest of Europe, was disturbed by the great French Revolution, and clubs of sympathizers were formed throughout the country. Fox and Sheridan favored France, while Burke bitterly denounced the violence of the republicans.

From the first, the English government had sided against Republican France, by forming a league with Prussia.[2] Three years later, a general coalition was formed by the monarchs of Europe against the spread of republican ideas and particularly against the new French govern-

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1 Vide Macaulay's essay: "Warren Hastings."

2 Vide the French History of M. Thiers: "Histoire de la Revolution Francaise," Vol. I. p. 212 *et seq.*

ment. England was the prime agent in this movement.[1] Lord Nelson, one of the greatest admirals that the world has ever known, commanded the English fleet during this troublous time. He succeeded in driving Napoleon's fleet from the Mediterranean, and, at the beginning of the new century, the Danish fleet was defeated by him in the harbor of their own capital, Copenhagen.[2] Lord Nelson was killed at the battle of Trafalgar just as he was gaining another great victory over the French (1805).

Toward the middle of the eighteenth century, the German states became involved in a war over the succession to the Austrian possessions of the Emperor. This war has been called the "War of the Austrian Succession." Charles VI. of Austria, knowing that the male line of the Hapsburg princes would become extinct upon his death, laid his plans to place the succession upon his daughter, Maria Theresa. In order to avoid trouble, Charles had issued his celebrated "Pragmatic Sanction," appointing his daughter heir to his thrones. The closing years of his life were occupied in securing the consent of other European powers to this arrangement, and the Emperor died believing that there would be no opposition to his disposal of the Hapsburg crowns.

But, as we have noticed before, there was rising in Northern Germany a comparatively new state, whose king was destined to vie with the Hapsburgs in power and, finally, to secure the Imperial crown. This was Prussia, whose king, Frederick William I., had organized a powerful and well-disciplined army. He died the same year as Charles VI. (1740). He left his crown, army, and a full treasury to his son, Frederick II., better known to history

[1] Op. cit. Tome III. pp. 276-7.

[2] Vide Southey: "Life of Lord Nelson," London, 1867.

as Frederick the Great. Frederick, not regarding himself as a party to the Pragmatic Sanction, at once demanded Silesia as a possession of the Prussian crown. On Maria Theresa's refusal to give up that state, Frederick poured his armies into Silesia and took it by force.[1]

This act of Frederick let loose the "dogs of war," all the more as the powers of Europe, except Russia, seemed to think the time had come to dismember the Austrian empire. The elector of Bavaria, a descendant through the female line from Emperor Ferdinand I., modestly claimed the Austrian possessions as his own; France claimed Belgium; and Spain, Milan. Finding herself thus surrounded by greedy enemies, Maria Theresa threw herself upon the loyalty of her Hungarian subjects, who rallied at once to her aid. Although she found that a secret alliance had been concluded by France, Spain, Bavaria, Saxony, and Prussia, her armies were soon in the field, and fought with considerable success. Prussia finally withdrew from the alliance, and England came to the assistance of the Empress-Queen. Her armies met with one success after another. But Frederick again joined the alliance, and the French gained a victory at Fontenoy.[2] By this time the elector of Bavaria had died, and his possessions had passed to his son, who consented to the election of Francis Joseph, husband of Maria Theresa, to the Imperial throne; so that, after eight years of war, the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was signed. Maria Theresa was confirmed in her Austrian possessions; her husban Francis Joseph, was made emperor; Frederick II. held Silesia; and nearly all other conquests were restored. Thus was ended the War of the Austrian Succession.

[1] On this, vide Macaulay's Essays, and Kohlrausch: "History of Germany," pp. 376-7. [2] Above p. 121.

Eight years of comparative peace followed, but there seems to have been a restless spirit abroad in Europe. Maria Theresa with regret saw Frederick occupying the rich field of Silesia. George II. of England feared lest his Hanoverian possessions would be snatched from him. So France, Prussia, and Sweden quietly plotted together, while Austria, England, and Saxony were as busily forming counter-plots. Each faction was endeavoring to gain as many allies from the other powers as possible.[1] In the shifting around that followed, England was induced to break with Austria and unite with Prussia. France and Austria, who had been enemies for three hundred years, were constrained now to unite their forces. Sweden was controlled by France, so that Frederick at last realized that a powerful coalition of Austria, Russia, France, Sweden, and Saxony was forming to humble him. Thereupon he demanded of Maria Theresa a plain statement of her intentions. Her answer being evasive, Frederick poured nearly seventy thousand admirably disciplined soldiers into Saxony, demanding passage-way into Bohemia, and the great "Seven Years' War" was begun. This proved to be one of the most unfortunate wars of modern times, and it presaged the future greatness of Prussia.

Great battles were fought in rapid succession. Frederick astonished the world. His armies gained victories at Prague, Rosbach, Leuthen, Breslau, Crevelt, Schweidnitz, Zorndorf, Minden, and Torgau. But he met with many severe defeats, and his resources became so exhausted that, had not Russia, under Peter III., indirectly aided him by deserting the allies, Prussia would almost certainly have been overthrown. Frederick was able to form a not dishonorable treaty, for the Peace of Hubertsburg closed

[1] Vide Kohlrausch, Op. cit. p. 382.

the war by replacing everything as it was at the close of the previous war, and thus Silesia remained attached to Prussia. Germany, however, had been completely devastated, and nearly nine hundred thousand lives had been spent to settle the affairs of Europe (1763).

The last third of this century witnessed the disgraceful partitions of Poland among her more powerful neighbors. Surrounded by Russia, Austria, and Prussia, her rich fields were envied by the monarchs of these countries. Her crown was elective and the cause of much quarreling. Finally Russia, Austria, and Prussia, agreed to share among themselves the better part of her territory. By the first partition Russia obtained twenty-five hundred square miles; Austria, thirteen hundred; and Prussia, seven hundred. Twenty years later, Prussia received more than a thousand, and Russia more than four thousand square miles of Polish territory. Before the close of the century, the remainder of Polish territory was unequally divided among these three greedy neighbors. By these partitions of Poland, Russia increased her territory by one hundred and eighty one thousand square miles; Austria, by forty-five thousand; and Prussia, by fifty-seven thousand.

Joseph II. succeeded his father, Francis I., as emperor of Germany, and finally succeeded his mother, Maria Theresa, in her Austrian possessions. Joseph II. was unfortunate in many respects. He endeavored to raise the condition of his subjects, but failed in many of his most cherished plans. He joined Catharine II. of Russia in a war against the Turks, but the powers of Europe were alarmed at the possible growth of the members of this new alliance. Therefore the Christian nations, England, Holland, and Prussia, formed a coalition to assist the Turks. But upon the death of Joseph and the accession

of his brother, Leopold II., Austria adopted a peace policy and a great war was averted. Austria became involved in the wars of the French Revolution (for the un-

Early Turkish Warfare.

fortunate French queen, Marie Antoinette, was a sister of Leopold) and at times was left almost alone to face the armies of Napoleon. In the beginning of the next cen-

tury, Leopold became first Emperor of Austria, giving up his title as Emperor of Germany. The German Empire, as successor to the old Roman Empire, ceased to exist, and the German states were severed for three-fourths of a century, when they were re-united under the lead of Prussia.

The greatest event of European history during the eighteenth century was the French Revolution, of which we will now attempt a connected account. We have already traced the history of that nation down to the close of Louis XIV.'s long and active reign (1715). His great-grandson, Louis XV., a boy five years old, was his successor, with the profligate Duke of Orleans as regent. The government of France adopted a peace policy toward England.[1] Though a Bourbon occupied the Spanish throne, we have seen how the powers of Europe became alarmed at the ambitious plans of Alberoni, Philip V.'s minister, and how France became united with her hereditary enemies, by joining with England, Holland, and the Empire to form the great Quadruple Alliance against Spain. This alliance soon brought the Spanish monarch to his senses. He dismissed his minister and accepted the terms of peace that the alliance offered him.[2]

The spirit of speculation was rife in Western Europe about this time. Great schemes were daily formed for the rapid accumulation of wealth. We have already seen how financial ruin was brought upon many wealthy people in England by investing their money in the South Sea Bubble. In France, this was preceded by a scheme equally as ruinous. It was about five years after the accession of Louis XV. that the Scotchman, John Law,

1 See Russell: "Modern Europe," Vol. III. p. 99.
2 Above.

announced his great Mississippi Scheme. It was proposed to form a company for working the mines of fabulous wealth that were supposed to exist along the banks of the great American river. Shares were sold at enormous prices, but proved to be worthless paper. The money was squandered, and the speculators beggared, while Law was forced to fly for his life.[1]

John Law.

Philip, Duke of Orleans and regent of France, died, after having ruled for eight years. He left a reputation as "one of the most elegant, accomplished, and dissipated men of his time." After his death, France was ruled by Cardinal Fleury, whose policy was peace. Such too was that of Walpole across the Channel, so that Europe was

[1] Vide Russell, Op. cit. pp. 142-3.

blest with comparative rest for nearly twenty years.[1] Then the French king tried to force his father-in-law, Stanislaus, upon the people of Poland, as king. This family scheme was objected to by both Russia and Austria. The brief war that followed closed by making Stanislaus Duke of Lorraine, with the proviso that, upon his death, the duchy should become a French possession, which accordingly it did some thirty years later.

Louis XV., by this same treaty, became a party to the Pragmatic Sanction. But no sooner had Charles VI. died, than the French, claiming Belgium, supported the elector of Bavaria in his struggle for the Imperial crown. We have already given the results of this struggle in which all Europe became involved. During the last years of his reign, Louis was governed by a succession of abandoned mistresses, most noted of whom were Madame de Chateauroux, Madame de Pompadour, and Countess du Barry. But in those days, kings looked upon such a dissolute sort of life as did George II. of England, "that gallantry was becoming a prince."[2]

In her struggle with England, about the middle of the century, for American possessions, France lost Canada and most of Louisiana. Louis XV. was the originator of that family compact between the Bourbon rulers that united other powers against that family.[3] But just as the last quarter of the eighteenth century began, Louis died, and the crown passed to his grandson, Louis XVI. He is mentioned as an "amiable, but awkward young man of twenty." Though free from many of the vices of his predecessors, he was lacking in those qualities necessary for one who would wear the crown during such troublous

1 Ibid. 148.

2 Knight: "Pictorial England." Vol. III. p. 397.

3 Above.

times as were now upon France. For, on the whole, the young king had come into possession of no enviable heritage; the treasury was exhausted, and the country was on the verge of civil war.

The king seems to have been bent on giving his subjects as good a government as possible, so he made the aged Maurepas prime minister. First Turgot and, afterward, Necker were called to the chair of minister of finance. But the nobility had set their influence against all the reforms proposed, and these able financiers were forced to give place to others more popular. Since the later years of Louis XIV., the spirit of oppression had been gaining strength in France until now "a supreme and irresponsible control was exercised over the whole country by the clergy, the nobles, and the crown." "Everything was for the governors, and nothing for the governed." Had Louis wished—and he seems to have endeavored to do it—to give his people more liberties, the influence of the clergy and profligate nobility in governmental circles would have forbidden it. As it was, "there was neither free press, nor free parliament, nor free debates."[1] Such were the times in which Louis XVI. was called to the throne of France. One gleam of light shines out in the darkness of these times, though here we have to thank the feeling of enmity toward England, which led France to aid the American colonies in their struggle with England. But this point will be considered later.

In spite of the persecution against freedom of thought instituted by Louis XIV.,[2] there had ever been a few fear-

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[1] Buckle, Vol. I. pp. 539-543.

[2] Vide Buckle, Op. cit. p. 494 *et seq.* for a scathing though just review of the "Age of Louis XIV. and the resulting influence that led down to the French Revolution."

less writers, who, though knowing full well the dangers of their course, were bold enough to proclaim advanced ideas. Through a long line of unfortunate authors, whose martyrdom had given strength to the cause of freedom, there had arisen a class of writers who were fearless and tireless in their criticisms of both Church and State. Such were Montesquieu, Voltaire, and Rousseau. They pictured to the people their deplorable condition. The unequal division of the land, the arbitrary nature of the government, and the injustice of taxing only the industrious classes, as well as the burdensome tax on certain necessary articles, such as salt, etc., were all held up as grievances to the people who were ever willing listeners.[1] Nothing but a violent revolution that would stir up the whole social fabric of the kingdom could change the nature of things in France. Even at the cost of the torrents of blood that were shed, we can but see the justness of the cause that led the oppressed and down-trodden people of all occupations to rise against an idle, profligate nobility, who lived in ease and luxury, who reaped the profits of the labors of the industrious, and who, by their corrupt lives, disgraced the laws of civilization.

When, however, Parliament refused to sanction the measures proposed by Louis' new minister, Colonne, it was banished to Troyes, though speedily recalled to Paris. Necker was at last re-appointed minister of finance, and he united with Parliament in demanding that the States-General, that had not met for nearly two hundred years, should be assembled. This demand was finally granted. The delegation consisted of twelve hundred members, representing the people, the nobility, and the clergy, though the representatives of the first were just equal in num-

[1] Patton: "Modern History," p. 398.

ber to those of the other two. The King and the nobility were desirous of forming two assemblies, and so demanded that the popular representatives vote by themselves. This they refused to do. Finally the popular delegation organized themselves into a "National Constituent Assembly," and compelled such representatives of the nobility and clergy as were desirous of legislating at all, to unite with them in deliberating upon public affairs.[1] But a number

Storming of the Bastile.

of the nobility, alarmed by popular risings in their provinces, hurridly emigrated to foreign lands. An indication of the intensity of popular feeling at this time was the storming of the Bastile or state prison, because of rumors that the King was assembling at Versailles an army to march upon Paris. The prison was left a mass of ruins, and the commandant was killed.

[1] Vide Thiers: "Histoire de la Revolution Francaise," Vol. I. p. 39.

This National Constituent Assembly finally prepared a new constitution, which it presented to the king. Louis accepted it and confirmed it with his oath, though it stripped him of his most cherished prerogatives, depriving him of the support of the nobility and of such executive power as might control the excesses of the Assembly.[1] After establishing this constitution, the Assembly dissolved, declaring themselves ineligible to membership of the Legislative Assembly for which the new constitution provided. Thus, by their own act, did they deprive their country of the help and counsel of her ablest men just when she was most in need of such help.

At last, the royal family, terrified at the course affairs were taking, attempted to escape into German territory, where the King knew that the Emperor and other rulers awaited him with troops and assistance to enforce his authority at Paris. But through the suspicion of an official at Varennes and the mild disposition of Louis, they were stopped and returned to Paris, prisoners. It must be observed that, during all this trouble, the most radical Revolutionists could not honestly charge their king with a desire to avenge insults or assert his rights by the shedding of blood; but he calmly and manfully attempted to maintain his authority without violence. He was from this time, however, a virtual prisoner in his own palace.

The new national Legislative Assembly of 1791 convened October first. It was by no means a body of the ablest men of the nation, because they had barred themselves out. The nation was at the mercy of some seven hundred inexperienced men, who were divided into the most hostile factions, willing to enact the most extreme measures submitted by their leaders. The Assembly soon became

[1] Thiers, Op. cit.

divided into four bodies—the Feuillants, the Center, the Girondists, and the Cordeliers or the Mountain. The last two parties were the ruling spirits of the Assembly. The Girondists were moderate republicans, while the Mountain were the fierce democrats. The former gained a majority, forced the King to form a Girondist cabinet, and they ruled France.

Execution of Louis XVI.

They then forced Louis to declare war against Emperor Francis II. who, as the queen's brother, was naturally endeavoring to unite the sovereigns of Europe in some plan to aid the French monarch. In addition, the sovereigns of Austria and Prussia were harboring many of the French nobility who had fled from their homes, and whom

BATTLE OF SADOVA

KÖNIGSGRÄTZ

W. CAMPHAUSEN,
Court Painter to the Emperor of Germany

the more radical members of the Assembly wished to have declared traitors. This action of the European sovereigns alarmed the Revolutionists to such a degree that a Parisian mob stormed the royal palace. The King was forced to throw himself upon the Assembly for protection; and the members of the royal family were thrown into the Temple as prisoners. One month later, the mob butchered the inmates of the various prisons. As the first month of the new year was drawing to a close, the King himself, calm and manly to the last, was guillotined. Before the year closed, Queen Marie Antoinette was beheaded, as was also the King's sister, Elizabeth.

In the meantime, the National Legislative Assembly had given place to a National Convention,[1] of which the Girondists and the Mountain were the leading factors. The former were losing their power, while the latter were increasing in strength. The power of the latter lay not in their numbers, but in the fact that they were "supported by the Jacobin Club,[2] the Commune,[3] and consequently the Parisian mob, which was then the chief power in the state."[4] In September previous to the death of the king, this convention had abolished royalty and declared France to be a republic; and, in the following March, a "Committee of Public Safety" was appointed under the presidency of Marat. Scarcely two months passed when he fell by the

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[1] On this point, vide Labberton: "General History," p. 146.

[2] This was one of the most celebrated organizations of the Revolutionary period. It was organized soon after the assembling of the States-General, and advocated the extremest revolutionary measures in government. Its name came from the place of assembly, a convent of the Dominican Friars of St. James.

[3] *Commune* is the French word for municipality. Every town and village in France has its Commune, in which is vested the corporate property.

[4] Ibid.

hand of the assassin, Charlotte Corday, who suffered death as a penalty for the deed.[1]

Next the Girondists fell before the increasing power of the Mountain, and more than a score of them were sent to the block. The "Reign of Terror" began (1793). Still, at this time, there were three parties; one led by Herbert, clamorous for terror and blood; another by Desmoulins and Danton, and the third under Robespierre. The last named character was at the head of the Jacobin Club. He represented Paris in the National Convention, and soon became the leading figure in France. It is hard to conceive of his strange position. He is said to have remonstrated against the frightful massacres that were occurring. Still he claimed that "there are periods in revolutions when to live is a crime." With this as a motto he directed the hand of Charlotte Corday against his rival, Marat; advocated the deaths of the Girondists; and overthrew the Herbertists and Dantonists, sending their leaders to the guillotine.

Robespierre now ruled without a rival. Military tribunals were erected, and France swam in the blood of her citizens. No distinctions were made. All offences were punished alike with death, and the command of Robespierre was often the only form of trial allowed the victims. Titles of rank and fortune had from the beginning been forbidden. *Citoyen* and *citoyenne* took their place. The King was tried as Louis Capet, and the assumption of any distinctive rank was equivalent to a death warrant. But these bloody measures at last recoiled on their chief supporter. Robespierre fell by means of the same methods he advocated. His enemies becoming powerful, led him without trial to the same scaffold from which the blood of

[1] Vide Thiers: "Histoire de la Revolution Francaise," Vol. IV. p. 251.

thousands of his victims had for months almost incessantly poured (1794).

The fall of Robespierre led to a new order of things. A new constitution was adopted. The government now became vested in a Directory of five men, assisted by two chambers or legislative assemblies; the lower chamber was styled the Council of Five Hundred; the upper, the

Robespierre.

Council of the Ancients, consisting of two hundred and fifty members. For nearly five years France enjoyed a better form of government than at any time since the fall of the monarchy. But the whole nation was in a deplorable state of ruin. Throughout the country agriculture, art, and manufactures were neglected. The State had absolutely no resources, and the roads, canals, etc., were fast falling to ruin. Yet, during all this time, the unpaid,

unfed, and unclothed armies of the Republic were holding their enemies at bay; for, all the crowned heads of Europe had early become alarmed at the spread of republican ideas. There was, from the day of the death of Louis XVI., organized opposition, throughout Europe, to the new government. Among the first commanders of the French army, was Marquis de Lafayette, but, as he sympathized with the king and the nobility, he was soon obliged to seek safety by flight into Belgium.[1] Carnot managed the military affairs for the Republic for a long time. He adopted the plan of promoting to higher rank such soldiers as from time to time distinguished themselves in actual service. And thus we always find the ablest men in command of the armies. Such were Hoche, Pichegru, and Kleber, who were everywhere successful over the allied powers.

While this revolutionary spirit centered around Paris, we must bear in mind that all the cities of France were imbued with the same spirit; and the communes of Lyons, Rheims, Orleans, and Versailles acted in unison with the commune of the capital, butchering such of the nobles as had not previously sought protection in flight to foreign states. The military tribunal at Nantes put fifteen thousand people to death, while at Paris, the number of executions averaged three hundred and fifty per month.[2] In the mean time, the English and Spaniards had occupied Toulon, and the French government determined to compel them to withdraw. Dugommier conducted the seige, and Napoleon Bonaparte was in command of the artillery.

[1] Lafayette was a pure patriot. But any appearance of an inclination to show justice was regarded as a sign of enmity to popular interests. Vide: "Student's Modern Europe," pp. 526-7; also Buckle, Vol. I. p. 337, where Burke's opinion of Lafayette is criticised.

[2] Patton: "Modern History," p. 405.

Here it was that this young Corsican came first into such prominence as to be marked for promotion. Just as the National Convention was transferring its power to the Directory, there occurred great popular uprisings in Paris, and Bonaparte, who was present as a subordinate officer of the republican troops, gained an easy but a bloody victory over the popular mob.

The Directory prepared for a vigorous prosecution of the war with the allied European powers. A triple campaign against Austria was decided upon. This was the war that witnessed the meteor-like rise of Napoleon. The general outlines of his life are so well known that we need only refer to them in general terms. From this time, for twenty years the history of France and that of Europe centers around this military genius, whom it took the allied forces of all the powers of Europe to check in his career of success. At the head of his army, Napoleon entered Italy; and Savoy, Milan, Lombardy, Parma, Naples, Mantua, and Rome were either conquered or obliged to sue for peace. Finally the Peace of Campo Formio closed the campaign by giving Belgium to the French, and Venice to Austria (1797).

Napoleon's next great campaign was directed against Egypt, planning to make this his center of operations, and seize from England her Indian possessions. But the annihilation of his fleet by Nelson in the harbor of Alexandria compelled him to change his plan and attempt the conquest of Syria. Thence he returned to Paris where the Directory was unable to govern in harmony. A revolution occurred at this time, and the Directory was supplanted by the Consulate (1799). Three consuls were chosen with Napoleon Bonaparte as First Consul for ten years. He soon submitted a new constitution to the vote of the

people. It was adopted and made France in reality a military monarchy. Napoleon was then the ruler of France. About two years later, he was made consul for life, with the right of naming his successor. And two years more saw him hereditary Emperor of France (1804).

But when Napoleon was made First Consul, he found France surrounded by bitter enemies. A second coalition had been formed among the powers of Europe to oppose French encroachment. The last year of the eighteenth century saw Napoleon's armies again crossing the Alps, and at the same time invading Germany. Napoleon's star was now in the ascendant; apparently nothing could stand before him. The victories of Marengo and Hohenlinden[1] led to another treaty of peace and gave Napoleon a chance to prepare for a proposed invasion of England. An army of one hundred thousand men was organized undoubtedly with this end in view. England made great preparations for defence, and was seemingly as anxious for the war as France. But the other powers of Europe were as much alarmed as was England, and a third coalition between England, Austria, Russia, and Sweden was formed. Napoleon was, of course, obliged to change his plans and guard his inland boundaries from the attacks of the allied armies.

Three years of war occurred, in which Napoleon's armies won great victories over Austria, Russia, and Prussia, at Austerlitz, Jena, Auerstadt, and Friedland; compelling Austria to the humiliating peace of Presburg (1805), Russia to that of Tilsit (1807), and wresting a large tract of territory from Prussia. Still it was not all victory for the great Napoleon, for Nelson again crushed the French navy at Trafalgar; and at the battle of Eylau

[1] Here the French were commanded by Moreau.

Czar Alexander, of Russia, also claimed the victory. England, too, energetically persevered in her hostilities against the Emperor.

Napoleon, however, was master of Western Europe. He made Holland a kingdom, with his brother, Louis, as king; his brother, Jerome, was made king of Westphalia; his brother, Joseph, was given the crown of Naples; while

Lord Nelson.

Napoleon himself became king of Italy. Then he united with Spain in a project to divide Portugal between them, the sovereign of the latter country fleeing to Brazil. Soon after this there arose a dispute over the succession to the Spanish crown, and the French Emperor conceived the idea of driving the Bourbons from that throne. The kingdom of Naples was taken from his brother, Joseph, and given to his brother-in-law, Murat. Then a French army entered Madrid, and proclaimed Joseph Bonaparte king of Spain.

But this act aroused the dormant patriotism of the Spanish. They arose against the foreign king. England sent an army to assist them, one of the commanders being Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterward Lord Wellington, who soon succeeded to the chief command in Spain.

Wellington.

As long as Napoleon himself could be present to direct the affairs in Spain, the French cause was successful. But when he was called away to conduct a campaign against Austria, even the victories of his generals were weakening to his cause. Although some fourteen German states had formed the confederation of the Rhine, with Napoleon as

protector, England, Prussia, Austria, and Russia, resumed hostilities against Napoleon almost as soon as his armies retired from their various territories. Called from his Spanish conquest into Austria, he conducted the battle of Wagram that forced Emperor Francis I. to sue for peace. This same year Napoleon divorced his wife, Empress Josephine, and the next year Maria Louisa, daughter of Francis I., Emperor of Austria, became his wife (1809).

For three years after the battle of Wagram, Napoleon was busy trying to solidify his empire. In fact, he gave the French people a much better government than they had previously enjoyed. "Western Europe received in the Code Napoleon, a law, which to an extent hitherto unknown in Europe, brought social justice into the affairs of life. The privileges of the noble, the feudal burdens of the peasant, the monopolies of the guild passed away."[1] And above all, the law was a protection to the ordinary citizen, although there was little of what we call liberty known to the French people under Napoleon.

Alexander I. of Russia, was the first monarch who dared to defy Napoleon by violating his Berlin Decree, which blockaded the ports of Europe. In 1810, he opened the ports of Russia to all ships bearing neutral flags, and even placed a duty upon some French imports. Napoleon could not brook this seeming challenge, and began at once to prepare for war. Two years later, at the head of six hundred thousand men he began his march for Russia. He met the Czar on the field of Borodino, and was successful. Then Alexander, by a well planned retreat, led the Emperor into the heart of Russia. At last the spires of Moscow met their sight, and amid cheers the French

[1] Labberton: "General History," p. 148.

marched upon the city. They found it entirely deserted, all the inhabitants having followed the Russian army.

Two days later, flames burst forth in several places in the city, and it was soon a mass of smoldering ruins. It was winter and the French army was forced to retreat. Then it was that the Czar and his army appeared. They followed the French closely. They were accustomed to this severe weather which killed the French by thousands. Napoleon reached France almost alone. So complete was the Emperor's control over his subjects that another army was soon raised for him. But his disastrous Russian campaign proclaimed to Europe that this great "military phenomenon" was not invincible. All Europe now united against him. The final struggle occurred the next year. The Emperor met the army of the allies at Leipsic, and was defeated. He retreated into France. As the year 1813 closed, the allied army crossed the Rhine. Two months later, Paris surrendered and Napoleon himself became a prisoner of war. He was banished to the isle of Elba in the Mediterranean, there to dwell with the empty title of emperor. The Bourbons were restored, a brother of Louis XVI. becoming Louis XVIII., king of France (1814).

It lacked only a few days of one year from the surrender of Paris, before all Europe was alarmed by the report that Napoleon had escaped from his island prison. Landing at Cannes with fifteen hundred men, he marched toward Paris where his name was enough to draw all his old soldiers to his side. His entry into Paris was in the nature of a triumph, Louis XVIII. withdrawing to Ghent. Twenty days from his landing at Cannes, he was again dwelling in the Tuileries, and again ruling France. Thus began his "reign of one hundred days." More confident

of success, and more determined than ever to free the continent from such a dangerous ruler, the sovereigns and princes of Europe united firmly to drive Napoleon from his throne. But the Emperor's movements were rapid. He raised a large army, determined to crush the English

Abdication of Napoleon.

and Prussians before they could unite with the Austrians and Russians. For this purpose he marched into Belgium, and met the English under Wellington at Waterloo. The allied army under Blucher, however, arrived on the field

in time to render most material assistance. The smoke arising off this memorable field forever obscured the rapidly setting star of Napoleon. He was defeated and further struggles were useless. He surrendered to the British government, and the ship, Bellerophon, carried him first to London and then to the lonely, ocean isle of St. Helena, where the allies decreed he should spend the remainder of his life under the guard of the English. His captivity was ended by death six years later.

After the Peace of Paris, the great powers of Europe set about adjusting the affairs of that continent. Now the Pentarchy of great powers—Austria, France, Great Britan, Prussia, and Russia—was recognized as controlling the affairs of Europe, but, in special cases, Spain, Portugal, and Sweden were consulted. At the Congress of Vienna, these eight powers took measures for the division of the booty accumulated by Napoleon. France was cut down to about the boundaries of 1790. The masterpieces of art which Napoleon had brought from Rome and elsewhere to decorate his capital were ordered to be torn from their places and returned to their original owners. Austria received large Italian possessions. Prussia was given increased German territory. Russia extended her boundaries to the north, to the west, and to the south. Belgium and the Dutch provinces became the kingdom of the Netherlands.

In Spain, the Bourbons were restored in the person of Ferdinand VII., who proved to be an oppressive despot. The power of Spain had steadily been waning, and since the death of Ferdinand, few nations have witnessed as great and continuous internal troubles as has that once powerful state. The rulers have never been noted for their strength or for their brilliancy. In Italy, the new

arrangement of the great powers caused much internal trouble. The spirit of independence and the demand for a united Italy had not been entirely stifled, and there were usually secret organizations for the furtherance of these ends.

Germany and Austria were in a very unsettled state. As we have seen, the German Empire had for a time been

Isabella II.

suspended. Emperor Francis II. had resigned his German Imperial crown, but had become Emperor Francis I. of Austria. The German states were clamorous for constitutions vesting some political rights in the people at large. Though the princes were ever ready to promise, and even grant, such constitutions, few ever meant to see them enforced. Austria, under both Francis I. and Ferdinand II., was in a state of constant turmoil. The cen-

tral government was opposed by all the various elements of which the population of the empire was composed. There were the Magyars of Hungary, and there was a large Slavic population. The Magyars were divided into two parties—the Old Magyar party and the New Hungarian party.[1] The former were for depriving all others, except members of their own race, from all share in the government. The latter, led by Kossuth, were in favor of admitting all Hungarians to office. The Slaves were boldly advocating *Panslavism*, whereby all the Slaves of Europe were to become united as one people under one ruler. Then, too, German liberalism was spreading also into Austria. Prince Metternich was at this time prime minister of Austria, though virtually ruler of the Empire, and wished to be dictator of all the German states.

Thus matters stood when the revolutionary period dawned upon Europe. About the year 1848, there began in Europe a great revolution. This was but the breaking out of the spirit of opposition on the part of the masses of the people against the hereditary rulers and privileged classes, the people demanding a share in the government. In some cases, the movement was crushed, yet the agitation there started was not in vain. The trouble commenced in France. Louis XVIII. had been succeeded on the throne of France by Charles X. and he by Louis Phillippe, who sought at one blow to deprive the French people of many of their political rights which were so dearly bought by the blood of the great Revolution. The people demanded reform, and this was refused by the king. The republican spirit was aroused, and the king was driven from his throne. France now entered upon her second period as a republic. The Commune and the rabble again tried to

1 Labberton: "General History," p. 151.

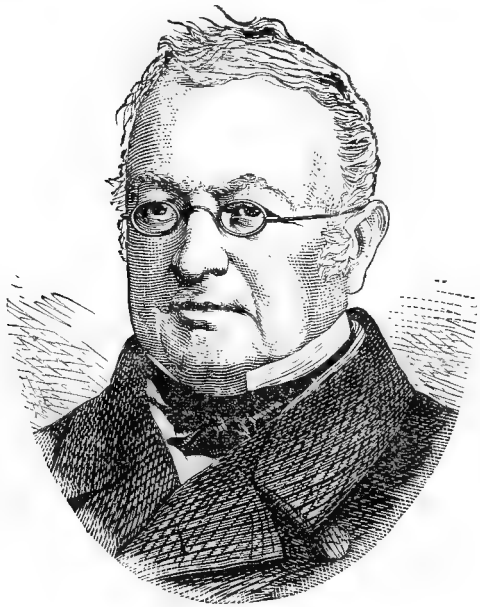
gain the power that they held during the Reign of Terror, but the citizens and the national guards held firmly the ruling power until Louis Napoleon, nephew of Napoleon I., was elected president by an overwhelming majority of popular voters (1848).

The president was assisted by a legislative assembly, consisting of seven hundred members, elected by a vote of the people. Thus the Revolution in France was completed. Although not eligible to a second term of office, Napoleon, by a bold stroke, caused himself to be elected, under a new constitution, for a term of ten years. This was accompanied by the midnight arrest and imprisonment of the leading republicans and Orleanists, by dissolving the Assembly, by crushing a revolt in Paris, and by submitting the question to a vote of the people.[1] President Napoleon was so popular that many wished to make him emperor. So the following year the question of the restoration of the Empire was carried by a vote of the people, and Louis Napoleon was made Emperor Napoleon III. (1852).

The Revolution in France was a signal for revolutions throughout Europe in general. The various factions of Austria also demanded a constitution. The Hungarians had placed themselves under Kossuth, and had gained possession of both Pesth and Vienna. Ferdinand fled to the Tyrol, and sent an Imperial army to subdue the Hungarians. The Slavic subjects now rose in insurrection. The Imperial forces, commanded by Windischgratz and Jellachich, besieged Vienna and reduced it to subjection. Trouble then arose at court, and the Emperor was forced to abdicate. His nephew, Francis Joseph, accepted the crown. But Hungary, refusing to recognize a change of

[1] On this see Patton: "Modern History," p. 421.

monarchs, rose in rebellion, chose Kossuth governor, and drove the Imperial army out of the kingdom. Thereupon Russia interfered. The Hungarians still fought with terrible vigor, but the armies of the two emperors forced them into submission, and Francis Joseph became emperor amid horrible acts of cruelty toward the rebellious subjects.



M. Thiers,

The German people also arose against their princes and demanded a German parliament, and the rulers were forced to yield to their demands for constitutions. But in many cases the same rulers felt at liberty to violate the constitutions thus granted. A "preliminary parliament" of the German states was held at Heidelberg for the purpose of drafting a German constitution. The old German Empire was revived, governed by an emperor assisted by a parliament. The new Parliament, when it assembled, chose

Frederick William IV. of Prussia, Emperor. But he declined the honor offered him in this way, and the Parliament gradually grew in disfavor with the people. The remnant was finally dispersed by the Wurtemberg government.

Still the King of Prussia was not averse to wearing the Imperial crown of Germany. But the Emperor of Austria was anxious to revive the old Empire with Austria at its head. So that a couple of years later there were two congresses in session—one at the Prussian capital, Berlin, and one at Frankfort, under the lead of Austria—for the purpose of organizing a German confederation. War between Austria and Prussia seemed inevitable, but Czar Nicholas, the most powerful ruler in Europe at this time, interfered in favor of Austria. England and France sided with the smaller German states, and matters were adjusted as they stood at the close of the first imperial period in French history.

England had avoided war by making occasional concessions to the demands of her subjects from the time of King John down to that of the four Georges and William IV. But the nineteenth century has witnessed greater strides in reform than ever before. The reigns of the last two Georges were filled with clamors and public meetings for granting greater privileges to the commonalty of English people. Sometimes these enormous meetings were dispersed by military force,[1] but the spirit of liberty increased in strength and determination.[2] Such was its influence that it threw the English people on the side of Greece, in her fight for independence. The Catholics, too,

[1] As at Manchester in 1819.

[2] This was strongly manifested in the parliamentary motion of 1823, condemning slavery and hoping its speedy abolition. This was consummated in 1833. See Gregory, pp. 155-7.

were granted political freedom, and Daniel O'Connel became a member of Parliament.

William IV. had hardly ascended the throne (1830), when Lord Russell introduced his great Reform Bill, allowing political privileges to what have been termed the middle classes. It finally passed Parliament.[1] Thus England was revolutionized without war, sixteen years before agitation on the continent had reached a climax. The agitation did not cease here. Although the young and everywhere popular queen, Victoria, ascended the throne (1837), the question of greater reforms was kept before the people. The reformers were called Chartists, and demanded universal suffrage, vote by ballot, annual parliaments, equal electoral districts, no property qualification for Parliament, and payment of members. The second, fourth, and fifth of which demands have since become laws.

Six years after the accession of Queen Victoria, the "great agitator," O'Connel, began with renewed energy the agitation of the Irish question, which has not yet been settled. The question then was for the repeal of the union of Ireland with England. Great mass meetings were held all over Ireland to discuss this question. Then, too, the poorer people in the kingdom demanded the repeal of laws imposing duty upon breadstuffs. Sir Robert Peel was prime minister, and during his administration the "Corn Laws" were repealed.[2] While the continent was settling its affairs, Prince Albert[3] was holding the great exhibition or world's fair in London; and such men as Gladstone and Disraeli were rising to commanding places

[1] See Mackenzie: "The Nineteenth Century," London, 1880, p. 144.

[2] Vide Irving: "Annals of Our Time," 1837–71, p. 192.

[3] Prince Albert, Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, to whom the Queen was married, Feb. 10, 1840.

among English legislators. The last half of this century has witnessed many political changes, at which we will now glance. In Italy, the people had forced the rulers to grant constitutions, and to lead them against the Austrians in hope of driving the latter out of Northern Italy. The Pope was driven from Rome, and deposed as a temporal ruler. The ambition of Napoleon led him to interfere in this quarrel. In the final settlement of Italy, Victor Emmanuel became king of Sardinia, but the Pope was re-established under French protection. Denmark was having trouble over the succession of its sovereigns and the disposition of the duchies of Sleswick and Holstein. The German states then interfered. Czar Nicholas finally stepped in and adjusted affairs by establishing the law of male succession, and by naming Prince Christian of Glucksburg as heir to the crown.

The Czar of Russia was about the only monarch from whom his subjects did not force concessions. Indeed Nicholas was the autocrat of Europe at this time, but he overreached his power when he sent his armies south to conquer the Balkan Peninsula. Thus he brought on the Crimean war, which united England, France, and Turkey against Russia. The Czar's forces were exhausted in less than two years, and he was forced to a treaty which excluded his ships from the Black Sea. Then he planned to weaken his neighbor, Austria, by encouraging Sardinia to renew the war with that power for Italian independence. France gave more material aid, and the future unity of Italy was guaranteed by uniting Lombardy and Central and Southern Italy under Victor Emmanuel, King of Sardinia.

Shortly afterward, Nicholas was succeeded by Alexander II., who so occupied himself in the adjustment of his

internal affairs[1] as to be unable to carry out the plans for Denmark that his predecessor had made. No sooner had Prince Christian become Christian IX. then there was trouble in Germany over the duchies of Holstein and Schleswick. Prussia and Austria, conjointly, wrested them from the Danish king; but then they quarreled over

Nicholas I.

the division of the spoil. William I. had become King of Prussia, and Herr Otto von Bismarck-Schoenhausen had become his leading minister.

Prince Bismarck at last warned Austria that further communication in regard to the Schleswick-Holstein matter

[1] This great work was the abolition of serfdom. See Rambaud: "Popular History of Russia," Vol. III. p. 221 *et seq.*

would be unnecessary. The Austro-Prussian war of 1866 resulted. Bismarck first assured himself of the neutrality of France, while Austria tried to stir up the German states against Prussia. The great Prussian victory of Konigsgratz decided the war. Austria lost her Italian possessions, and the result was all Italy, except Rome, became united under one king. Austria was also obliged to agree

Bismarck.

to the dissolution of the Germanic Confederation, and obliged to consent to the "North German Confederation."

Returning to France, we find the popularity of Emperor Napoleon III. on the wane. Then, too, for various reasons, trouble with Prussia was brewing, because of the result of the Austro-Prussian war, which so greatly enlarged Prussian power. Napoleon demanded "the cession of the left bank of the Rhine" to France. This

demand was, of course, rejected. Four years later, the crown of Spain was offered to Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern, who was a relative of King William. As this would increase the power of the Hohenzollern princes, Napoleon objected, and, in the interests of peace, the prince retired. Still Napoleon was not satisfied and demanded a pledge from the Prussian king that he would not again allow Leopold to urge the claim. This was refused.

All this was child's play. The fact is, the two nations had made up their minds to test the question of strength, and were simply casting about for some excuse to give the civilized world for beginning war. The French representative at Berlin, Benedetti, was finally made the cat's paw to pull the chestnuts out of the fire. An imaginary insult to France by Bismarck was made the occasion. To such a poor shift as this were these two civilized nations put for an excuse to offer to the world at large. Napoleon believed that a war would make him popular. His ministers and generals assured him that everything was in readiness for war, but the opposite proved to be the case.

Germany, on the other hand, was thoroughly prepared. King William and Prince Bismarck knew well the power of Prussia. There were a million men at the disposal of the Prussian authorities when war was declared, for many of the German states offered to aid King William. France was not prepared, and had only about one third as large an army. Marshal MacMahon was the greatest military leader that France could boast of, but he was defeated by the Germans, under the Crown Prince of Prussia, at Weissenburg and at Worth. Next another French army, under Bazaine, was defeated at Gravelotte. The French then concentrated their forces in Sedan, where, two months

and a-half after he had declared war, Napoleon surrendered with eighty-four thousand men. The four months siege of Paris then ensued, and peace followed the fall of the French capital.

As a result of this war, France lost Alsace and Lorraine, agreed to pay Germany one billion dollars, and her government was revolutionized. Napoleon was deposed, and France has ever since nominally enjoyed a republican form

Victor Emmanuel.

of government. But to Prussia, the result was still more momentous. Ten days before the Peace of Paris was signed, all the German princes met in the Hall of Mirrors in the palace of the French kings, at Versailles, and there they organized the present German Empire, with the king of Prussia as hereditary emperor. King William became Emperor William I. of a united Germany.

The effect of this war was felt even in Italy, where French troops were stationed to protect the temporal possessions of the Pope. Under the patriot general, Garibaldi, the Italian army had driven out of Italy all foreign powers, and had united the peninsula under Victor Emmanuel of Sardinia. When war between France and Prussia became unavoidable, the French troops where withdrawn from Rome, and a few weeks later those of Victor Emmanuel entered the Imperial City, though under the imprecations of the Pope, and made it again the capital of a united Italy.

One other European war has occurred since the Franco-Prussian war, and that is the Russo-Turkish war. "Iran and Turan have ever been at feud," and Russia cannot help looking with a longing eye at the Turkish capital, to occupy which has been the ambition of her princes since Rurik first led his bold Northmen across the Baltic. The Turkish states of Herzegovnia, Bosnia, and Bulgaria were continually defying the central government and often in a state of open or semi-rebellion. This caused the surrounding powers—Austria, Germany, and Russia—considerable uneasiness. Then, too, the cruel and even barbarous methods of warfare employed by the Turkish government rendered its existence, in the heart of Christian Europe, obnoxious.

At last, the three surrounding powers drafted a "Note," demanding of Turkey that, in administering the government of Herzegovnia and Bosnia, five points must be observed—"unlimited religious freedom; abolition of the system of farming the taxes; the application of the direct revenue of Bosnia and Herzegovnia for the benefit of those provinces; establishment of a special commission, consisting in equal parts of Moslems and Christians, to watch

over the execution of the reforms; and improvement of the industrial condition of the country population."

England is too much interested in the affairs of Turkey to allow the other European powers to overpower that government, seemingly foreign to Aryan Europe. So she demanded that the integrity of the Osmanli Empire must be respected. When the other powers presented the Berlin Memorandum demanding an armistice of two months that the demands of the insurgents might be re-

President Grevy.

spected, England refused to unite with them in presenting this memorandum. But the Sultan accepted it, was deposed, and was succeeded by Murad V. and he, soon, by Abdul-Hamid II.

But the revolt in Herzegovnia and Bosnia continued, and it was countenanced by the government of Servia whose army was recruited from the Czar's forces. The Sultan's

troops were successfully pressing onward into Servia until Russia ordered them to halt. In the meantime, Alexander II. had demanded a better government for the Sultan's Christian subjects. A "conference of the great powers" was held in Constantinople and it urged the Sultan to adopt reforms in government. The Czar intimated that, if steps for a better administration of affairs were not taken soon, he would use force to compel such steps.

The Sultan was assured by England that, as far as England was concerned, there would be no compulsion. The Sultan objected to such interference on the part of other powers as contrary to the treaty of Paris, for Turkey had had no voice in the conference at Constantinople where the demands made upon her originated. Two weeks after the Porte's reply to the Protocol (demands of the Constantinople conference of great powers), Russia declared war, and before night fifty thousand troops were marching toward Turkey. And, in January of the following year, they demanded, at the gates of Constantinople, submission on the part of the Sultan to a treaty, which, after modification by the famous Berlin Congress (1878), gave Herzegovnia and Bosnia to Austria, declared Servia and Roumania independent, made Bulgaria a self-governing tributary, granted Montenegro enlarged territory, gave Cyprus to England, gave Russia portions of Asiatic Turkey, and, in fact, broke the power of Turkey in Europe.

We will not continue this sketch of European history farther. At the moment of present writing (1888), no great changes have taken place in the political map of Europe, since its reconstruction at the hands of the Berlin Congress. But every one knows that Europe is one vast military camp. All the nations have put forth their greatest exertions to be prepared for a storm which seems

to be gathering in the political sky. He would be indeed a bold prophet who would undertake to forecast the future. It only remains for us now to review this entire period and see if we can not make out some great, general forward movements. If such prove to be the case, then we may await with confidence the future results of passing years.

Nations and races have a life history no less than individuals. In this brief review, we have seen several nations successively reach the summit of power, and apparently enter their period of decline and ever-lessening influence. Intermixed in this matter, there is also an interesting point for the anthropologist to consider. That is the question of race. Now we have seen that the three great branches of European Aryans were the Celts, the Teutons, and the Slaves, and have indicated the Teuton as the parent stem. If we observe that Portugal, Spain, France, and Italy—the so-called Romance nations—are also the ones most Celtic in ethnology, it will not escape us that they all have apparently passed their period of greatest power. If Italy appears to be an exception, we must remember that Italy has but recently succeeded in uniting under one government a number of separate states.

The Teutonic branch is the most important figure in the history of Europe. As an historical fact, it was Teutonic power that overthrew the Western Roman Empire, and in the confederation of Germanic states that Empire was afterwards revived. To-day, the Teutonic nations of Europe stand at the summit of power. There remains to be considered the Slavic branch. Russia is the Slavic nation of Europe. While Teutonic Europe is divided into a number of nations, such as Germany, Austria, England, etc., the Slaves, except a few unimportant provinces, are

united. Ever since pre-historic times, the Teutons and the Slaves have faced each other in Europe, and often in hostile array. We anticipate that the great conflict of the future is to be along that line. Not only the political supremacy in Europe, but that in Asia as well, hangs in the balance.

Glancing over the conflicts of the past few centuries, we see that great movements, involving the welfare of the race, go forward with almost irresistible force. To the immediate onlooker of the time, or to the casual historian, the pages of history seem largely taken up with the petty deeds of individuals. But individual intrigues, wars for personal aggrandisement, even if they result in the momentary elevation of this or that state, are but trifles borne along on the surface of the current.

Take, for instance, the idea of toleration in religion. Do we not see this idea continually gathering force and making greater headway until it carries all before it? We see Europe deluged in blood, that this idea may prevail. Many of these wars were undertaken for selfish, dynastic purposes. History seems to be full of the doings of this king or emperor, of the great battles of this general or admiral. But after all, when we stand off and survey the whole movement, those wars and intrigues are but conflagrations incited by the friction of the onward march of the idea of toleration. They may appear in history as the efforts of a De Medici to change the succession in France, or, as the "Thirty Years' War," but the real cause lies deeper.

Probably a more striking illustration can be drawn from the development of the idea that the rights of the masses of the people are superior to those of the privileged classes. Recall the long train of events, extending over a century of time that led up to the French Revolution. It

was but the gathering force of this idea. What a great conflagration thence ensued. In that lurid glare, how strongly stands out the figure of Napoleon Bonaparte! But look again, as the smoke of Waterloo clears away, Napoleon, the individual, has disappeared. But not so the idea leading up to the Revolution itself. The rights of privileged classes received a blow, and scarcely fifty years later we see nearly every country in Europe wresting constitutions from their rulers. And in this case, the end has not been reached. The agitation still continues, and let us hope, without accompanying bloodshed, more glorious results will soon be reached.

This is the lesson we would draw from European history. It is no slight task to bring, in an at all connected way, within the short compass of one chapter the story of political life and times in Europe during the last three centuries. Of necessity, we have had to be extremely brief, omit many important points, have had to overlap the accounts here and there; but in the path here marked out, we hope the reader can gather a connected idea of the main thread of events, and see the force of our conclusions.

# CHAPTER III.

## DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

INTRODUCTORY—Voyage of Columbus—Discoveries of the Cabots—English Colonization—Virginia—Plymouth Colony—Formation of the Thirteen Colonies—Colonial Troubles—Royal Usurpation—Wars with the French Colonies—French and Indian War—The Causes of the Revolution—Outline of the Revolution—Formation of the United States—Organization of the North-west Terrritory—Purchase of Louisiana—War of 1812—Explorations of the West—Purchase of Florida—Annexation of Texas—War with Mexico—The Mexican Concession—The Gadsden Purchase—Settlement of the Northern Boundary—Purchase of Alaska—Growing Importance of Slavery—The Causes of the Civil War—Outlines of the Civil War—Conclusions.

THE TIME has now come when we are to turn from the development of Aryan life in Europe and the East, and watch it as it crosses the Atlantic and takes possession of the New World. This is a most important epoch in the history of culture. We have seen the Hellenic Aryans assimilating the culture of the Orient, and carrying it forward to greater heights. We have watched the successive unfolding of other parts of Europe in the light of this culture. Grown bolder, we have seen the enlightened nations of Europe fitting out their expeditions for trade and discovery. We want now to follow those expeditions across the Atlantic, and study in particular the development of our own country; watch the growth of the small settlements along the shore, until they form a nation

NORSEMEN DIS

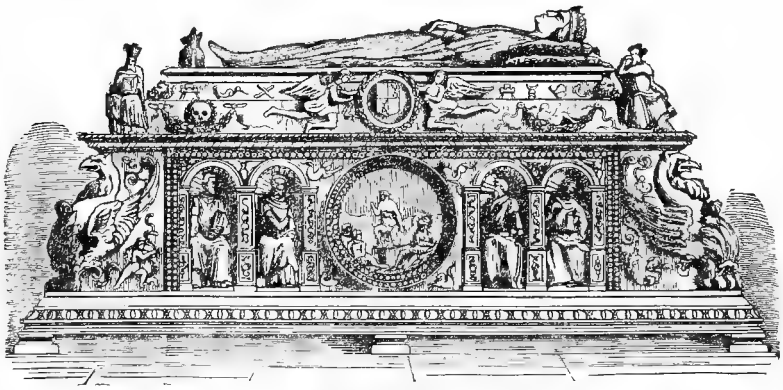
AMERICA.

and claim as their possession the fairest portions of the New World.

As we have seen, the port of Palos had been chosen by Spanish officials as the point from which Columbus should sail on his voyage of discovery. Thither he journied, full of joy, bearing a royal order from Ferdinand and Isabella for that almost insignificant port to furnish him with vessels, and to man them for this foolhardy enterprise of a madman—for such was Columbus and his expedition considered to be. But royal mandates must be obeyed, though this took the flower of the population and drew some loved one from nearly every family in the village. For seven and a-half months, the little port was in mourning for those whom they daily imagined were being consumed by the hideous monsters, with which their superstition peopled the trackless ocean. But one Spring day, nearly four centuries ago, one might have heard the joyous tones of ringing bells floating out upon the mid-day air of Andalusia's most happy port. The garments of mourning were changed for the gay attire of festive days. For in the harbor of Palos rode at anchor the storm-worn caraval of Columbus, just returned with tidings of a newly-found world.

A thrill of wonder ran through the Old World as the rumor spread, that the dark and restless waves of the Atlantic, far to the west, broke on the shores of another world. People flocked from far and near if only they might gaze upon the countenance or touch the garments of the greatest navigator that the world had ever seen. The learned discussed the almost incredulous existence of antipodes. Embassadors hastily wrote long letters to their monarchs, describing the strange discovery, and descanting on its importance. Kings and princes paused in their

plans of war and conquest to listen to the marvellous tales of these wondrous regions. The once mourning Palos now prided itself on being the home of those mariners who had accompanied the great explorer upon his expedition. Ferdinand and the fair Isabella impatiently waited at Barcelona in state for Columbus to visit them, that they might, from his own lips, learn of the most wonderful event of their reign. Like the triumph of a Roman conqueror was the journey of Columbus to the Spanish court. No honor was lacking in the showers of favors that were cast upon him. No courtier was preferred before him. The rabble



Tomb of Ferdinand and Isabella.

that cried madman at him some months before, were now ready to fall down and worship him.[1]

It little concerns us whether the Chinese Hwui Shan or Prince Madoc, of Wales, first visited our country. It matters not how long the Northmen were sailing to and from our shores. It makes little difference where Columbus gained his information of our Western land. The truth or falsity of traditions on these points ought not to detract from the merits and even genius of the one man of his time who, through reasoning, proved and insisted,

[1] Irving: "Life of Columbus," Vol. I. p. 281 *et seq.*

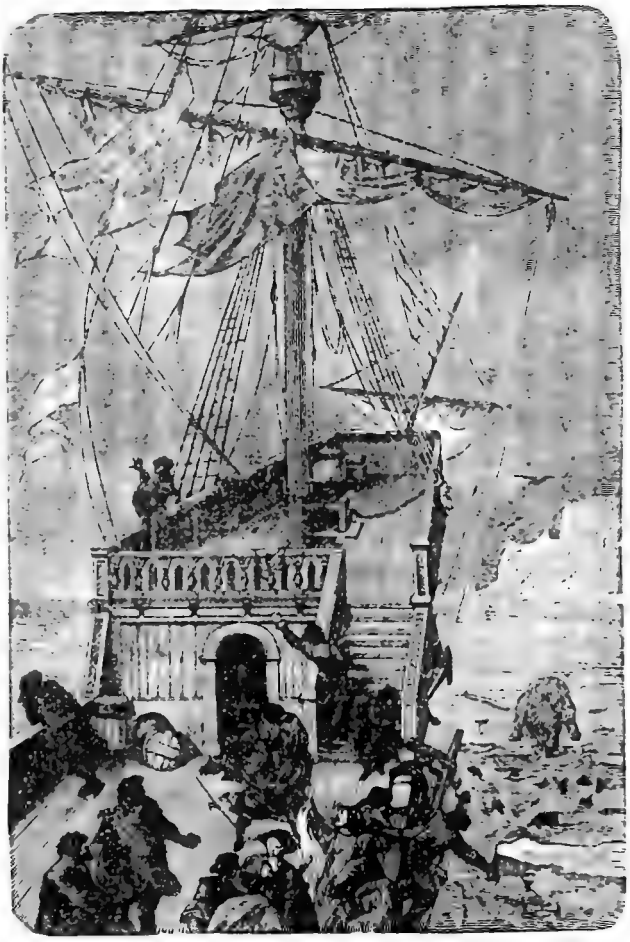
against the flippant arguments of the so-called learned men of his age, that land could be reached by sailing west; who persevered until he had demonstrated the truth of his theory, and brought to Europe a knowledge of a new world when her people were ready to enter and possess the same. All glory to the Northmen voyagers who found and forgot the way to our shores, but America will never forget the man who finally opened her ports to the onward pressure of Aryan migration.

After Columbus had pointed out the way, the Spaniards spent nearly three quarters of a century in searching for gold in this new world, in exploring the coasts of America, and in establishing settlements, before their colonists reached the territory of the present United States. It is true that De Leon, De Soto, and others had explored the wilds of our Southern States and found the great "Father of Waters;" but the sixteenth century was more than half gone before the town of St. Augustine was founded on the banks of the St. John's River, in Florida, and before the Franciscan monks had planted their mission at Santa Fe, in New Mexico. As is well known, these were the first two permanent settlements in the territory of the United States.

At that time, Spain and Portugal were leading the powers of Europe in enterprising discovery. It is not at all strange that other nations were backward in joining in these enterprises when we learn that the Pope (Alexander VI.), had issued a bull, generously confirming to Portugal all new lands that might be discovered east of a certain meridian, and to Spain all territory to the west of same.[1]

[1] The first meridian chosen was to be one hundred leagues west of the Azores and Cape de Verde Island. But subsequently the line was removed two hundred and seventy leagues further west. Vide Low: "Maritime Discovery," Vol. I. p. 253.

But as soon as the spirit of religious freedom began to spread over Europe, other nations determined to seek a share in the western discoveries, and the Pope's bull dropped out of sight. England was first, as we have seen,



Cabot Discovering Labrador.

in following Spain across the Atlantic.[1] Upon the discoveries of the Cabots, England based her claim to much

[1] Portugal sent out some ships, but the greater portion of her colonists settled in South America.

of the territory of the present United States east of the Mississippi.[1]

The French were not long in following the example of England. Five years after the Cabots made their voyages (1497), numbers of French fishing smacks made annual expeditions to the coasts of Newfoundland for the fish that there abound. French explorers, however, confined their voyages mostly to the region of the St. Lawrence and its bay. They called this territory New France. But the Huguenots, unable to bear the persecutions at home, were the first to seek that religious freedom which it is our proud boast that the shores of America have always extended to the persecuted. Three years previous to the founding of St. Augustine, a party of French Huguenots, or Protestants, landed on the shores of Florida, and there sought to build them homes where they could worship God in peace.

No persecution is so cruel as religious persecution. In this instance, it followed the colonists across the Atlantic. The Spanish surprised the settlement, and killed the colonists simply because they were Protestants. Though this was avenged (though not officially) by the French, it resulted in the founding of St. Augustine by the Spaniards (1565). In the North, the French were more successful. During the first decade of the seventeenth century, they laid the foundations of permanent settlements at Annapolis (then Port Royal Nova Scotia) and Quebec.

The period of English colonization began with the attempts, though unsuccessful, of Sir Walter Raleigh to plant a colony on the coasts of the Carolinas. Though failures, these voyages led to such a knowledge of America

[1] Vide Justin Winsor: "Narrative and Critical History of America." Boston, Vol. III. article by Charles Deane, pp. 1-59.

and its resources, that the English began to form systematic plans for colonizing the New World; and, while the French were settling the St. Lawrence region, the English were sending colonists into the more tempting regions of

Virginia and the Potomac Valley. After Raleigh's various attempts to settle America had failed, and after the East India Company, by its unheard of success, had demonstrated the value of co-operation in prosecuting plans for

commerce or settlement, companies were formed for colonizing America.

Now England chose as the scene of her first colonial enterprise that region of North America lying between the thirty-fourth and forty-fifth parallels of north latitude. Early in the seventeenth century, two companies[1] were formed for the purpose of building up a colonial empire in America. It was not known then that wealth could be drawn from these new shores only by hard labor and drudgery; on the contrary, it was believed that never failing mines of gold existed in ready reach of all, but experience was soon to teach them differently.

The territory between the thirty-fourth and the forty-first parallels was granted to the London Company consisting of "west country gentlemen and traders". The Plymouth Company was permitted to settle between the thirty-eighth and forty-fifth parallels. Thus it will be seen that there were three degrees common to both, but, in case a settlement was formed in this middle territory by one company, the other was forbidden to settle within one hundred miles of that point. It is interesting also to note that the territory thus claimed by England extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific.[2]

Both companies immediately set about organizing colonial expeditions. In the affairs of the northern company, Ferdinand Gorges figures very largely, but meets with failure throughout. The London Company, owing largely to the executive ability of Captain John Smith, whose

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[1] Or rather, perhaps, one company with two subdivisions. Doyle: "English Colonies in America," New York, 1882, Vol. I. p. 109.

[2] The second charter granted by James I. to the London Company fixed the boundaries of their territory at two hundred miles north and south from Old Point Comfort, extending from sea to sea. Vide Lucas: "Charters of Old English Colonies in America, London, 1850, p. 12.

history is known to all, was far more successful; and, before the first decade of the seventeenth century had passed, had firmly established at Jamestown Virginia the first permanent English settlement in the New World (1607). No

Winthrop.

one nation of Europe was permitted to monopolize the colonization of the New World. The Netherlanders, it will be remembered, had reached considerable prominence as a commercial people; consequently soon after the English

settlement had been successfully established at Jamestown, they turned their attention to the New World also.

The ship, Half-moon, sailed from Holland, under the command of Henry Hudson, and established the Dutch claim to the Hudson valley (1609). As the voyage was

Winslow.

made under the auspices of the Dutch East India Company, their vessels began from that time to pay regular visits to America. Turning their attention to commerce, they found much more gold in the valuable peltry gathered from the natives along the banks of the Hudson, than the

gentry of Jamestown did in their vain search for gold mines. In a very few years, the trading stations in the Hudson valley became settlements and centers of colonization; and thus were laid the foundations of New York and New Jersey, at that time called New Netherlands.

The North Virginia, or Plymouth Company, did not begin its career of successful colonization until some ten years after the settlement at Jamestown had been established and then under a new charter. Just as religious persecution drove the first colonists from France to Florida, so religious intolerance led to the first permanent settlement in the New England States. As a result, we find the early settlers of New England different in character from the impoverished nobles who came to Jamestown in search of riches or adventure; for they sought a home in the wilds of the New World, for the sake of principle. Being dissenters from the English church, they had, early in the seventeenth century, sought religious freedom in Holland, which the long struggle of William the Silent had made a harbor for the persecuted from all lands. These refugees from English intolerance were called Puritans, which epithet their lives rendered a title of honor. Loath to lose themselves among a foreign population, they were encouraged by the success of the Jamestown colony to seek homes in America, where there was room for them unmolested to fashion a community free from interference.

The voyage of the Mayflower and the landing of the Pilgrims upon Plymouth Rock followed (1620). Upon territory belonging to the Plymouth Company, they built their first settlement. There they found the freedom that they sought. Hills and valleys, upland and lowland, trackless woods and fertile river valleys—all proclaimed welcome and liberty to those who would come and occupy

them. The plan was a success, and colonists began, at once, to pour into New England. Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island were colonized in rapid succession by these honest, industrious people—either immigrants from England or emigrants from existing colonies

William Penn.

In the time of Gustavus Adolphus, Sweden sought a share of the American continent. Her colonists settled in what is now known as Delaware. But, toward the close

of the century, Charles II. of England granted this same territory with a large tract further west to William Penn and others who really laid the foundations of both Delaware and Pennsylvania, the latter as a refuge for persecuted Quakers.[1] The Catholics, no less than the Puritans, felt the weight of persecution in England. This led to the colonization of Maryland as a place of refuge for Catholics; North Carolina was settled by emigrants from Virginia: the first settlers in South Carolina were French Huguenots and English colonists; Georgia, the last of the thirteen colonies, became a home for the poor who were oppressed and imprisoned under the severe laws that existed in those days against debtors. James Oglethorpe was the projector of this scheme for colonization, and the patron of this colony.

It would seem as if the vast Atlantic slope could have furnished peaceful, happy homes for the few thousands who had found their way to these regions. But the colonists were doomed, in a measure, to disappointment. Their troubles were, almost from the beginning, of a threefold nature—the oppressive forms of government that were forced upon them; the spirit of intolerance that existed among themselves; and the struggle of the different nationalities for supremacy in the New World. The first was by far the most serious source of trouble to the struggling colonists, though their distance from the home government caused much delay in carrying out plans for interference in colonial affairs. Had they been left to govern themselves, they would, no doubt, have enacted wise and wholesome laws. Indeed, it often happened that some of the several colonies were at times thus left to themselves,

1 The charter of the Virginia company was withdrawn in 1624. Stith: "History of Virginia," p. 304. *et seq.*

and then there would follow years of peace and happiness. But it was more often the case that the home government of each colony claimed the privilege of interfering in its management, almost always to the detriment of the colony.

Cecil (Lord Baltimore).

This, too, gave disaffected colonists, upon returning to their home-land, an opportunity to work injury to the colonial government by misrepresenting the condition of affairs in the colonies. On the strength of such reports, the crown

often sent over a change of officers without any good reason for so doing.

Now, at various times in colonial history, there were five different forms of government in force among the different colonies,[1] but all forms sooner or later merged into three principal ones—Proprietary, Royal, and Charter. The other two are illustrated by the first government of Virginia, which was a sort of "commercial corporation;" and the governments of Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven, and Rhode Island colonies, which were rather "voluntary associations that formed their settlements first and later became vested with other forms of government imposed upon them by their sovereign."

Proprietary government originated in a grant of a tract of land, by the king, to some person or persons, who thus became proprietors of large American estates which they proposed to settle and govern. The names of William Penn and Lord Baltimore—the one leading the Quakers into Pennsylvania, and the other the Catholics into Maryland—will forever remain as memorials of this form of government. Charter governments vested certain legislative powers in a company, or colony, so that the government was more or less of royal authority, and in a sense representative. This form of government was valued above all others by the colonists, who were willing to fight for their chartered rights. The New England colonies were nearly all governed by charters, and had their legislative assemblies.[2] Those, who revere the strict, pure lives of our Pilgrim Fathers, will cherish the names of Carver, Bradford, Endicott, Winthrop, and many others who figured prominently in the governments of the New

[1] Vide Swinton: "Condensed United States History," p. 84 *et seq.*

[2] See Lucas: "Charters of Old English Colonies."

England colonies. Those, who cherish the principles of religious toleration, can recall with admiration the names of Roger Williams and his earnest followers.

In the royal form of government, the kings or governments of the mother-countries selected their own agents, or governors, who ruled the colonies according to royal dictation. Every one of the thirteen colonies became, sooner or later, a royal province, but the original form of government was in some cases restored. We can, however, see how uncertain the liberties of the colonists were when we perceive that they were subject to royal restriction at any time. And the power of royal oppression has become personified in the name of Sir Edmund Andros, the tyrant of New England; as has the character for incompetency, in the names of Peter Stuyvesant and the other Dutch governors of New Netherlands. Thus did the actors stamp their names upon the age in which they lived. In mentioning the names of the prominent characters of colonial times, we must not forget the Odysseus of American history, Captain John Smith, whose zeal in exploring the shores of our continent gave the Old World the first accurate knowledge of our coast-line; and who played such an important part in the colonial history of Jamestown.

Royal duplicity is conspicuous in American colonial history. It mattered not what rights had been guaranteed the colonists in their various forms of government, they were often rendered null and void at the whim of the sovereign. But it was not in the internal government alone that the English colonists were oppressed by a fickle and unjust king. Barely a score of years had passed after the first Puritan foot had pressed Plymouth Rock, before restrictions were placed upon colonial commerce. Orders were forwarded to Virginia that all exports must be

shipped to English ports, to be sold in English markets. Then, ten years later, it was further ordered that these exports must be carried in English vessels.[1] Thus did the oppression begin that finally led to the rebellion of the colonies against European government.

Peter Stuyvesant.

In spite of the care that the grasping sovereigns of European nations (more especially England) tried to exercise in order to confirm their power in the New World, the spirit of independence that led these colonists to our shores found rich soil in which to grow. The home gov-

[1] See Bancroft: "History of the United States," Vol. I. pp. 145-6.

ernments, several weeks' journey from American shores, were found incapable of governing the growing colonies. Thirteen years after the founding of Jamestown, Governor Yeardly created a legislative assembly to assist him in governing the colony. From this germ, has grown our

Sir Edmund Andros.

republican form of government. But another element was introduced into American life so seemingly at enmity with this boasted independence, that we can but wonder at its rapid growth. We refer, of course, to the system of

slavery that grew from the landing of a cargo of Negroes in Jamestown, the same year that the Mayflower anchored in Boston harbor (1620). These Negroes were quickly purchased by the tobacco planters, and slave labor from that time became a prominent feature in colonial life.

It has been truly said that "whoever will study the character of the earliest immigrants to this country, will find the same indomitable love of liberty among the Episcopalian adventurers on the Roanoke; the Puritans who, in the fear of God, established their congregation upon the rock of Plymouth; the Quakers, on the Schuylkill; the Catholics, on the Susquehanna; the Netherlanders, on the Hudson; the Germans, on the Lehigh; and the Swedes and Finns at Cape Henlopen. He will be ready to say that God in his providence seems to have collected from the nations of Europe, men of sturdy limbs, free minds, and bold hearts, to lay broad and deep the foundation of a state which, for the benefit of the human race, was to prove, under the most propitious circumstances, the experiment of a popular representative government."[1]

Still, when we turn to consider the next important source of trouble to the colonists, we can not help regarding the population of these early times as an anomalous mass, out of which to build our present free institutions. There was the rigorously strict Puritan of New England, who fled from the intolerance of the Old World, but even he had no charity for one who did not worship according to Puritan doctrines. There were the gentry of Virginia, many of them recruited from the pens of Newgate, and from the streets and slums of London. Still they prided themselves on their loyalty to the established church of England. But Salem burned its witches; Massachusetts

[1] Seward quoted in Swinton's "History," p. 87-8.

banished Roger Williams, and hung Quakers;[1] Virginia imprisoned Quakers and Baptists, and banished Puritans; and none of them would allow Catholics to live at peace in their borders.

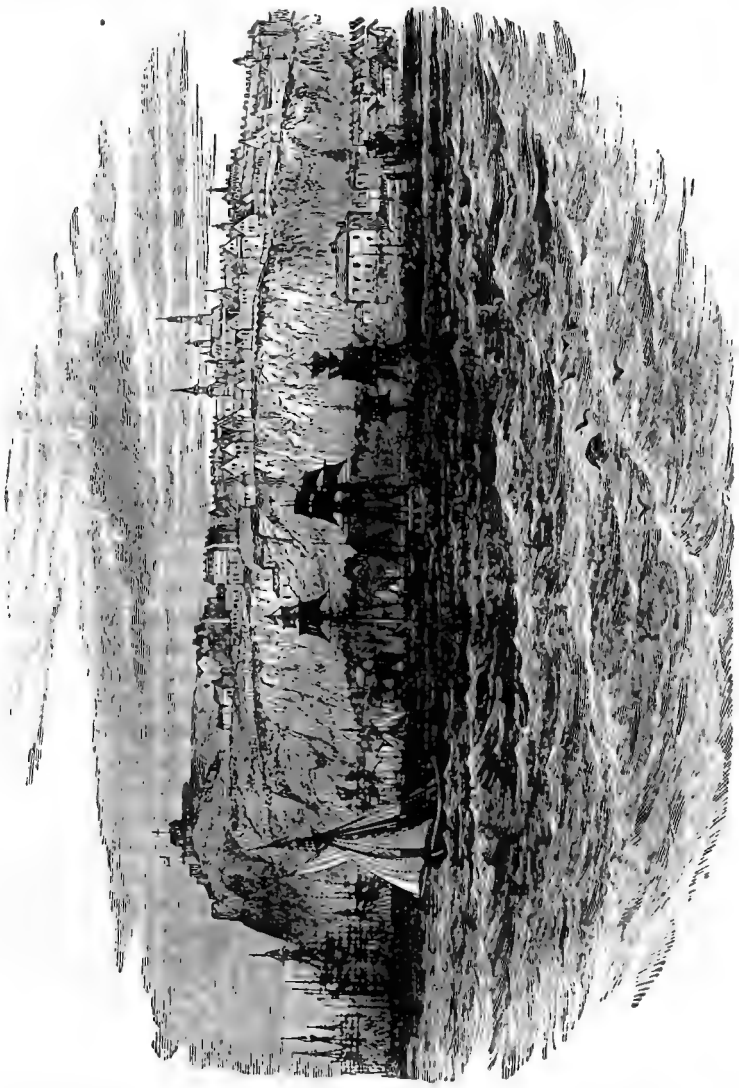
Yet all these various sects could dwell side by side and flourish, and develop that spirit of scepticism in the

Endicott.

infallibility of any established set of doctrines, until the more serious trouble of wars between the various nationalities led them to strangle this petty, antiquated spirit of intolerance, and seek their common safety in the strength

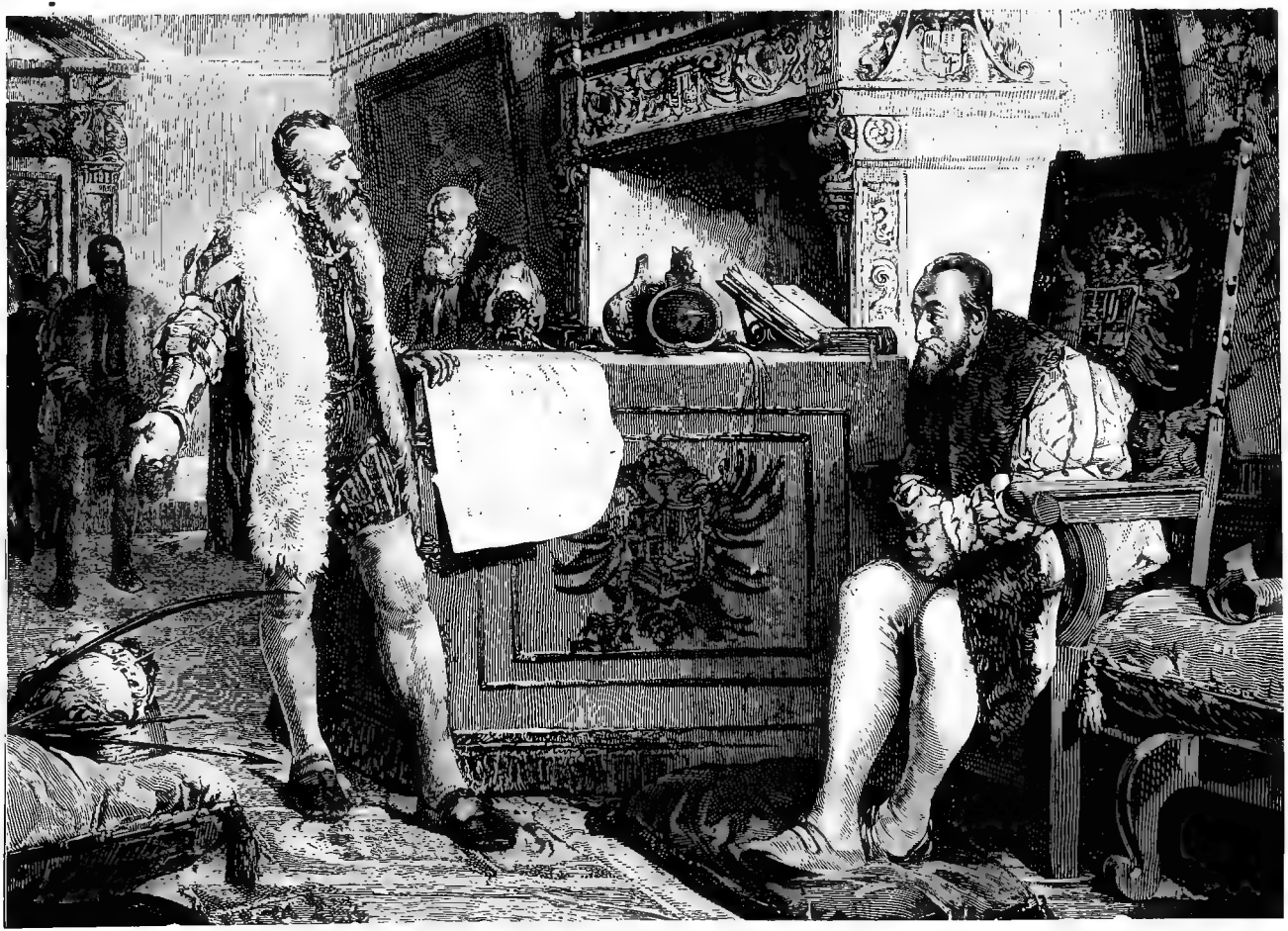
[1] On this see Doyle: "The Puritan Colonies," Vol. I. p. 123.

of unity. This brings us down to a time when the most serious source of colonial trouble began to manifest itself. We have seen how England claimed almost the entire



View of Quebec.

Atlantic coast on the strength of the voyages of the Cabots. Although the Spanish claimed the southern part



PIZARRO AND CHARLES V.

of this vast region, and France the northern portion—by right of exploration and colonization—and, by a similar title, the Dutch claimed the Hudson Valley, the English kings went right on portioning out these regions to English subjects regardless of any other rights.[1]

There were then four prominent contestants for supremacy in America in early times—the English, French, Spanish and Dutch. As these colonists thought it the duty of loyal subjects to espouse the quarrels of their mother-countries, we find the different nationalities fighting on American soil as often as the Atlantic breezes brought rumors of wars at home. When, therefore, England and Holland were engaged in their commercial war, the colonists were also in open hostility. As a result, Charles II. gave New Netherlands to his brother, Duke of York, for the conquering. In this he was successsful and thus New Netherlands became an English province, and its name became New York in honor of its royal governor (1664). There was henceforth one less contestant in the great struggle that was soon begun for the possession of the North American Continent.

As we have seen, the French were among the earliest Europeans to establish colonies in America. Though they attempted to settle the Carolinas and Floridas, their successful enterprises centered in the St. Lawrence region. From Annapolis, Quebec, Acadia, Montreal, and other points which the French occupied, such explorers as Champlain, LaSalle, Hennepin, Joliet, and Marquette set out on their long expeditions of discovery or trade. Thus the French became acquainted with the shores of Lake Champlain; they followed the St. Lawrence up to the

1 For an account of Swedish colonization, vide Fernow's article "Narrative and Critical History of America," Vol. IV. p. 395 *et seq.*

great lakes, and rowed up its tributaries to gather furs from the Indians; they sailed over the great lakes to the fisheries of Mackinaw and the copper regions of Lake Superior; they crossed the Michigan peninsula and lake, and sought the sources of the great Mississippi; they floated down the Illinois to its mouth; and on the bosom of the "Father of Waters," they drifted to the Gulf of Mexico.

All this western region was claimed for Louis XIV., and, in his honor, named Louisiana.[1] But the French were not permitted to enter and occupy unmolested the lands which England claimed by right of discovery. Eight years after the first French colony was planted in America, a ship from Virginia appeared in Acadia, took by force a few French colonists off of Mt. Desert Island, and carried a portion of them to Virginia. Sixteen years later, Quebec was conquered by the English and held for three years.[2] When William of Orange became King of England, he involved the English in his struggle with France. The English and French colonists were quick to take up the Old World quarrel. Then there occurred in America what has been called King William's War (1689). The French colonists at this time numbered about twelve thousand, and the English, perhaps two hundred and forty thousand.[3] But the French had thousands of Indian allies, so that the American wars amounted to more than a petty struggle between a few colonists. Owing to the presence of the Indian allies, every war was accompanied by frightful Indian massacres. The theatre of operations

[1] In 1717 Illinois was detached from New France and incorporated with Louisiana. Under these two names all the French possessions in America were included. Vide Davis in "Narrative and Critical History of America," Vol. V. p. 35.

[2] Ibid. [3] Swinton, p. 92.

was usually in Canada, or, if the French invaded English dominions, it was usually in the Lake Champlain region.

The eighteenth century had barely opened when the American colonists again became involved in war, called Queen Anne's War, but in Europe it was the War of the Spanish Succession. In this war, fighting occurred between the Carolinas and Florida as well as between New England and Canada. The result, after an eleven years' struggle, was the surrender of Nova Scotia and the Hudson Bay region by France to England. In like manner, the War of the Austrian Succession had its counterpart in King George's War among the colonies. Louisburg, the Gibraltar of America, was stormed and taken by the English, but no territory was allowed to change hands by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle which closed the war. One extremely valuable result was that the interests of the English colonists became knitted together, and thus did they test their strength and unconsciously prepare themselves for the great struggle that was to follow. During all this time, the French were extremely active in extending their dominions in the West, and thus forestall the English in taking actual possession of this vast territory. The lake shore region became dotted with forts, missions, and trading posts, the more important being Frontenac, LaPointe on Lake Superior, Sault de Ste. Marie, Mackinaw, Green Bay, and Niagara.

Ere the seventeenth century closed, the Mississippi had been explored to its mouth; LaSalle had failed in his attempt to plant a colony on the shores of the Gulf, but settlements had been started—one on the Illinois, by LaSalle, and one at Biloxi (southern shore of Louisiana) by Iberville. For another half century, the French were busy building a line of forts to connect Biloxi with Quebec, and

thus establish their power in the Mississippi basin and the great lake region. Cadillac commenced a permanent settlement at Detroit, and Bienville founded New Orleans.[1]

In time, the French had a chain of sixty forts and trading stations joining the two extreme points. "As the trade of the Valley of the Mississippi developed, routes of travel began to be defined. Three of these were especially used—one by way of Lake Erie, the Maumee, and the Wabash, and then down the Ohio; another by way of Lake Michigan, the Chicago River, a portage to the Illinois, and down that river; a third by way of Green Bay, Fox River, and the Wisconsin—all three being independent of LaSalle's route from the foot of Lake Michigan to the Kankakee and Illinois rivers."[2] Thus did the first part of the eighteenth century witness the development of this western region.

But England watched with a jealous eye these movements of the French. To offset the fort at Niagara, the English garrisoned Oswego, whereupon the French built a fort at Crown Point. Although the French governor had warned the governor of Pennsylvania to prevent any English from trading beyond the Alleghanies on penalty of seizure, although the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle provided for a commission to decide the dispute over this western boundary, the English government granted to a company six hundred thousand acres in the Ohio Valley, and traders were encouraged to enter there. The dispute for this rich territory then assumed warlike proportions.

Both sides began to make arrangements to meet the coming storm. Another line of forts, extending from Niagara to the juncture of the Alleghany and Mononga-

[1] Drake: "The Making of the Great West," New York, 1887, p. 128.
[2] "Narrative and Critical History of America," Vol. V. p. 7.

hela Rivers, was commenced by the French. The latter was an important point for both parties, as it fully commanded the disputed region. The English were the first to reach this place, and began the erection of a fort; but the French soon appeared on the scene, and compelled the

Montcalm.

former to withdraw, and thereupon began the erection of Fort Duquesne, now Pittsburg. A bloody struggle for this region now became inevitable. In fact, the French and Indian War, that lasted nine years, was now begun.[1]

At this time, the English colonists numbered eleven

[1] Known in European history as the "Seven Years' War."

hundred and sixty thousand whites, while the French in both New France and Louisiana could muster only about one-half as many;[1] but as usual the latter were much more closely allied with the various Indian tribes, and had also fortified their territory. In this way, the forces of the two

Death of Wolfe.

were rendered more nearly equal. It was at this time that the name of the grandest character in the early annals of our country appears upon the pages of history. George Washington, commander of the Virginia militia, had

[1] Vide Parkman: "Montcalm and Wolfe," Boston, 1884, Vol. I. p. 20.

already performed his daring mission to the French commander to warn him to leave the Ohio Valley, when the latter began the erection of Fort Duquesne. The events of this war can not be given in detail. It was long, and cost both England and her colonies many brave men and much money. One of the bloody incidents of this war was the celebrated Braddock's Defeat, the details of which can be learned from any school history. The great and crowning event of the war was the daring capture of Quebec by the English General Wolfe, in which battle both Wolfe and the French commander, Montcalm, lost their lives.

The results of the war were of great moment to our country, for the French power in America was completely broken. By the treaty of Paris, New France as well as all of Louisiana east of the Mississippi, except New Orleans, was ceded to the English. Now Spain had joined France in this war and the English had captured Havana. In order to regain that city, Spain was forced to cede Florida to Great Britain. As a compensation to Spain for this bad luck, France ceded New Orleans and all of her vast possessions west of the Mississippi to that nation. Thus we see how, for the time being, Spain and England shared unequally between them the entire American continent.[1]

The French and Indian War was of still greater importance to the English colonists themselves. They learned that there was strength in unity, and that they, united, could raise a formidable army, capable of coping with some of the powers of the Old World. When negotiations were pending for the Peace of Paris, when the English envoy demanded the surrender of so much of French territory as a condition of that treaty, the French minister of foreign affairs frankly warned the British that

1 "Montcalm and Wolfe," Vol. II. pp. 404–6.

the cession of Canada to England meant, at no distant day, the independence of the North American colonies.[1] The English, insisting upon their demands, did not heed the warning, and that train of events that led to such momentous results for all Americans was soon commenced.

Samuel Adams.

English statesmen could but see the growing spirit of independence among the colonies, and consequently took measures to counteract the same. Those who supposed that the inborn spirit of freedom could be checked by oppression and hostility seem, for the time being, to have

[1] Bancroft, Vol. II. p. 564.

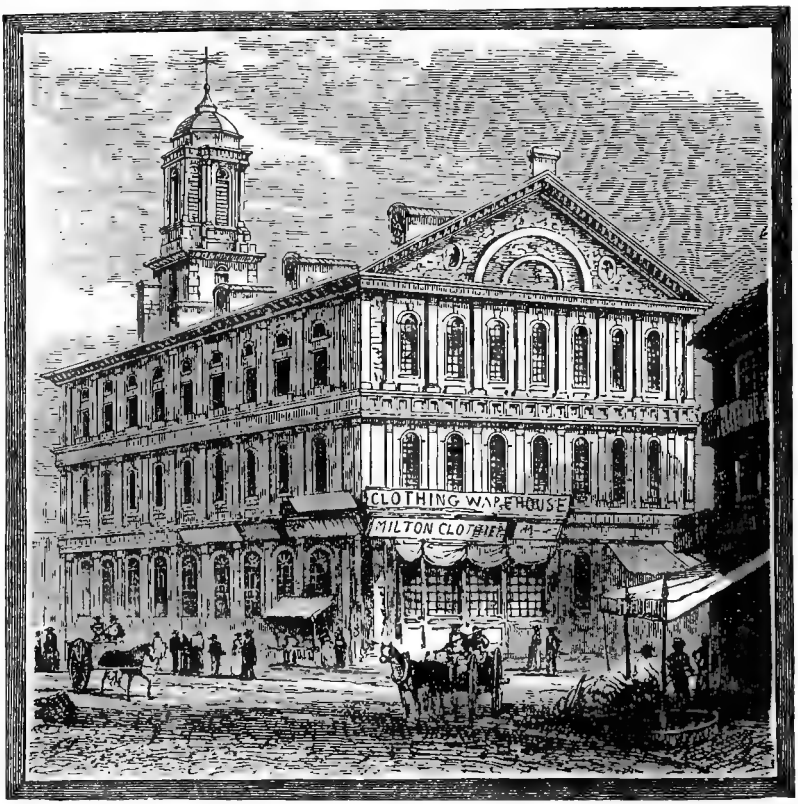
been in the ascendency in Parliament. The government listened, not to the warnings of Burke, Pitt, and other humane and able statesmen, but continued to enact oppressive measures. We have already noticed the Navigation Act, by which the British government restricted colonial trade by compelling all exports to be shipped in English vessels. To enforce these laws restricting commerce, "writs of assistance" were authorized, commanding and empowering the colonial officials to enforce them.[1] These acts aroused the fiery eloquence of James Otis, and the fearless opposition of John Adams, and other illustrious patriots of those times.

When at last the famous "Stamp Act" became a law, which asserted the right of the English Parliament to tax her colonists although they had no representation in that Parliament, the whole colonial population denounced its injustice. All the prominent colonial legislative assemblies declared their opposition to this act. All of the colonies were willing to tax themselves and thus help bear the burden of the debt incurred by the French and Indian War, but they denied the right of Parliament to tax them, while they were unrepresented. Benjamin Franklin of Philadelphia was chosen to bear this message to the English government, while the eloquence of Patrick Henry and of Samuel Adams urged the people to protect their rights at all hazards.

In 1765, a colonial congress was held, in which nine colonies were represented, to deliberate upon methods for opposing the enforcement of the Stamp Act. The stamp officers resigned; but at this moment Parliament, listening to the arguments of those friends of the colonists and of justice, Pitt and Burke, and having equal regard for the

[1] Ibid. 546.

feelings of the London merchants whose trade was injured, repealed the obnoxious act. The question was not, however, settled. The right of taxing the colonists was still held by England, and as persistently denied by the colonists. As if to test the question further, Parliament put a tax on tea and several other articles.




Faneuil Hall, Boston.

Troops were finally quartered upon the colonists to enforce the laws. This led to the shedding of the first blood of the Revolution in New York, during a riot between the soldiers and the "Sons of Liberty." It also led to the "Boston Massacre," in which a number of per-

sons were killed or wounded (1770). The tax was finally removed from everything except tea, but it was not the amount of the tax that the colonists were contending for, but the principle of the thing. Accordingly, when the East India Company's ships appeared in the American

John Hancock.

harbor, they had no sale for tea although it was offered at a lower rate than its current price in England—but there was one fatal objection, there was a tax upon it. The famous Boston tea party convinced Parliament that the colonists were in earnest (1763).

The changing of the port of Massachusetts from Bos-

ton to Salem was an act of revenge on the part of Parliament. The first Continental Congress finally met (1774), and "agreed upon a declaration of rights, recommended the suspension of all commercial intercourse with England, and sent a petition to the king."[1] General Gage was at once made military governor of Massachusetts, but his force was not sufficient to enforce the laws. At Concord Bridge, near Boston, the first engagement of the war occurred, known as the Battle of Lexington (1775). The result is a common-place of American history.

It is not necessary, nor would it be in keeping with our object to do more than recall a few salient points in the Revolutionary war that now ensued. George Washington was appointed to the command of the military forces of the colonists, and soon gathered twenty thousand recruits around Boston, fortifying Bunker Hill or (Breeds' Hill), commanding that city. Though the Americans were worsted in the battle that followed, the British were compelled to evacuate within a year. Next England hired German mercenary troops, known as Hessians, for service in America; but the colonists retaliated by publishing their Declaration of Independence. The struggle that now ensued was a long and burdensome one for the colonists, but the Continental Congress was inspired with courage to defend American liberty to the last.

We are not able to record any brilliant successes for the Americans until Burgoyne surrendered his entire force to the American General Gates, at Saratoga (1777). This however was a double success, for it induced the French to recognize the independence of the colonies and to send them some assistance. Indeed, LaFayette had already offered his services to the colonists and was fighting in the

[1] Swinton, p. 118.

American ranks. In the South, the American force under Nathaniel Greene was by no means capable of meeting the British under Cornwallis, in open battle; but he did inflict many heavy blows on the Royalist cause. Every one knows how Cornwallis had intrenched himself in supposed security at Yorktown, but here he was suddenly besieged by the American land forces, under Washington, while a French fleet prevented escape by way of the sea, and con-

Washington Crossing the Delaware.

sequently he was forced to a humiliating surrender. This event insured success to the American cause (1781).

It was two years after the surrender of Cornwallis before a treaty of peace was ratified and the army disbanded. By that treaty, England retained only Canada, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland, while Spain received Florida. The United States was acknowledged as free and independent. Thus a new nation had been brought into being—a nation

that was destined to occupy a greater stretch of territory than any other (except Russia) and to rival the powers of the old world in culture and importance. The territory of this Republic, at first, however, extended only from the great lakes on the north to Florida on the south and from

La Fayette.

the sea to the Mississippi from east to west. When the eighteenth century closed upon this new nation, its population numbered over five and a quarter millions,[1] and settlers were pouring over the Alleghanies into the Mississippi Valley.

[1] Labberton Op. cit. p. 173.

The States were at first governed by Articles of Confederation, but these were, after a few years' trial, replaced by the new constitution (1787), under which George Washington became first president and John Adams first vice-president, while Hamilton, Knox, Jefferson, and Randolph formed the first cabinet. The finances were placed upon a solid basis by Hamilton and the first national bank was established within two years. With the retirement of Washington, the old Federalist party elected John Adams to the office of president. His single term of office was rendered unpopular by the passage of the Alien and Sedition Laws and the revision of the Naturalization Laws, as well as by trouble with the French Directory. In the last year of the century, the capital of our country was removed from Philadelphia to its present site, the newly built city of Washington.

With Thomas Jefferson, the old Republican party came into power. At this time, negotiations began with France for a great strip of territory west of the Mississippi, known as Louisiana. At the close of the French and Indian War, it will be remembered, all this territory had been ceded to Spain, and it remained a Spanish possession during the remainder of that century. As our present century dawned upon the young republic, rumors reached the halls of Congress to the effect that Spain was secretly conveying to the French government a large portion of her North American territory, in fact all that portion bordering on the Mississippi river. This was likely to greatly interfere with the commercial interests of the States, and measures were at once adopted to protect our rights and interests.

The transference of the territory had indeed taken place two years before France would acknowledge it, for Spain was authorized to hold and govern Louisiana for

France until such a time as the latter would deem it advisable to make the transfer known. Now, by a former treaty, Americans were permitted to land and store their goods at New Orleans until they could be shipped to foreign markets, but this right was suddenly denied them. When we realize that in those days, this was the only easy outlet for the commerce of this western region, we can calcu-

John Adams.

late the great amount of damage that this was to the Northwest Territory and the Ohio Valley. France was at this time on the verge of war with England. It took no great amount of argument to prove to Napoleon that America, by joining with the British, could easily snatch all this territory from him, and the American government seriously contemplated such a step.[1]

[1] For a full account of this transaction, vide Gazarre: "History of

Napoleon suddenly determined to cede the whole of Louisiana and West Florida to the United States government, in order to prevent it falling into English possession. Knowing well the value of this territory, he remarked; "This accession of territory strengthens forever the power of the United States, and I have just given to England a maritime rival, that will sooner or later humble her pride."[1] This remark shows the motive that Napoleon had in ceding this territory to the United States. The price paid for this additional territory was eighty million francs, or twenty million dollars, one-fourth of which was offset by an American claim against France.

The territory thus gained by the United States embraced our present states of Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Nebraska, and parts of Kansas and Colorado; also Dakota and parts of Montana, Wyoming, and Indian territories—a region remarkable for its resources and the fertility of its soil. The present state of Louisiana was organized into the "Territory of Orleans," and the balance of the purchase into the "District of Louisiana."[2] Originally a number of the Atlantic states claimed possession of broad belts of western land upon the terms of their old English charters, which gave them territory reaching from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

Three years after the close of the Revolution, this western territory was ceded to the general government; and one year later, all that portion surrounded by the Ohio, the Mississippi, the great lakes, and Pennsylvania was organized into the North-west Territory, Congress at the same time declaring that slavery must not be introduced into this region. Now, while emigrants from New

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Louisiana," New Orleans, 1885, Vol. III. pp. 399, 447 *et seq.*

[1] Ibid. p. 525. [2] Swinton, pp. 220-1.

England were pouring into this new territory, settlers from Virginia and North Carolina were finding homes in the regions south of the Ohio. Among these latter pioneers, Daniel Boone stands formost.[1] Their settlements centered around Lexington in the "blue grass region." The result of this westward migration was the admission of two new

Benedict Arnold.

states into the United States—Kentucky, nine years after the close of the Revolution, and Tennessee, four years later still. The balance of the territory between Georgia and the Mississippi became the "Mississippi Territory."

In 1800, the North-west Territory had a population of forty-five thousand inhabitants; two years later, the

1 Drake; "The Making of the Great West," pp. 165-6.

eastern portion, possessing a population of sixty thousand, became the State of Ohio. Fourteen and sixteen years later, Indiana and Illinois, respectively, were organized into separate states. The Territory of Orleans became

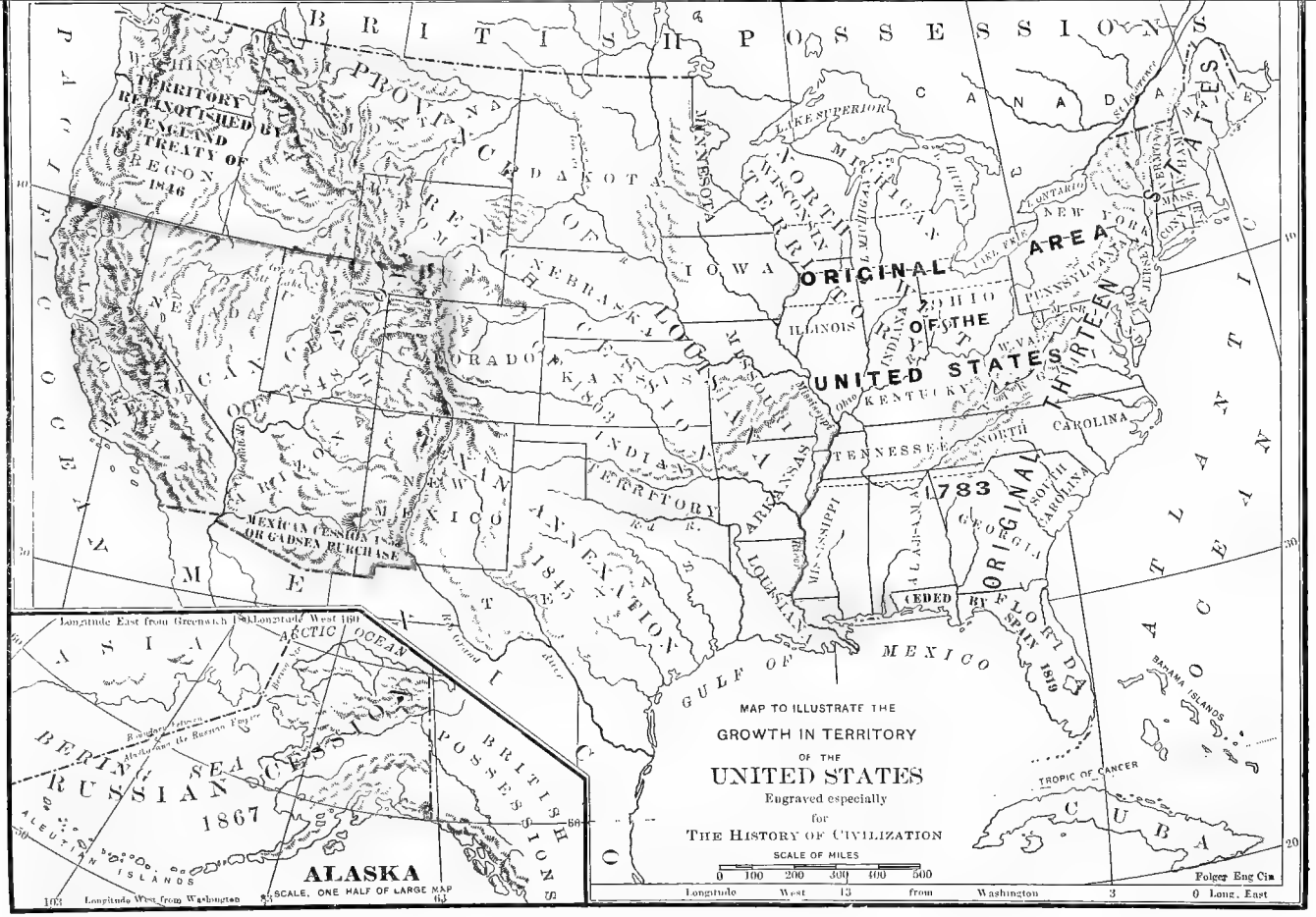
Paul Jones.

the state of Louisiana nine years after the purchase of Louisiana from France. Mississippi and Alabama were also states before the close of the second decade of the present century. Thus we see nearly the whole region east of the Mississippi forming into a compact union of states.

The Republic was allowed to enjoy only thirty years of peace, before trouble arose with England. Napoleon's "Berlin Decree," followed by England's "Orders in Council," closed the ports of Europe to American commerce. Then, too, England's claim of right to search all vessels for English-born seamen, whom she might force into service, caused much greater ill-feeling between the United States and that nation. At last, the American ports were closed against the offending European powers. This action further injured American commerce. Many men were thrown out of employment, and "grass grew on the idle wharves of New York and Philadelphia." The country was divided upon the subject of war. The hostile faction ruled, and the war of 1812 began.

For two years, the Americans were successful enough on the seas and great lakes to gain at least the respect of England and foreign powers. In fact, Commodore Perry swept the British from the lakes and captured Toronto. Upper Canada was occupied. The following year, the Americans were victors at Chippewa and Lundy's Lane, but were finally forced out of Canada. Then, the new capital being left unguarded, the British General Ross sailing up the Potomac, captured and burned it. The peace party was now in the ascendency, and the treaty of Ghent was signed to close the war (1814); but before the news had reached the far South, General Jackson had fought his famous battle of New Orleans, in which the British were repulsed with great loss.

This war had involved Spain; because the Spanish governor of Florida had not only rendered the British some assistance, but had also incited the Indians to make war against the Americans and had furnished them with arms. General Jackson was for four years engaged in


MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE
GROWTH IN TERRITORY
OF THE
UNITED STATES
Engraved especially
for
THE HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION
SCALE OF MILES
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Longitude West 13 from Washington 3 0 Long. East
BRITISH POSSESSIONS
CANADA
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
CUBA
BAHAMA ISLANDS
TROPIC OF CANCER
ORIGINAL AREA OF THE UNITED STATES
THIRTEEN ORIGINAL STATES
1783
CEDED BY SPAIN 1819
FLORIDA
GEORGIA
SOUTH CAROLINA
NORTH CAROLINA
TENNESSEE
KENTUCKY
VIRGINIA
PENNSYLVANIA
NEW YORK
MASS.
CONN.
VERMONT
N. HAMP.
MAINE
OHIO
INDIANA
ILLINOIS
MICHIGAN
WISCONSIN
IOWA
MISSOURI
ARKANSAS
LOUISIANA
MISSISSIPPI
ALABAMA
KANSAS
NEBRASKA
DAKOTA
MINNESOTA
MONTANA
WASHINGTON
OREGON
NEVADA
CALIFORNIA
UTAH
COLORADO
ARIZONA
NEW MEXICO
TEXAS
INDIAN TERRITORY
LOUISIANA PURCHASE 1803
TERRITORY RELINQUISHED BY ENGLAND BY TREATY OF OREGON 1846
MEXICAN CESSION 1848
MEXICAN CESSION 1853 OR GADSEN PURCHASE
TEXAS ANNEXATION 1845
RUSSIAN CESSION 1867
BERING SEA
ALEUTIAN ISLANDS
ALASKA
BRITISH POSSESSIONS
ARCTIC OCEAN
ASIA
Longitude East from Greenwich 180 Longitude West 160
SCALE, ONE HALF OF LARGE MAP
Longitude West from Washington

conquering these hostile tribes. At last, he captured the Spanish town of Pensacola and Fort Barrancas. Soon after this, a treaty of peace with Spain was signed, by the terms of which, upon the payment of certain claims by the United States, the Floridas were ceded to the latter

James Madison.

power. Florida, however, did not become a state until 1845.[1]

The Louisiana purchase had not been completed, be-

1 Vide Fairbanks: "History of Florida," Philadelphia, 1871, p. 260 *et seq.*

fore our government took steps to learn what sort of a region this great West and Northwest was. Napoleon had believed that it abounded in all manner of wealth; while Jefferson believed that through this region lay the long sought westward path to China. No one knew the distance from the Mississippi to the Pacific, for this whole region was a trackless wilderness to the white man.[1] Long previous to this time, Russia had sent her explorers to the coast of Alaska, thus founding her claim to that fur-producing country, while the Hudson Bay Company was becoming familiar with all that is now British North America.

Above New Orleans, St. Louis was the only town of any note in the great region of Louisiana. It was peopled with a great medly of mankind, drawn thither by the profits of trade with this western region, whose only paths were the Indian trails or the streams that brought its waters to the Mississippi. Beyond this, the only whites were the trapper, the trader, and that harbinger of civilization, the solitary pioneer. How extensively these inglorious trappers and backwoodsmen explored the great West, we cannot tell; but Jonathan Carver was the first to set his face westward from the great lake region for the sole purpose of exploration.[2] Still he barely reached the western boundary of our present state of Minnesota.

About four years after the birth of our country, when American commerce was springing up, a company of New Englanders, forming the plan of opening trade between the Pacific coast and China in order to procure tea first hand for American consumption, sent two vessels around the Cape to gather cargoes of furs from the northwestern

[1] Drake: "Making of the Great West," p. 154 *et seq.*

[2] Drake, Op. cit. p. 150.

coast and trade them in China for tea. About four years later, upon a second voyage, Captain Gray, of the ship Columbia, entered the Columbia River from the Pacific, naming it from his ship. Upon this voyage the United

Andrew Jackson.

States based its claim to the territory, that now forms Oregon, Washington Territory, and Idaho. There was, however, at a later day, some dispute as to our title to this region.[1]

[1] Vide H. H. Bancroft: "History of the Pacific States," Vol. XXII. p. 259 *et seq.*

Even then, more was known about Kamtchatka or the Nile than about this region west of the Mississippi. The North American continent was occupied by four governments when Jefferson became president. He had long cherished the plan of exploring the Missouri to its source, hoping to find an easy passage across to the Columbia River, and thus a short, practical western route for commerce with China.[1] Thus originated the expedition of Lewis and Clark. They left St. Louis for their long journey while that town was yet a French, or rather a Spanish possession.[2]

Nearly four years were occupied in making the trip to the Pacific and returning to Washington. It was a memorable expedition, and opened up an enormous region to immigrants who were ready to follow. It furnished our government with the first reliable information as to the extensive and valuable possession it had purchased from a foreign power.[3] As a further result, this expedition was followed by the organization of the Pacific Fur Company, which built the first trading post in Oregon, naming it Astoria, in honor of the projector of the company, John Jacob Astor. The territory of Colorado and the Arkansas valley had already been explored by Lieutenant Pike who first brought back the information that gold had been found in the Rockies.

The troublous times of the Napoleonic era in Europe and the tedious task of adjusting affairs afterwards gave Mexico a chance to declare its independence from Spain. This was done six years after the final banishment of the first Napoleon. Then Mexico included Texas and all of

1 Drake Op. cit. p. 187.

2 That is, Spain still held Louisiana for France.

3 Bancroft, Op. cit. Vol. XXIII. pp. 6-86.

what is now South-western United States. It was an immense region, abundantly rich in the precious metals. During the early years of the eighteenth century, the first settlement was made in Texas by Spaniards. During the latter part of the same century, San Diego, California, was

Tyler.

founded, noting the first occupancy of California by the Spaniards.[1] It will be further noticed that, although Drake had been the first to discover the northern coast of California, the English lost their claim to the territory by failing to occupy it.

[1] Hittell: "History of California," San Francisco, Vol. I. 309.

When Florida was ceded to the United States, many of our statesmen understood that the Rio Grande was to be the north-eastern boundary of Spanish America, but the Sabine was finally settled upon as such. So that Texas, as a part of Mexico, remained under Spanish rule until the two became independent. Presidents John Quincy Adams and Jackson tried to buy Texas from Mexico, but failed. At last, the Texans asserted and maintained their independence of Mexico. General Sam Houston was made President of the "Lone Star State." So loudly did it clamor for admission to the United States, that our country became divided on the question. When Polk was elected President, however, it was regarded as a victory for those who favored the annexation. Finally Congress took the matter up; and, in spite of warning from Mexico that such an action would be considered a ground for war, passed a resolution annexing Texas as a state among the states of our Union.

About this time Captain J. C. Fremont had been sent by the government to find a new or southern route across the continent to Oregon. While in California, he received word to protect the interests of those Americans who had drifted across to the Pacific coast.[1] Even before the pioneers in these regions had heard of the trouble between Mexico and the United States, the Californians had raised the standard of revolt against the Mexican government. The Americans were foremost in this action, and, no doubt, Fremont and other American officials countenanced it and favored the independence of California; and it must further be remembered that there were agents from both

1 Bancroft ("History of the Pacific States," Vol. XVII,) and Hittell ("History of California,") cast serious reflections on the actions of Fremont, intimating that he turned his expedition into a filibustering one.

France and England anxious to gain a foothold in this region for their respective governments.

The war with Mexico that followed the events just mentioned lasted about two years (1846–1848). Generals Taylor and Scott were usually victorious, and our flag

Fremont.

was soon floating over the Mexican capital itself. When General Kearney, who commanded the Californian expedition, reached the Pacific coast, he found Fremont and Stockton already in possession of that section. The treaty of Gaudaloupe Hidalgo, which closed the war, transferred Upper California and New Mexico to the United States,

and fixed the Rio Grande as the boundary between the two republics. Mexico was paid fifteen million dollars for this immense territory. Five years later, the "Gads-

Taylor.

den Purchase" was made, by which, for ten million dollars, our government received further concession of territory, including a large part of Arizona, and fixing the southern boundary of the United States as at present.[2]

[1] The United States also relinquished several million dollars in claims against Mexico for depredations committed by raiders.

[2] Labberton: "General History," p. 178.

The Pacific Fur Company was using capital without stint in order to make the enterprise a financial success; but it was regarded with an evil eye by the British North-west Company. When, thererefore, the war of 1812 began, the North-west Company took measures to crush its American competitor. The small band of traders at Astoria, receiving no protection from its government, at last sold the entire interests of the Company to its rival.[1]

Very soon disputes arose between the British and American governments as to the territory of Oregon. The United States claimed it by right of discovery, exploration, and first settlement. Still the two governments agreed upon a joint occupancy for a term of years. Then came the celebrated "Monroe Doctrine." President Monroe, in his annual message, declared "that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are not to be considered as subjects for colonization by any European power."[2] It became all the more necessary, then, to settle the question at issue between our government and that of Great Britain. After a series of negotiations, lasting nearly a quarter of a century, the forty-ninth parellel of north latitude was fixed upon as the boundary of this western region.[3]

In this way, the United States gained another vast addition of territory, comprising the present state of Oregon and the Territories of Washington and Idaho. This gave us a compact territory, and it seemed as if the great American republic had at last attained its growth in

1 Greenhow: "History of Oregon and California," New York, 1845, p. 301 *et seq.*

2 President's Message, Dec. 2, 1823.

3 Barrows: "Oregon," Boston, 1884.

territory, but such was not the case. Shortly before the breaking out of our Civil War, it became a common belief that Russia was not finding her American possessions profitable, as they were too far from the central government.

James Monroe.

Almost since the discovery of Alaska by an expedition sent out by Catharine I., the territory had been occupied by the Russian-American Company. Quite a trade had sprung up with the Americans of the Pacific coast after the discovery of gold in California, so that western traders and fishers knew the value of that territory as a fur-

producing region. About the time that the Russian American Company's third charter expired, there was an attempt made to organize a Pacific company that might control a share of the Russian-American trade. The agitation of this subject caused the American government to study the resources of Alaska, and finally led to negotiations for its purchase.[1]

The Civil War intervened, and our government was fully occupied with weightier matters. At the close of the war, while Mr. Seward was secretary of state, the subject of purchase was again brought before the people; and, after considerable diplomatic maneuvering, Alaska, free from all charters and incumbrances, was ceded to the United States for the sum of seven million, two hundred thousand dollars. Thus our country was enlarged by four thousand miles of coast-line,[2] five hundred and seventy thousand square miles of territory,[3] by valuable fishing tracts, and by mining and timber lands of unknown value—in fact that was no mean bargain by which a territory was added to the United States that already pays a yearly revenue of over half a million.[4] There were those who at the time, however, considered it a foolish waste of money.

In tracing the growth of our country from the thirteen original colonies that rebelled against Great Britain, to its present vast dimensions we have necessarily avoided much of the internal history that was of moment to our government. We must glance at these important movements. We have seen that the question of slavery was, early in this

[1] Vide H. H. Bancroft: "History of the Pacific States," Vol. XXVIII. p. 590 *et seq.*

[2] This is exclusive of islands. Including the numerous islands, the coast-line is estimated at over eleven thousand miles.

[3] See Sumner's speech in his "Works," Boston, 1875, Vol. XI.

[4] Vide Seward: "The Diplomatic History of the War for the Union," Boston, 1884.

century, agitating Europe more or less. Early in the seventeenth century, the emancipation of slaves had its advocates in America.[1] From slight beginnings in old colonial times, the question grew to enormous proportions. When the North-western Territory was organized, a clause, as we have seen, was inserted in its articles of organization forbidding slavery within its boundaries. From that time, the question was sure to arise whenever a portion of that territory applied for admission into the Union as a state.

In this way, there arose the custom of pairing off states. When one was admitted on condition of no slavery in its borders, another territory was sure to apply demanding the right of fostering slavery in its midst. Thus were admitted the pairs of states—Vermont and Kentucky, Tennessee and Ohio, Louisiana and Indiana. Then Alabama was admitted as a slave state. When Maine was finally admitted as a free state, Missouri had already applied for admission as a slave state. But the balance, destroyed by the admission of Alabama, was now restored, and there was a bitter fight over the admission of any more slave states.

Four sessions of Congress were occupied with this question. Finally Henry Clay offered a resolution which, when modified by amendments and restrictions, became a law. By it Missouri became a state "on equal footing with the original states."[2] But Congress at the same time declared that there should never be slavery in that portion of the Territory of Louisiana north of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes, north latitude. This was the celebrated "Missouri Compromise." In this way, a line was drawn

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1 Vide Wilson: "Rise and Fall of the Slave Power," Boston, 1872, Vol. I. p. 9. *et seq.*

2 Colton: "Works of Henry Clay," Vol. I. p. 282.

between the free and slave portions of our country. If it were in our field to dwell upon the agitation of this question both North and South, our space would not permit it. We can only note that the North was pretty generally opposed to the extension of slavery, and the South favored it.

It is evident that in the growing importance of this question is contained the germs of that great conflict which was soon to convulse the land. The question was kept alive in Congress by frequent applications of territories for admission as states. Thus Arkansas and Michigan were paired. After a few years Florida and Texas became states, and they were soon offset by Iowa and Wisconsin. In 1850, further compromises between the opposing factions were brought before Congress. We have reached the day of great men in the history of the life of our Republic. Clay, Calhoun, Webster, Chase, Davis, Sumner, Beecher, Seward, Stanton, Lincoln, and hundreds of others stand conspicuous in the annals of the time. The halls of Congress then resounded with burning words of eloquence such as are wont to inspire only remarkable men in the support of questions of great moment.

The various sides of the all-absorbing questions of those days were supported by men of almost equal powers and eloquence. At last, the Missouri Compromise was undermined by other compromises that rendered it, in effect, null and void; for Congress empowered all territories to control, by a vote of their residents, the question of slavery within their borders. And as a *finale* to the heated discussions on this point, California was admitted as a state. It was not until four years later, however, that it became established that the adoption of these later compromise bills abrogated the Missouri Compromise.[1]

[1] Op. cit. Vol. II. p. 231 *et seq.*

The organization of Kansas and Nebraska into territories (1854) marks another stage reached in the decision of this ever rising question. The bill for organization was passed, but it was especially provided that the inhabitants

John Brown.

of the territory should decide by vote the question of slavery in their state. As a consequence, the two political factions centered their energies upon Kansas. Societies were formed for the express purpose of sending emigrants

into this new territory, who were expected to vote in accordance with the wishes of the section from which they came. From the South and from the North, streams of immigrants flowed toward the west, filling the territory with a divided population and almost causing civil war. Indeed, John Brown and his four sons (one killed in the battle of Black Jack) had several skirmishes with bands of raiders from Missouri, in which a number of lives were lost.[1] But the career of that enthusiastic leader was brought to a sudden close by his foolhardy invasion of Virginia and seizure of the arsenal at Harper's Ferry, in hopes that the slaves would rally around him, and he could thus enforce their freedom. Kansas, however, allied itself with the free states.

Before Kansas became a state, a presidential election occurred, in which the leading issue was virtually Slavery or no Slavery. The election of President Lincoln was regarded by both political factions as a signal for civil war. This was followed by the secession from the Union of South Carolina and preparations for a civil war that cost more lives and property than the most gifted in prophecy could have foretold in those first days of strife. Before the time came for the inauguration of Lincoln, six other states—Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, Georgia, and Texas—had joined the standard of secession, had organized themselves into the "Confederate States of America," and had elected Jefferson Davis president of the Confederacy.

The first act of the Confederate government was to gain possession of the arsenals and military stores in the South. This led to the attack and surrender of Fort Sumter, recorded as the first event in the War of the Rebellion; while a week later, a mob attacked a regiment

[1] See Greeley: "The American Conflict," Vol. I. p. 281.

of troops in Baltimore, and there the first blood of the Civil War was shed. Within two months more, Virginia, North Carolina, Arkansas, and Tennessee had joined the Confederacy, while in the remaining slave states—Delaware, Maryland, Missouri, and Kentucky—the majority

Jefferson Davis.

for the Union was fortunately sufficient to hold them from that step. Richmond, Virginia, was then made the capital of the Confederate States.

It would be useless for us to attempt to give in detail the events of this great struggle. Nor is it necessary, bearing in mind the object of our present writing. We will content ourselves with simply sketching the course of

events. Our object is only to gather a birds-eye-view, so to speak, of the growth of our country; only incidentally are we to note the great struggle between the two sections, to learn enough of its history only to understand the story of its growth in culture, to be told later. Many great names in history now make their appearance. The veteran General Scott was still commander-in-chief of the Union forces, though he soon gave way to younger officers who were better able to take the field. Generals Butler, McClellan, Pope, and Burnside were conspicuous among the early leaders of the Union forces, while Beauregard, Johnston, and Jackson were just as prominent Confederates.

Later, we hear of Grant, Sherman, and Sheridan, and the Confederate General Robert E. Lee, to whom John Brown surrendered at Harper's Ferry. In civil life, we find such names as Stanton, Chase, Seward, and Sumner. Of course there were a host of others who still live enshrined in the memories of their countrymen. It was a period of great men, and the above were great among the great. The war centered about the Confederate capital Richmond, in the East; while Kentucky, Missouri, Tennessee, and the Mississippi regions were the theatres of military operations in the West. The first important battle was that of Bull Run, and through the defeat of the Union forces, Congress was led to appropriate five hundred million dollars, and to call for half a million troops. Then it was that both sides began to realize the enormity of the breach that had occurred.

While General Grant was busy planning the conquest of the West, the opening of the Mississippi, and the severing of the Confederate territory, the seaports were blockaded; but the attempts on Richmond were failures. Then,

too, on account of the Trent affair, Great Britain came perilously near declaring war on the North. The Confederacy was recognized as a belligerent power by both Eng-

Fort Sumter in Ruins.

land and France; and hopes of recognition as an independent power cheered the Confederates in their desperate struggle. During these dark days, the best friend

the United States had in Europe was autocratic Russia, then under the enlightened government of Alexander II. When, during the second year of his administration, Lincoln issued his celebrated Proclamation of Emancipation, every northern man realized that there was no longer any compromise short of submission by the South that could settle the breach. The early part of the second year of the war witnessed the remarkable naval battle between the Merrimac and the Monitor, resulting in a victory for the latter and for the Union cause.

The third year of the war was ushered in by a long, discouraging series of disasters for the northern army. In fact, the plans of the Union commanders had failed at every point. But this was just before the dawn of a series of brilliant successes, destined to break the power of the Confederate government. The northern army, under General Meade, centered a strong force at Gettysburg, where it confronted the Confederate army invading the North under General Lee. A two days' battle decided the victory for the Union forces. The next day, news came of the surrender of Vicksburg to General Grant. Five days later, Port Hudson surrendered to General Banks, and the Mississippi at last "ran unvexed to the sea."

The Confederacy came near winning a great success in East Tennessee this same year, where, by the fortunes of war, Rosecrans' forces were besieged in Chattanooga, and were nearly starved out. General Grant was however placed in command of the Union forces, and ably seconded by Hooker and Sherman, raised the siege and drove the Confederate forces to the south. At this time, occurred the famous Battle of Lookout Mountain. The movements of General Grant had been so successful and decisive that

he was made Lieutenant General and commander of all the Union forces; and thereupon began those great maneuvers that brought the war to a close. While the Commander-in-chief was busy on the Potomac, conquering the forces of Virginia and hemming in the capital city of Rich-

Farragut.

mond, Sherman was making his celebrated "march to the sea." Then the two armies were in shape to cooperate against the Confederates.

Early in April of the fourth year of the war, the stars

and stripes were again unfurled over Richmond, and the Civil War was rapidly drawing to a close. A few days later, Lee surrendered to Grant at Appomattox Court House, and Johnston, knowing it was useless to continue the struggle, surrendered his army to Sherman. By the end of May, the few remaining, straggling southern forces had surrendered, and the Civil War was over. A gloom of sadness was cast over the North in the midst of rejoicing over the surrender of Lee and the promised end of the war, when tidings were borne over the land with electric rapidity that the great leader of the nation had been shot down by an assassin.

Abraham Lincoln had gained the love of the North and the respect of the South; and it is gratifying to the historian to record that the hand that so brutally murdered our President was not instigated by the leaders of the rebellion. It was the act of a band of fanatics who had conspired to slay the successful leaders in this struggle. It is also gratifying to note that amnesty was granted to nearly all those who had rebelled against the government and that no executions followed the victory of the Northern States.

What we have had to say of our Civil War is scarcely deserving of the name of an outline even, but it will serve our purpose. Let it be noted that a difference between these two great sections of our country can be traced back to the very beginning of colonization in America. We can hope that the new Union, cemented by so much blood and treasure, will prove to be founded on the rocks so as to with-stand the storms of centuries. In the course of the war, two questions—slavery and state rights—were forever settled. But the work of reconstructing the Southern States was a long and arduous task, in which President

Johnson and Congress could not agree. But Congress had its way; the states that had seceded were organized into five military districts; the freedmen were at last vested with full powers of citizenship; and to close the whole drama of rebellion, the various states have been re-admit-

General Sherman.

ted into the Union upon complying with certain requirements imposed by Congress. These terms were that the states should adopt the fourteenth amendment, and should present to Congress an acceptable constitution framed by a convention of delegates "elected by the male citizens . .

of whatever race, color, or previous condition", upon the acceptance of which by Congress they became states. Tennessee was the first to comply with these terms, but some of the states preferred to submit to military rule for five years rather than accept the same.

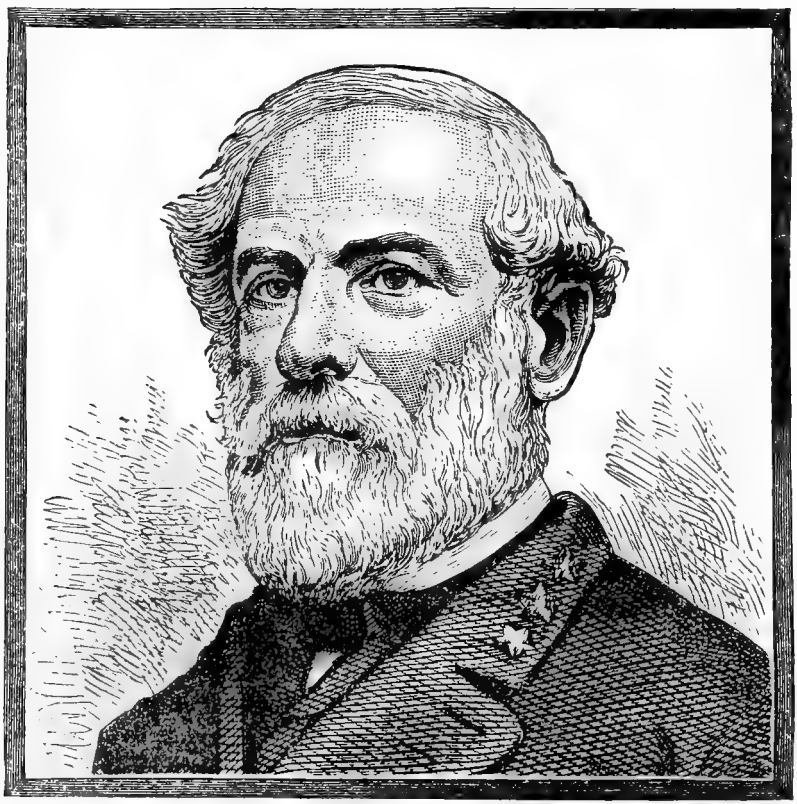
The great Civil War closed with the government burdened with a debt of more than twenty eight hundred million dollars. It was indeed at an enormous price of blood and treasure that our country was re-united into one whole, whose bands of union, let us hope, can never be broken and whose dimensions dwarf every other nation on the globe, except the British and the Russian Empires. Although shaken from sea-coast to mountain summit by this great internal struggle, the growth of the great nation as a whole was scarcely checked.

At the breaking out of the great war, Kansas was knocking for admission as a state; and, with her free constitution, she had only a few months to wait after the slave states had withdrawn. She became one of the most prosperous states in the Union. By the side of California, was springing up a new and rapidly developing territory, whose rich silver mines were inviting multitudes of pioneers into her dominions. Before the war had closed, this territory had become the state of Nevada. Nebraska followed next. Though this territory had been urged into prominence when Kansas was organizing, the near proximity of the latter to the South had led to its earlier development. Nebraska, embracing a territory larger than all New England,[1] became a state two years after the close of the war.

Another indication of national vigor is manifested in the great schemes for the internal improvement of the

[1] Drake: "Making of the Great West," p. 321.

country when the government was straining every nerve to quell rebellion. Notable among the great enterprises of this century, was the plan of joining the extremities of our country by railroads. One source of fear for the unity of our country was the great distance and almost insurmountable mountain barriers that separated the Atlantic



General R. E. Lee.

from the Pacific sea-coast. In the darkest days of the war, however, encouraged by liberal grants of land from the government, a company was formed that had no less object in view than the uniting of the West with the East by a great railway line across the continent. The Pacific

railway was constructed. The distance between the national capital and its remotest state was lessened from eighty to less than six days travel. In fact, the long sought for western route to the Indies was thus at last discovered.

Sheridan.

What an enormous territory was in this way opened up to settlement! Out of it has already been carved the opulent state of Colorado; while Dakota, with its vast granaries and herds of fattened cattle, has long been knocking at the door of the Union for admission. The social system of Utah, cursed by polygamy, is barred out

of the sisterhood of states until that excrescence shall have been removed. Washington, Idaho, Wyoming, Arizona, and even Indian territories will probably, at no late day, demand an equal voice with other states in the government of our country.

Of course, in all this long period of four centuries of American growth, there have been many and cruel wars against the aborigines, whom the civilizations of the Old World had looked upon as their lawful prey. Patriots have existed among this down-trodden people, who deserve a place by the side of the patriots of ancient Greece and Rome; but we have concerned ourselves only with the growth of that race which seems to be destined to supplant all others on the face of the globe. We have seen how they occupied our shores amidst dangers and privations. We have seen how the dominant principle of liberty and independence inspired them, while yet a handful, to cast off the oppressive yoke of foreign government. We have seen how the love of freedom has made all men within the boundaries of our great nation free and equal. We have further seen how these efforts for freedom have grown and developed until our nation stands proudly among the powers of the world that are foremost in all manner of civilizing influences, and foremost in the advancement of true enlightenment. While, however, other countries are filled to overflowing, while other nations must be reaching the limits of their resources, who can measure our resources yet undeveloped? Who can limit our future development? Who can even prophesy what another generation may evolve? Our nation is yet in its infancy, may the historian of it's old age have as little to decry as he has who attempts to describe the beginning of a wonderfully favored people.

# Part II.

## An Analysis of Modern Culture.

I. A Study of Modern Political Institutions.

II. A Study of Modern Culture.

(*a.*) EUROPEAN CULTURE

(*b.*) AMERICAN CULTURE.

III. A Study of Christianity.

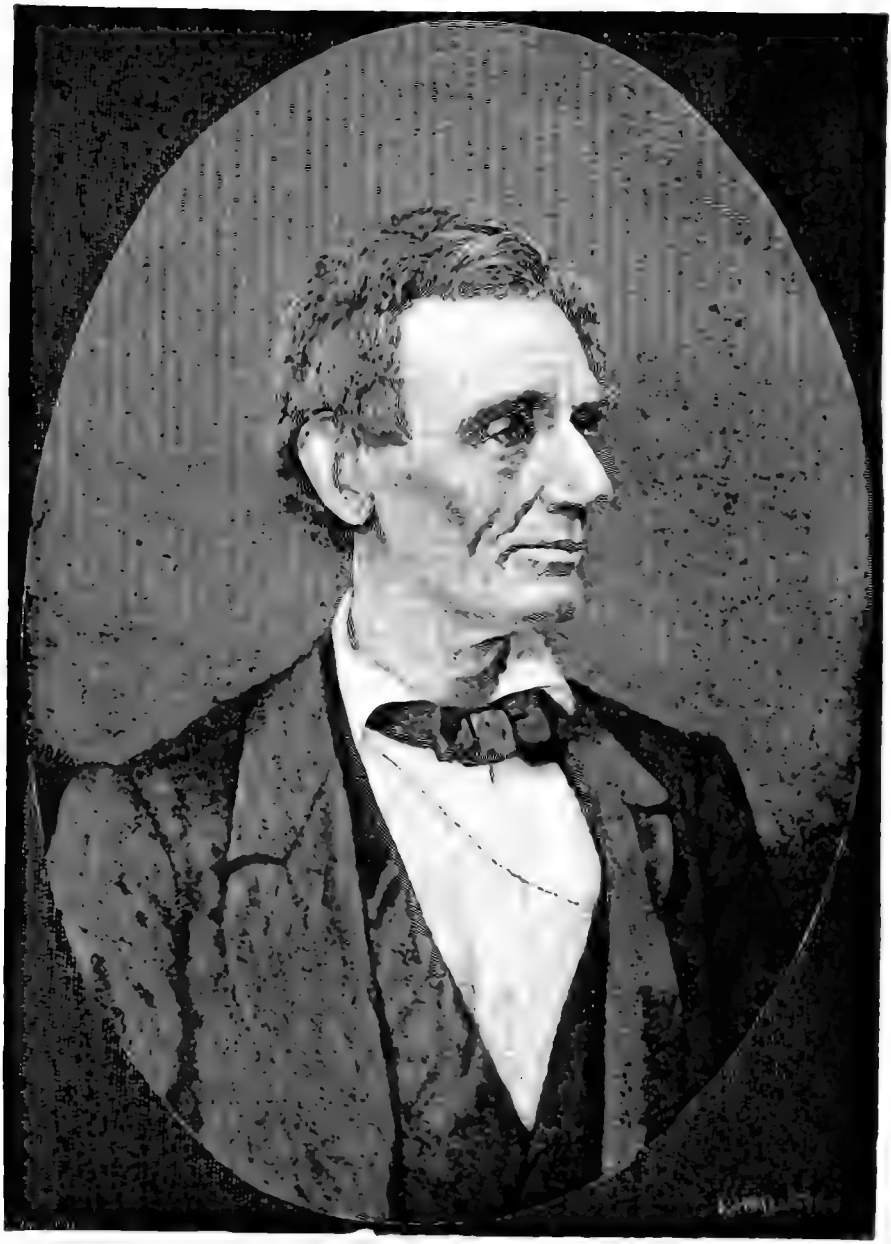
(*a.*) PRE-CHRISTIAN RELIGIOUS CULTURE.

(*b.*) DEVELOPMENT OF CHRISTIANITY.

General Conclusions.

"Civilization has not taken place fortuitously, but in a definite manner, and under the control of natural law; the procession of nations does not move forward like a dream, without reason or order, but there is a predetermined, solemn march, in which all must join, ever moving, ever resistlessly advancing, encountering and enduring an inevitable succession of events; individual life and its advancement through successive stages is the model of social life and its secular variations."

J. W. Draper.

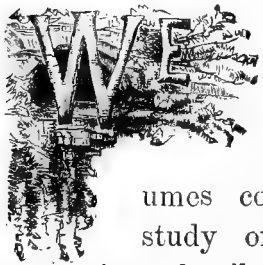


A. Lincoln

# CHAPTER IV.

## SOCIAL AND POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.

INTRODUCTION—Subject Outlined—Institution of Ranks and Classes—Aristocracy of Birth—Nobility in Greece—In Rome—Distinction between Ancient and Modern Nobility—Tribal Origin of Nobility—Parties in Ancient Rome—Titles of Ancient Nobility—Comparison with Modern Titles—Growth of Modern Nobility—Aristocracy of Mind—Levites in Israel—Druids in Gaul—Poets in Ireland—Mandarins in China—Peculiar Features of Chinese Nobility—Aristocracy of Wealth—No Permanent Classes—Growth of Territorial Sovereignty—Distinction between Nation and State—Ancient and Modern Citizenship—Banishment in Ancient Times—Modern Governments Territorial—Ancient and Modern Titles of Rulers—Diversities of Sovereign Powers in Small States of Europe—Growth of Parliamentary Authority—Development from Ancient Times—Hungarian Peculiarities—Outlines of this Development in England—Development of Constitutional Government—Co-workings of the Three Departments of Government—Analysis of American Constitution—General Conclusions.



NOW enter upon the final stage of our work, and desire to study the civilization of the present day. This is indeed a wide and interesting field; volumes could be most profitably filled with a study of this question. But if we can not enter into details, we can at least take note of the more important elements of this culture, show their derivation from a culture of an earlier period, and draw some conclusions as to their probable course of development in the future. We should now be well qualified for this work. We have spent considerable time in tracing out

the general course of human development, and have paid especial attention to Aryan history and culture.

Knowing the difficulties in our way, our first aim must be to grasp the real, significant points, consider them well, and be content to let drop those of little moment. With this object in view, our subject falls into three great divisions. The first is a study of Social and Political Institutions, and herein is contained the real history of culture after all. By that phrase we understand the organizations for government and social purposes, and the peculiar customs resulting therefrom. That question considered, we must next study the present development of those two great factors which, by their co-working, result in the gradual advance of man in civilization. We refer to Religion and Science.

Though the field be extensive, and it be necessary to condense, yet this study ought to be of great interest to all thoughtful men and women. The work we are now to enter upon is the finishing piece, and the test of all that has gone before. If our previous conclusions be confirmed, then we may venture to prophesy of the future. It will be necessary, however, to show that our present culture is in all respects an advance out of previous conditions.

In a former chapter,[1] we traced the origin and development of those social and political institutions, which, in point of time, were the first to be established, and which, in point of quality and rank, form the very foundations of society. These are the various tribal organizations together with the different systems of relationship, and tribal and family divisions. We will now resume that study and will treat of the growth of social and political institutions as developed in historical times down to our own period. Since

[1] Vol. II. ch. ii.

however, the topics to be treated are of a somewhat dry character, and probably not quite familiar, it will be found of great advantage to present a preliminary view of the issues and questions to be considered.

Of all social and political institutions of the Classical, Medieval, and Modern Worlds, the most prominent, and by far the most influential, has been the institution of ranks and classes. This, then, shall have our first consideration. It will be found, in the sequel, to naturally divide into a history of Aristocracy of Birth, Aristocracy of Intelligence, and Aristocracy of Wealth. It is in these three forms of social prominence that ranks and classes have chiefly manifested themselves. Next in importance is the growth of Territorial Sovereignty. Here we intend to treat of the various princely and royal dignities evolved by nations. In connection with it, stands Parliamentary Authority, exhibiting the share claimed by the people in the administration of its affairs. In modern times, parliamentary authority has well-nigh superseded the absolute ruling power of single dynasties, and it, therefore, requires an elaborate treatment.

Finally, we shall try to obtain a full understanding of the various "Constitutions" of Republican committees and Confederacies. This, however, will be achieved the more readily, the better we have grasped the spirit and drift of various constitutions, and, therefore, the comparative method, which has been our guide throughout the whole of this work, shall likewise assist us in attaining to a comparative view of Constitutional Law.

Let us turn at once, then, to the consideration of our first subject, which is an inquiry into the origin of classes and ranks. Why should there be such social divisions? It seems to be more natural and more in keeping with the

regular drift and tendency of the human feeling and thought to regard and treat every individual alike, and there seems to be little reason in any other arrangement than one of perfect equality. Theoretically, we should expect to see the communities and commonwealths of men constructed on the basis of equal distribution of rights, with no difference in ranks. This, too, has always been the dream of those philosophers who have tried to improve on the present condition of mankind.[1]

But when we appeal to the answer of positive facts, the response of actual history, quite another picture is held up to view. It is the unanimous experience of all time, that no sooner have men united in some form of government, than more or less marked differences of rank or social standing are established. This statement can be safely and broadly made. There is nothing to contradict it. Even if there be some apparent exceptions, they will, on closer examination, invariably turn out to be a corroboration of the general statement. It is true there are cases where such ranks and classes can be discerned only with difficulty, and in other instances they are very inconspicuous. Yet they still exist, and upon investigation will be shown to pervade the whole structure of the state, or community. In fact, we observe such ranks forming, as it were, strata all over the world. Even in those tribes of Africa or Central Asia, which we generally call savage and barbarous, we can still make out such tiers of social arrangement. We may even go a step farther and assert, that real development, real progress in civilization is almost impossible without a corresponding change in the

[1] As, for instance, by Plato, in his "Republic," More, in his "Utopia," Harrington, in "Oceana," and the works of Fourier. This is also the feverish dream of communists and anarchists of to-day

different classes of society. Where there is no difference of classes there is no development, no progress.

In short, civilization is a continuous process of differentiation. This process manifests itself in the formation, alteration, and abolition of social classes, of ranks, of divergencies of all kinds. It typifies itself in various social centers around which the most diversified interests are clustering. It begets varieties and all possible descriptions of unions, of religious institutions, of political and commercial associations. It is the vivifying power of the whole organism. If, therefore, we intend to study the later developments of society at large, we need not be astonished at the vast array of social classes and ranks which meet us, and which form the ever-rising tiers of the grand amphitheatre of the past.

In this country, it must be conceded, there is a generally prevailing idea that progress is largely benefitted by a lack of classes and castes; and that it is a consummation devoutly to be wished that such social distinctions should be abolished; and, pointing to history, it is claimed that the marvelous prosperity of the American Union is owing largely, if not exclusively, to the absence of ranks and social differences.

We must consider this opinion and reduce it to its proper value before proceeding. A proper study of the growth of classes cannot be carried on unless we first come to a solid understanding of the historical value of such institutions. If we were to look upon these formations with contempt, or if we regard them as the half-civilized products of inferior ages, we will fail to rightly measure them. There is nothing, or very little, in the institution of ranks and castes, which is deserving of contempt, and besides, to judge everything by the standard of our own

times and country, betrays a poor knowledge of history, and shows a one-sidedness of mind.[1]

Nothing can be better established, for scarcely any other statement can stronger proof be proffered than for the fact, that nations have the same needs and wants, and, consequently, meet them by more or less similar contrivances. If, therefore, some nations do, and others do not establish classes, this will invariably turn out to be a case of what might be called disguised classes. In other words, it will be seen that with some nations the class-system appears in a strange garb, concealing the usual aspects of classes, and revealing itself to none but the initiated few. This represents the facts of the case in our country. In law, it is true, there are no classes, nor do we meet with the external appearances of the well-known distinctions of Europe. But no close observer can avoid noticing the fact, that here, as well as in every other country, there are sharply drawn lines of demarcation between man and man. Leaving this, however, for the present, let us now try to obtain a fair understanding of the growth of an Aristocracy of Birth.

Aristocracy of Birth, or, what is equivalent, Aristocracy of Blood, is an historical phenomenon of almost universal character. We constantly read of some portion of a tribe, or of a nation being considered of a superior origin, of better blood, of nobler parentage, than the rest of the community. The characteristic feature of such an aristocracy consists in the fact, that the non-aristocratic portion of the people willingly concede their superiority, that the claims and privileges of the "aristocrats" are gladly and fully recognized and acknowledged by the

[1] Vide This Series, Vol. II. pp. 96-7, which shows us how much local usages and customs influence our judgment.

lower members of the nation. They will point to the *undoubted* fact, that their nobles can trace their origin directly to a divine ancestor, as in the case of the ancient German nobles, who were both the aristocrats and the priests of their nation.[1]

The heroes of Homer were more or less of a "divine" origin. Thus Agamemnon boasted of his ancestor, Tantalus, who "sat at the table with the gods." Æneas was the son of Venus; Achilles was a direct great-grandson of Jupiter, etc. And even in historic times, it was held that the nobles of Athens, and of Sparta, were slightly, if not directly connected with the gods of Olympus—the rulers of the universe. Their very name in Athens is expressive of this opinion. The aristocrats in Athens were called "Eupatridæ," that is, people descending from "good fathers"—superior fathers.[2]

If we would understand the nobility of Greece and Rome, we must constantly bear in mind the framework of tribal society out of which it originated. We must remember that the Eupatridæ in Athens were the original invading and conquering tribes.[3] But away back before the dawn of authentic history, the subject tribes had risen to a condition of almost equality. Consequently, the part that the Eupatridæ played in Attica, after the dawn of history, was chiefly one of social, and not of political distinction. Democracy made rapid headway in Greece, and the Athenian noblemen were unable to claim privileges in preference to the rest of the citizens.

1 Vide Eichhorn ("Deutsche Staats u Rechtsgeschichte," p. 63, 5th ed.) for the customs of the ancient Germans. Amongst the Goths, for instance, the Amali were at once the oldest and noblest family, and boasted a divine origin.

2 The word "aristocrat," although likewise a Greek term, was not used in the sense of the modern "nobleman." It had a decidedly political meaning, of which we shall speak later on. 3 Vide Vol. II. p. 188.

But although democratical equality was tearing down one wall of class distinctions after another, the general recognition of a certain superiority inherent in the Eupatridæ was never entirely refused; or, to use Mr. Freeman's words: "The Eupatrid gentes remained as religious and social unions, cherishing the sacred traditions which each traced up to its legendary patriarch. Some special priestly offices still remained hereditary in particular families.[1] But every office that carried with it any shred of political power, was open to every citizen, without distinction of birth and fortune. Yet it is no less true that, long after the establishment of the pure and perfect democracy, the assembly which disposed of every office according to its sovereign will, did, as a rule, choose men of ancient houses to direct the counsels and command the armies of the commonwealth. No more speaking proof can be found of that inherent influence of birth and wealth, which survives the wiping out of all legal distinctions, an influence which legislation cannot give, and which legislation by itself cannot take away."[2]

In Sparta, we do not meet with an aristocracy or nobility the equivalent of the Athenian Eupatridæ. We must remember that Sparta was much more conservative than Athens, and hence the subject tribes had made little or no advance to equality with their conquerors. In Athens, there was alongside of the nobility a number of citizens fully equipped with the rights and privileges of citizenship, conceding and granting only a moral ascendency to the members of the gentry. In Sparta, on the other hand, there was no gentry, because there were no com-

[1] The goddess Athene of the Acropolis at Athens belonged to the family of the Butadæ. The Demeter of Eleusis remained the special divinity of the family of the Eumolpidæ. Cf. Vol. III. p. 202-3.

[2] "Comparative Politics," pp. 252, 253.

moners. There were, properly speaking, but two classes of people—rulers and serfs. The serfs, again, were divided into two classes—the Perioeci and the Helots. Of these, the former lived in small cities and were granted a certain amount of independence in the administration of their own municipal affairs. They had, however, no share in the government of the Spartan state, although they frequently participated in the wars of the Laconians.[1]

The latter, the Helots, were kept in a condition closely bordering on slavery. They could not be sold out of the country, but their lot was, nevertheless, a very oppressive one. Spartan haughtiness, coupled with the callous sacrifice of human feelings to political expediency, had introduced among the Spartans a usage of most horrible nature. Every year, a number of resolute Spartan youths were commissioned to range over the country, hiding in day-time and assaulting the Helots in the darkness of the night with deadly weapons. Thus many, sometimes thousands, of the unfortunate Helots were summarily disposed of in order to quell the spirit of rebellion, even before it ventured to manifest itself. The name of this horrible custom was *Crypteia*; and although a few scholars[2] have tried to tone down the frightful aspect of this, the offspring of the unrelenting spirit of the Spartans, it is now universally accepted that the cruel custom was practiced with all its unmitigated terrors. In Thucydides, the greatest of all classical historians, we read[3] "that the majority of Laconian institutions against the Helots were made with a view to the

[1] Thirlwall: "Greece," Vol. I. p. 307; in Clinton ("Fasti Hellenici," Appendix, p. 22.) a computation is made as to the number of this class and it is placed at over sixty thousand.

[2] Particularly O. Muller.

[3] "Peloponnesian War," Bk. IV. ch. 80, 1-3. Other passages are Bk. i. 2. 27; 128; 1, and Bk. ii. 2, 3, 54.

safety of the Spartans," and in connection with this remark, he tells the revolting story of over two thousand Helots being at one time destroyed in cold blood, simply to prevent their uprising against their masters.

This short sketch of the two subdued classes in Sparta will help us to understand the peculiar superiority of rank enjoyed by the ruling tribes. They were no aristocrats, noblemen proper, for there were no burghers to set-off against them. They were simply the ruling class, without any further distinctions among themselves. And this is a general characteristic of classical nobility in contradistinction to medieval and modern aristocracy. It has no gradations within its circle. In modern, or rather in the nobility of the middle ages, there is a gradual intensification of nobility. A count is considered a nobleman of higher degree than a baron, and a baron is held to be more noble than a mere gentleman. But no such gradations were known in classical antiquity. The Eupatridæ were all of an equal rank, and among the Spartans we do not see a difference between one citizen and another. They all lived a very easy life as far as the money-making part of life is concerned. For their wants and necessities were amply furnished by the farmers (the Perioeci), and their Helots. Consequently they could, and they did, also, devote their lives to non-commercial objects, hardening their bodies as well as their minds for the unique purpose of their existence—for the perils and dangers of war.

The difference between nobility in Athens, and nobility in Sparta can be measured by the fact, that while even a Helot could eventually become emancipated and hence a free Spartan,[1] enjoying all the privileges of the ruling

[1] Thucydides tells us (Bk. v. ch. 34) that the Helots who had fought with Brasidas were declared free citizens, and allowed to settle wherever they pleased.

class in Sparta, such could never be the case with the Eupatridæ, in Athens. A stranger, when naturalized, became a citizen of Athens, but by no means a Eupatrid, unless one of the high-born families chose to adopt him.

The peculiar character of the Athenian commonwealth, as far as the question of privileged classes and their relation to the general masses of the people is concerned, may be gathered from one of the funeral orations of Pericles.[1] On the whole, the oration is laudatory of pure democracy, but it also argues the good effect of privileged classes, in that it tends to "tolerance of each other's diversity of tastes and pursuits." Where there is complete equality, the weight of public opinion presses heavily on the individual. It is claimed that it was owing to the happy mixture of aristocratic and democratic institutions in Athens, that we are indebted for such characters as Themistocles, Cymon, Socrates, Pericles, and those profound thinkers whose works still exercise an influence on the world at large.

Another remarkable trait in the character of the Athenian, and in general of Grecian nobility, consists in its being almost entirely apart from the political party-struggles of the communities. Wherever there is a stirring political life, there parties will form, and people will draw sharp lines of political creeds and partisanship. That is the very element of politics. The Grecians being of a highly political turn of mind, it is but a matter of course that, in their city commonwealths, party life assumed the most vigorous forms. In all the smaller and larger cities of Greece, in Argos as well as in Corinth, in Thebes no less than in Athens, we meet with party struggles, which, as a rule, were brought to a bloody issue. We might ex-

[1] Thucydides: "Peloponnesian War," Bk. ii. ch. 35–46.

pect that these party strifes would be conducted by the nobles on the one hand and by the lowly on the other. But this was not, or very seldom, the case in Greece. There, parties did not recruit their members from either the nobility or the common burghers exclusively. They were formed by motives different from the usual animosity between highborn and lowborn people.

In Rome, we see two, and only two, parties from the legendary time of King Servius Tullius down to the times of the emperors; in other words, during a period of several centuries. These two political parties were not opposed to each other on the ground of difference in principles, or of divergence in political views, as are modern political parties. On the contrary, they generally agreed in the choice of political measures concerning the conduct of state affairs. Their internal opposition to each other rested exclusively on the fact, that the members of the one party belonged to the Patricians, that is to the ruling tribes of an earlier day, who still regarded themselves as of nobler blood than the members of the other party who were Plebeians, that is descendants of the subject classes.[1]

In medieval Venice, the contending parties were likewise the noblemen (nobili) and the burghers (cittadini). The strife of internal politics in the other cities of medieval and modern Italy,[2] and of Germany was similarly a constant warfare between the "Geschlechter" (patricians) and "Spiessbuerger" (commoners). Even in Switzerland, generally held to be the home of equality and freedom, there have been, and in a measure there still exist, the

[1] Vide Vol. II. p. 200 *et seq.*

[2] Italy, during the middle ages, but also as late as the end of the eighteenth century, was divided into a number of city-states (*i. e.* old tribal states), in which were either members of a gentry (descendants of a ruling tribe), or else common citizens.

most vehement party-struggles between the Patricians and the Plebeians of the different cities. Thus, in the city of Berne, the spirit of exclusiveness was carried to such an extent, that, during the greater part of the eighteenth century, but sixty-nine families had a legal claim to magistracies or to any position in the government of the city-state.[1] The vast majority of the people were entirely divested of political rights and benefits, until a fearful conspiracy, under Henzi, broke out against the ruthless leaders of the aristocracy, compelling them, in the end, to yield to the just demands of the people.

If we will keep in mind the difference between aristocracy in Athens and aristocracy in Rome, we will understand the difference in the internal dissensions of the two states. In Athens, democracy had made such headway, that the nobility were not the ruling class. But in Rome, the ruling classes were, for many centuries at least, at the same time, the nobility of the city. The other constituent part of the Roman people, the Plebeians,[2] occupied a subordinate position in the commonwealth, until their pressing claims for a greater share in the administration of the state were, with great reluctance, acceded to. But these contests between Roman Patricians and Plebeians have one feature which marks them off very favorably from the party struggles of Greece. In the latter country, the intestinal wars of the citizens were carried on in the most cruel way, with relentless bloodshed and massacres. The Greek historians[3] are full of the sad tales of civil war; and as soon as one party got the ascendency over the other,

1 The same explanation here applies. See Vol. II. p. 174.

2 Vide Vol. II. pp. 200, 201.

3 Remember these were fierce struggles of one faction of all classes of people against another faction also including all classes of people. See, for example, Thucydides, Bk. iii: 69-81, 84, 85; Bk. iv. 46, 48.

absolute havoc was made with the vanquished opponents, and their lives and fortunes were seldom spared.

Not so in Rome. There, the fierce contests between the two parties were struggles between statescraft and perseverance on the one side, and conservative resistance of time-hallowed institutions on the other.[1] The contest lasted over some centuries,[2] but very few victims are mentioned, and, with the exception of an occasional loss of life, no bloodshed was committed.[3] Parties in Rome were somewhat similar to the Whigs and Tories in England, or to the present Republican and Democratic parties in the United States. The Plebeians never thought of cancelling everything that had been done by the Patricians. In this respect, again, they were unlike the parties in Greece, who, on attaining to temporary supremacy, never hesitated to repeal all the acts and decrees of the vanquished party and to disfranchise the members of the same. Not so the Plebeians; they never planned a complete overthrow of the Roman Patriciate. What they wanted was a share in the government. While they most persistently endeavored to fill all places of public dignity with their friends, they never tried to secure public offices for Plebeians only.

The old Patricians of Rome, were, like the majority of aristocracies, not long-lived. Toward the end of the seventh century of the town, but few Patrician families were in existence. But, meanwhile, another kind of nobility had arisen. They were the *nobiles*, properly so called. They consisted of members of the Equestrian and Senatorial orders. Originally, any one who had the requisite

[1] See This Series, Vol. III. pp. 545, 599.

[2] For an outline of which see Vol. II. p. 195 *et seq.*

[3] The bloody times of which mention was made in a former volume (Vol. III. p. 295 *et seq*) were long subsequent to these events.

fortune for service in the cavalry was a member of the Equestrian order. The Gracchi considerably enlarged the political sphere of this order by making it the only class of citizens from whom judges could be selected.[1] Since that time it was also called the judicial order. This privilege, however, was taken away by Augustus; nevertheless the Equestrian order still enjoyed great privileges.[2]

It is not easy for a modern reader to fully understand the peculiar character of Greek or Roman nobles. In modern times, we distinguish the members of the nobility by many an outward and external sign, and more especially by their titles. We must spend some time on the subject of titles. Titles seem to be a trifling thing, a mere appendix and label, as it were, to the supposed pre-eminence of the bearer. In reality, however, titles are the exponents of a deep change in the whole structure of the social organism. Given a certain state of things, titles will most certainly arise, no matter whether the letter of the law encourages or altogether forbids their use. Titles will certainly be applied to certain classes, provided they separate themselves from the rest of the people. They will invariably typify that separation by the use of outward signs in language, clothes, armors, utensils, etc., of all these signs, the words coined by the language of such a people will generally be the most significant. Languages are the faithful depositaries of a nation's spirit. In this respect it is instructive to compare the English language with other languages. In England, there never has been that peculiar form of nobility that prevailed in France or

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[1] In Rome, the contending parties elected the judge to try the case. (Vol. III. p. 603).

[2] They were, for instance, exempt from several laws, both civil and criminal. See Digest I. 9, XLVII. 18, 1 sec. 2.

Germany ;[1] it differed materially and essentially; and so did the language when applied to topics of nobility. In France and Germany, the very name of a nobleman differed in construction from the name of a common citizen. In France, the word *de*, in Germany, the word *von* was inserted between the Christian name and the family name of the nobleman. In England, no such custom ever arose, nor could arise; for in England, the son of a nobleman was not necessarily a nobleman also. The name Cavendish, for instance, is no gentry-name in itself. There is a Lord Cavendish, but his very brother may be, and very frequently is, a mere Mr. Cavendish. Whereas in Germany and France, all the sons of a nobleman are noblemen of the same degree.

If, on the other hand, we try to compare modern or medieval titles of nobility with those that obtained among the Romans, we will find that the language of the Roman people is just as faithful a repository of the institutions of the nation, as is the idiom of Britain. In Rome, the title of nobility was not a noun-substantive, like *count*, *duke*, *earl*, but an adjective expressive of some pre-eminence, like *egregius* (egregious);[2] *perfectissimus*[3] (most perfect); *spectabilis* (shining, glorious); *clarissimus*[4] (most celebrated).

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[1] There is a plentiful supply of nobles of various degrees in Great Britain, but it is not the nobility of France or Germany. The reader will find this question discussed in Freeman: "Comparative Politics," p. 233; "Growth of the English Constitution," pp. 82, 162; "Norman Conquest," Vol. I. p. 102. See also Stubbs: "Constitutional History of England," Vol. II. pp. 185-186, 192-193.

[2] This adjective title of Roman nobility appears, for the first time, in a deed of the second half of the second century. "Berlin Collections of Latin Inscriptions," Vol. V. p. 532.

[3] This title was chiefly applied to the chief functionaries of the Equestrian order. Cf. the "Code of Theodosius," Bk. viii. dis. 4, 3.

[4] The title of members of the Senate.

These linguistic divergences are at once not only the best indicators, but the best interpreters of institutions. In England, and likewise in other countries of Europe, and in some of Asia,[1] the manner of addressing high-born people consists in using some adjective like those just mentioned. But this refers to the manner of address only. The title of the noble person addressed is different. We say: "Your Grace," or "Your Honor," but the respective titles of the persons addressed are "Duke," and "Marquis." No such titles existed among the Romans. Certain persons were considered "egregious," or "eminent;" but not being a birth-aristocracy, they did not attach a proper name to their class. They had these titles more in virtue of their office, than as indications of excellence of birth.[2]

If we now sum up the peculiar features of classical nobility, we see what strong traces it bears of its origin from tribal society of ancient times; and we are also to notice that it was not at all like the nobility of medieval and modern times. In Sparta, we see nothing but the ruling and subject tribes. In Athens, we see the subject tribes winning their way to a substantial equality, though the Eupatridæ were still regarded as in some way superior to the other class. In Rome, the scene is but little changed. The Patricians, the ruling tribes, were the nobility, though compelled from time to time to grant concessions to the commonalty—the Plebeians. In process of time, this distinction was lost sight of to a large extent, and now the

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[1] In Japan, there is a nobility the members of which are distinguished by titles exactly equivalent to earl, count, baron, etc.

[2] The office-holder in Rome acquired a never-ceasing dignity for himself as well as his descendants. The coveted right called *jus imaginum* (the right of keeping the portraits of one's ancestors in the hall of the house) depended on the fact of office-holding.

nobility was simply the office-holding class; it was no longer an aristocracy of birth.

When we turn to consider the state of affairs in medieval and modern Europe, a confused field is before us. Unless we are wrong in our premises, however, nobility, in the first instance, must have originated in substantially the same way, and must, therefore, leave clear traces of its origin. But the many tribes of Central and Western Europe, outside the boundaries of classical lands, underwent a slightly different development. In the first place, they did not dwell in so contracted an area, and they breathed in more the spirit of freedom. But the first stage of nobility in Europe we have already treated.[1] We have also treated of the gradual undermining of this state of affairs.[2] Modern nobility roots itself, to some extent, on these old customs, but it more largely rests on letters of nobility granted by sovereign power. This custom seems to rest largely on chivalry.[3] The first letters of nobility were granted about 1190.

The growth of this modern nobility is treated, to considerable extent, by constitutional writers. From them, we learn that the title of duke, in England, was first bestowed in 1337. The king's oldest son, or heir apparent, was made Duke of Cornwall. This is still one of the titles of the Prince of Wales. But still other scions of the royal blood had to be provided for, and so other dukedoms were created. Before the century was closed, three other dukedoms were created for the support of younger sons of royalty.[4]

"The dignity of marquis was of somewhat later

[1] Vol. III. p. 613 *et seq.* [2] Ibid. 641 *et seq.* [3] Vol. III. p. 648.

[4] Stubbs: "Constitutional History of England," Vol. III. p. 448 *et seq.*

growth and less frequently bestowed. The title, derived from the old imperial office of markgrave, or count of the marches, had belonged to several foreigners who were brought into relation with England in the twelfth century. But in France, the title was not commonly used until the seventeenth century; and it is possible that it came to England directly from Germany. The title was not legally and formally given, as it might have been, to the lords marchers, or to the earl of March; and the fact that, within a century of its introduction into England, it was used in so unmeaning a designation as the Marquis of Montague, shows that it had lost all traces of its original application. The marquises were invested with the golden circlet, and the girding of the sword, and from the year 1470 by the gift of the cap of maintenance." The origins of the titles of earl and viscount were similar; the latter title, by the way, was a novelty in the fifteenth century.

It is probably somewhat difficult for an American to fairly decide on the merits or otherwise of an aristocracy of birth. Looked at through the whole range of European history, and what does it amount to? In the first instance, it was a relic of conquest, which it took some centuries of time for the people of Greece and Rome to remove. In the second instance, it arose partly by the same means, partly by the people allowing elective rights to become hereditary, and partly from that strange combination of circumstances which brought on the Age of Chivalry. This form of nobility still remains in Europe, but, happily, has never been introduced into this country.

Probably the case is not altogether one-sided. Some have supposed that the mere fact of there being an aristocracy of birth tended to make society more permanent;

but, it seems to us, this argument is very poor. Of course, such an aristocracy includes a large share of the wealth of the kingdom. This makes them, as a whole, the patrons of arts and sciences, and leaves them free to devote their services to the State. But it may be more than doubted whether these supposed advantages are not more than overbalanced by the objectionable features of the case.

We now approach the second form of aristocracy; the Aristocracy of Mind, which has likewise exercised a vast influence on society, and which, in a modified form, still continues to sway the world. First, as to the peculiar meaning implied in the expression, aristocracy of mind. By this term, we do not intend to imply all individuals of highly developed mental activity, like scientists, poets, artists, authors, etc. They undoubtedly do belong to the aristocracy of mind in a certain sense of the word; but they do not constitute a separate and organized class of men. It is the class character, the organized, systematized co-operation of a number of individuals to which we refer. We understand by that term a class of people who enjoy certain social and political privileges on the strength, and in direct consequence of their supposed possession of mental superiority—a higher state of spiritual development. As examples, we will refer to the Levites in Israel, the Druids in Gaul, to the "Poets" in ancient Ireland, and to the "Officials" (Mandarins) of China.

Before considering these various instances more particularly, it may be well to refer to the causes giving rise, in many cases at least, to the same. Their origin will nearly always be found to go back to tribal religion. We have already said all that is necessary on this point.[1] In the case of the Children of Israel, this body of tribal priests

[1] Vol. II. p. 389; Vol. III. pp. 103, 163.

had coalesced in the form of a tribe, and is known in history as the tribe of Levi. Derived thus, from all the tribes of an early period, they had no distinctive territory or inheritance as their own. But they had succeeded in drawing to themselves all the priestly offices of the people,[1] and were supported by tithes.

It may be interesting to remark the gradual decline of the importance of this priestly tribe. Its decline commenced in the Persian period, and went forward during the Greek and Roman periods. The Pharisaical school elevated the Scribe above the Levite in importance. Knowledge became of more importance than hereditary right. In the synagogues, at the time of Christ, if a priest were present, he might be asked, as a matter of courtesy, to read the law, but he gave place at once to the learned scribe who happened in. The official religious rites in the temple were of course performed by priests down to the destruction of the Second Temple, but a large section of the Jews had ceased to have any regard for the temple service.[2] In short, the Levitical aristocracy among the Jews was going the way of all aristocracies, depending on birth and not on merit. It was a relic of the past, getting more and more out of joint as time passed on.

The Druids in ancient Gaul (France) and Ireland are a second example of an aristocracy of mind. It is not very easy to form a correct idea of Druidism. In the last two centuries, many a volume has been published on the government and philosophical systems of the Druids. The writers of these books indulge quite freely in fancy

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1 Num. xviii: 22.

2 The Essenes did not visit the temple and did not sanction the bloody sacrifices. The Pharisees ranked the synagogue higher than the temple.

descriptions of the profound wisdom and the elaborate systems of the Druids.[1] Later and more cautious investigations, however, have proved the groundlessness of many of these statements.

Cæsar, in his "Commentaries," and Pliny, in his works, give us the first and, perhaps, the most accurate accounts of Druids. In these accounts, however, we must make allowance for "mental distances." We will take the liberty to both quote and comment on Cæsar's description.[2]

"Over all Gaul," writes Cæsar, "there are only two orders of men in any degree of honor and esteem, for the common people are little better than the slaves, attempt nothing of themselves, and have no share in the public deliberations. As they are generally oppressed with debt, heavy tributes, or the exactions of their superiors, they make themselves vassals to the great, who exercise over them the same jurisdiction that masters do over slaves. The two orders of men with whom, as we have said, all authority and distinctions are lodged, are the Druids and the nobles."

Here we wish to call attention to the nobles and the common people. Is it not patent to all that we have here the same classes as we found in Greece—the Eupatridæ and the common people; or in Rome, the Patricians and the Plebeians? We have here to deal with ruling and subject tribes.

"The Druids preside in matters of religion, have the care of the public and private sacrifices, and interpret the will of the gods. They have the direction and education

[1] The acme of these phantastic histories may be found in the works of the French scholar, Reynaud.

[2] Vol. II. p. 171. Cæsar: "Gallic War," Bk. vi. chaps. xiv. and xv.

of the youth, by whom they are held in great honor. In almost all controversies, whether public or private, the decision is left to them; and if any crime is committed, any murder perpetrated, if any dispute arises touching an inheritance or the limits of adjoining estates,—in all such cases they are the superior judges. They decree rewards and punishments, and if any one refuses to submit to their sentence, whether magistrate or private man, they interdict him the sacrifices. This is the greatest punishment that can be inflicted among the Gauls, because such as are under this prohibition are considered as impious and wicked; all men shun them, and decline their conversation and fellowship, lest they should suffer from the contagion of their misfortunes. They can neither have recourse to the law of justice, nor are they capable of any public office.

"The Druids are all under one chief, who possesses the chief authority in that body. On his death, if any one remarkably excels the rest, he succeeds; but if there are several candidates of equal merit, the affair is determined by plurality of suffrages. Sometimes they even have recourse to arms before the election can be brought to an issue. Once a year, they assemble at a consecrated place in the territories of the Carnutes, whose country is supposed to be in the middle of Gaul. Hither such as have any suits pending flock from all parts, and submit implicitly to their decrees. Their institutions are supposed to come originally from Britain, whence they passed into Gaul, and even at this day, such as are desirous of being perfect in them travel thither for instruction.

"The Druids never go to war, are exempted from taxes and military service, and enjoy all manner of immunities. These mighty encouragements induce multitudes

of their own accord to follow that profession, and many are sent by their parents and relations. They are taught to repeat a great many verses by heart, and often spend twenty years in this institution, for it is deemed unlawful to commit their statutes to writing; though in other matters, whether public or private, they make use of Greek characters. They seem to me to follow this method for two reasons—to hide their mysteries from the knowledge of the vulgar, and to exercise the memory of their scholars, which would be apt to lie neglected had they letters to trust to, as we find is often the case. It is one of their principal maxims that the soul never dies, but, after death, passes from one body to another; which, they think, contributes greatly to exalt men's courage, by disarming death of its terrors. They teach, likewise, many things relating to the stars and their motions, the magnitude of the world and our earth, the nature of things, and the power and prerogatives of the immortal gods."

We must notice from the foregoing that in the case of the Druids, though they had succeeded in arrogating to themselves the priestly rites and duties, yet they had not so closely coalesced as to form a tribe. Their rights and privileges did not pass by inheritance. Their members were recruited from all the tribes. They were but a slight advance on the priesthood among savage tribes generally. They present an interesting step in the development of priestly bodies like the Magi, or the Brahmans, from the savage priesthood. We want to observe, also, the distinction between exoteric and esoteric knowledge here observed.[1] Their mysteries were carefully guarded, and were not allowed to be placed in writing.[2]

1 Vide Vol. III. p. 725.

2 Pliny, Bk. xvi. 99, 95 and Bk. xxiv. 6, gives us an interesting bit of

The third example of an aristocracy of the mind is the "Poets" of ancient Ireland. They played a very prominent part in the society of old Ireland; and they, as well as the Druids, serve to show the great power commanded by a class, the main resources of which are their ingenuity and mental superiority. Our chief source concerning these Poets is the Senchus Mor.[1] This is one of the oldest and one of the most important portions of the ancient laws of Ireland which has been preserved. Its main contents date from the first centuries of our era. These laws were the composition of Poets, that is, singers, wise men, chanters, who were both the lawgivers and judges of Ireland They, no less than the Druids, were a privileged class. Their origin must have been the same as we have discussed, and reached about the same degree of coalescence as the Druids. It was purely a mental aristocracy. We meet, all over the globe, with "singers" and "bards," and the "divine singer," Demodocus, in the Odyssey, is a well-known figure in Greek prehistoric history. But such singers were merely expounders of poetry: narrators of history. No judicial, legislative, or political power was part of their prerogatives. Their influence was of a moral cast. The Poets in Ireland were singers, indeed, but they were likewise the administrators of justice; nay, more than that, they were the sole depositaries of the law of the country. We read in the Senchus,[2] that "land having been walled or trenched by a person, or persons, or the possession of it attributed to him by the Poets in their songs, was legal evidence of his title." So high was the position, and so universally trusted was the memory

folk-lore of the Druids. He relates the great veneration for mistletoe found growing on the sacred oak.

1 Edited by N. Neilson Hancock (Dublin, 1865).

2 "Senchus Mor," Vol. I. p. 46, note.

and uprightness of the Poets, that the prosaic, but all-important question of title as to land-property was legally decided by a verse or line in one of the poems of the singers.[1]

The Irish had very elevated notions about the dignity of their Poets. Their profession, in its judicial capacity, seemed to be held in intimate connection with divine power. It is interesting to read the passages in the Senchus Mor, referring to Poets acting as judges. It is written: "Before the coming of Patrick (St. Patrick) there had been remarkable revelations. When the Brehons (the name of the Poets as judges) deviated from the truth of nature, there appeared blotches upon their cheeks; as, first of all, on the right cheek of Sen Mac Aige, whenever he pronounced a false judgment, but they disappeared again, when he had passed a true judgment. Connla never passed a false judgment, through the grace of the 'Holy Ghost,' which was upon him. Sencha Mac Col Cluin was not wont to pass judgment until he had pondered upon it in his breast the night before. When Fachtra, his son, had passed a false judgment, if in the time of fruit, all the fruit of the territory in which it happened fell off in one night; if in time of milk, the cows refused their calves; but if he passed a true judgment, the fruit was perfect on the trees; hence, he received the name of Fachtra Tulbrethach (hastily judging). Sencha Mac Aililla never pronounced a false judgment without getting three permanent blotches on his face for each judgment. Morann never pronounced a judgment without having a chain around his neck. When

[1] In the legal writings of Rome, we do occasionally meet with quotations from poets and especially from Homer. But such quotations are not only very rare, but they differ in spirit from the quotations to which we refer.

AUSTRIANS DEFEATED BY FREDERICK'S DRAGOONS.

he pronounced a false judgment the chain tightened around his neck. If he passed a true one, it expanded down upon him.[1]

If, however, the rewards and the dignity of the Brehons were great, so were, also, their punishments. We read that every crime they commit is "full crime," and "they shall be without honor-price until they do penance, and pay eric fine; but when they have done so they shall have the same honor-price again, though they have not moved from their grade."[2] It is characteristic of the elevated position occupied by the Poets, that the reason given is, that "Protection may be afforded for the dignity of the Poet."[3]

To the aristocracies of mind that have hitherto occupied our attention we have now to add the most remarkable example—an example which, both from its unparalleled duration and its bearing on an immense population, stands unrivalled in general history. We mean the mental, or literary aristocracy of China. This wonderful country is at the present, just as well as one thousand years ago, one of the least known civilized countries in the world. Numberless travellers here visited it, and their reports fill whole libraries. But for one reason or another the absolutely reliable books on the Chinese Empire and its institutions are extremely few.[4] The divergence of Chinese customs[5] from ours is so great, the prejudice of travellers so biases their judgment, that statements concerning the institutions of the "Heavenly Empire" must be accepted

[1] "Senchus Mor," Vol. I. p. 25.

[2] Ibid. p. 63. [3] Ibid. [4] Vide Vol. II. p. 423.

[5] A recent French writer on China says, on this point: "There would appear to exist between our civilization and that of China the same difference as between the written characters. The one is alphabetic and analytic, the other is ideographic and synthetic."—Simon: "China," 1887.

with the utmost caution, and only after sufficient cross-examination of the various reports. With regard to our present question, however, we are better situated. Whatever doubt and uncertainty may clog our steps in other directions, in the department of Chinese "nobility of mind," we can move with perfect ease and safety. Concerning that question, we possess ample and satisfactory material, and curious and interesting it is.

The Chinese have no hereditary nobility. In fact, they have a law in their penal code denouncing death, not only to him who recommends the elevation of a civil officer to an hereditary title, but to him in whose favor the recommendation was made.[1] Such is their aversion to all kinds of hereditary aristocracy. In partial explanation of this state of affairs, we have only to refer to the fact before noticed,[2] that society in China is virtually tribal to this day, and one of the first principles of tribal society is perfect equality. But for all this, we do meet with a system of nobility in China quite in keeping with the genius of the Chinese, in so many respects different from our own. Remember that China is the country where children are expected to be decorous and sedate, while old men fly kites, shoot fireworks, and indulge in other sports. So, in China, we find a system of retrospective aristocracy, which appears to us very strange. The first civil and military mandarins who have distinguished themselves in the administration, or in war receive various titles, such as *Koung*, *Leou*, *Phy*, *Tze*, and *Nan*.[3] These titles or grades are, however, not hereditary, and give no right to the sons of the individual rewarded by them, but they may be carried back to his

[1] Davis: "The Chinese," Vol. I. p. 205, New York, 1855.

[2] Vol. II. p. 447 *et seq.*

[3] These terms being taken from a French work, have to be pronounced like French words.

ancestors. This custom, says the French missionary, Huc, was introduced with reference to the funeral ceremonies and the titles which the Chinese bestow on their defunct relatives. An officer who has been raised in rank by the Emperor, cannot accomplish the funeral rites of his family in a suitable manner, if his ancestors have not been decorated with a corresponding title. To suppose that the son is of higher rank than the father, would be to overthrow the hierarchy, and attack the fundamental principles of the Empire.[1] It will probably strike an American that the Chinese custom is decidedly better than the European one.

Wealth, or great ancestry, is of little or no avail in China. Wealth, indeed, is rather a rare occurrence in that country, and thus its influence is not as strongly visible as in Aryan countries. The only remaining source of pre-eminence, therefore, is the greater excellence in literary or scientific attainments. All the officers and magistrates in China have to pass rigorous examinations in the various departments of Chinese literature before they can think of running for an office. These examinations are held publicly, and engross, for the time being, all the attention of the vast country. No office being attainable without a previous success in the examination hall, it is quite natural that the issues of these examinations should be an intensely interesting topic of conversation. In private and public discussion they make up for the excitement generally prevalent at our state, or national elections.[2]

It is in perfect harmony with the Chinese tendency

1 Huc: "Chinese Empire," Vol. I. pp. 89, 90.

2 Davis ("The Chinese," Vol. I. p. 204) says: "Wealth alone, though, of course, it has some necessary influence, is looked upon with less respect, comparatively, than in any other country, and this because all distinction and rank arose almost entirely from educated talents."

of letting the learned and lettered class have the upper hand, that the chief tribunal of the legislature, as well as the administration of the Empire, is lodged in the hands of the Academy of Sciences of Pekin. The members of this learned body approve of laws and amendments, superintend all examinations, have the supervision of all governors, lieutenants, and other officials; it is, in short the very moving spring of the whole state machinery in China. The Academy numbers two hundred and thirty-two members, recruited by themselves from among the *literati* and most eminent scholars, and women are not excluded—several have been members. The State guarantees to each of them the use of a house and garden, with a small money allowance. The surplus of the Academy's resources comes from ancient public endowments and gifts. It is entirely independent of the government, in spite of the assistance rendered, which cannot be withdrawn.[1]

The great power wielded by the Academy will be better perceived when we proceed to contemplate another remarkable institution of the Celestial Empire; the Court of Censors. This high tribunal for the administration of ethics is formed of forty members taken from the Academy. Some are placed with the Emperor, and supervise not only his public acts but even those of his private life, which may seem incompatible with the fundamental principles of the State. They command a power equal, if not superior, to the power of Roman censors; but their position is the more remarkable in that they pronounce their coercive measures on the actions of a monarch, and not simply, as the censors in Rome, on private citizens. Their censure they frequently couch in very severe words,

[1] Simon: "China," p. 136.

and we must regard them as a truly elevating proof and illustration of the power which can be compassed by mere intellectual superiority.[1]

In China, therefore, we see the principle of mental aristocracy carried to its legitimate effects. He, who is more advanced in knowledge, enjoys a greater chance of attaining to dignity than they who can boast only wealth or the merits of their ancestors. Bacon's assertion that knowledge is power is realized in China. For the historian, the fact that it is knowledge that leads to power in China, is sufficient in itself. The question as to the value of Chinese knowledge is a subordinate one. They certainly do not cultivate the kind of knowledge we have embraced; they most assuredly have not left the empirical stage. But if inferior to ours, their knowledge has the great advantage of giving a superior standing to those who cultivate it.

The case is well stated in the following remarks concerning the Chinese Classics:[2] "If Confucius had transmitted to posterity such works as the 'Iliad,' the 'De Officiis' (by Cicero), or the 'Dialogues' of Plato, he would, no doubt, have taken a higher rank among the commanding intellects of the world; but it may be reasonably doubted whether his influence among his own countrymen would have been as good or as lasting. The variety and minuteness of his instructions for the nurture and education of children, the stress he lays upon filial duty, the detail of etiquette of conduct he gives for the intercourse of all classes and ranks in society, characterize his writings from those of all philosophers in other countries.

[1] Simon: "China," p. 136. He cites a case where the Academy, by its bold interference, in 1860, forced the Emperor to give up his contemplated departure from Pekin.

[2] See Vol. II. p. 417.

. . . The 'Four Books' and the 'Five Classics' would not, as far as regards their intrinsic character in comparison with other productions, be considered anything more than curiosities in literature, for their antiquity and language, were it not for the incomparable influence they have exercised over so many millions of minds."[1]

We now turn to discuss the third form of aristocracy —that of wealth. Wealth being one of the principal objects of men's ambition and activity, it is but natural that it should largely determine the shape and character of social institutions. We have had frequent occasion to trace the influence of wealth on the political and social structure of peoples, and have noticed its influence in developing civilization. We have found the idea of property to be one of the main agents in advancing man in culture.[2] We noticed the interesting rise of cities in medieval Europe as one of the direct consequences of higher organized manufacture and industry; and, finally, we are daily witnesses of the unparalleled increase in wealth and its social results in this great Union.

Great and profound as the influence of wealth is, its bearing on the formation of classes cannot be put on the same level with the influence of the principle of ancestry, or that of mental superiority. Wealth certainly has a vast influence on the destinies of mankind. Without it there is no leisure, and in default of leisure men are unable to cultivate the higher pursuits of intellect and the noble problems of art. But classes are seldom originated by mere wealth. In other words, wealth has no tendency to form permanent classes, and it is in this very important circumstance that it differs essentially from both the

[1] Williams: "The Middle Kingdom," Vol. I. p. 232.
[2] Vol. I. p. 237; Vol. II. pp. 193, 203, 220, 222 *et seq.*

aristocracy of birth, and the aristocracy of mind. The shifting character, or, to use a familiar phrase, "the ups and downs" of industrial wealth are naturally unable to create a permanent aristocracy. Enterprises of a commercial and industrial character, while they have a tendency to a rapid accumulation of wealth, have also a sad tendency of decay. It is rather a rare case when industrial wealth continues through more than three generations of the same family. This, then, is, historically speaking, the great difference between an aristocracy of blood, and an aristocracy of industrial wealth. When, in consequence of the Crusades, the cities in Italy were rapidly acquiring boundless wealth, and, consequently, an aristocracy of wealth—the noble Patricians of Venice, of Pisa, of Genoa, of Ancona, etc.—was formed, it might have been easily foretold that this aristocracy had no assurance of long duration. No sooner did the trade of the East and West begin to be appropriated by Spaniards, Frenchmen, and chiefly by Dutchmen and Englishmen, than the famous republics of Italy with all their pompous aristocracy of wealth commenced to disappear. Three centuries were sufficient to end the existence of the rich merchant-nobles of Italy, whereas eleven centuries could not efface the numerous stems of the blood-aristocracy of the feudal countries of Europe.

There is, besides, another reason why wealth, and more especially industrial wealth, is unfit to form social classes of lasting duration. Wealth, more particularly in modern times, tends to the establishment of corporations. These, however, are essentially impersonal, and cannot impart a class-personality to their members. In none of the older countries do we perceive that as distinctly as in the United States. The overpowering corporations of this

country have undoubtedly a vast influence over the legislature, city administration, and, generally, the politics of states where they exist. But in none of the states do they form a social class, the members of which are marked off from the balance of the citizens by personal privileges of the kind enjoyed by the members of an aristocracy of blood.

Our next great topic is the Growth of Territorial Sovereignty. Before entering into details, let us clearly fix the meaning of the term. By territorial sovereignty, we understand the dignity of rulers whose territory is larger than a single city and, in the majority of cases, smaller than the ancient empires of Asia and Europe. Their titles differ greatly, and so do their characters, their rights, and privileges. In the aggregate, they form all the dynasties exercising a power of government in Europe and in America at the present time. The form of government varies considerably with different nations, and still more so with the different periods of history. There are no better means of understanding the peculiar character of medieval and modern Europe and America, in contrast with Greece and Rome, than a comparative view of the modes of government and the nature of sovereignty in these two periods.

In modern times, we have the following kinds of sovereignties: czars and sultans, kings and emperors, grand-dukes, dukes and markgraves, princes, and presidents of republics. None of these dignities were known to the ancients. They had and used the same words, the same terms, but these terms did not imply the meaning they have at present. This is, broadly stated, the first great difference between modern and ancient states. We will presently enlarge upon this point of great importance in

the study of society. For the sake of greater clearness, we will add the second great divergence from the nature of antique states.[1]

We speak of the French *nation*, of the English or German *nation*, and in doing so, we do not mean to identify the nation with the state. On the contrary, we have a good idea of the divergence in meaning of these two terms. We know that a nation is not one and the same with the state of that nation. Nor is it one and the same with the dynasty that happens to rule the nation. The nation has a well defined existence of its own, and state, government, and dynasty are subservient to the supreme conception of the nation. In the present century, especially, the question of nationality has assumed a tenor of such acute character that it may fairly be considered the moving spring of politics. The governments of Europe no longer think of conquering new territories for the simple reason of adding to their dominions new districts of fertile land. They plead another reason. They invariably claim to wage war for the sake of re-uniting portions of their nation that have been illegitimately detached from the body of the mother-nation.

This was the plea of Germany in 1864 with regard to Schleswig-Holstein; this was also the plea of Germany with regard to Alsace and the German part of Lorraine; this is the constantly repeated pretext of Russia with regard to the numerous Slave nations in Austria, Servia, Bulgaria, etc. They all want to extend the boundaries of their states as far as the limit of kindred nations go. It was in the name of nationality, that over two hundred thousand Poles were lately driven from Germany. It is, similarly, in the name of nationality that the Irish insist

[1] Vide Vol. II. pp. 89, 90.

on home rule. In short, the term nationality includes personal relations, it does not rest down on territory. But the modern state and the relations thence arising rest on territory.

This idea of statehood was unknown to classical antiquity, though in both Greece and Rome the pressure of circumstances had been such as to compel the people to take the first steps in this direction.[1] The ancient idea of nationality came far short of the breadth of the modern idea. The modern idea includes in its grasp all people who speak languages belonging to the same great stock of languages. A number of states in Europe are included in the idea of Teutonic nationality. But the ancient idea of nationality included at most but a few tribes, and more often confined itself to one.

This idea colored all the ancient ideas of fatherland and country. The home and fatherland of all citizens of the vast Roman Empire was the city of Rome. On this point, it is remarked that Scipio, at Liternum, was held to be in exile as much as if he had banished himself to Spain or Syria.[2] And when Tiberius removed his dwelling from Rome to Capreæ, men wondered that a Roman citizen, a Roman prince, could so long *carere patria*—a phrase which, if we translate it "to be without a country," sounds strange indeed when applied to one who had simply moved his dwelling from Rome to an island off the coast of Campania. In short, for the ancients the idea, the conception of nationality, of fatherland, centered in their city-states; for the Roman citizen in Rome, and for the

[1] Vol. II. pp. 194-5 and 204.

[2] Freeman: "Comparative Politics," p. 85. Livy (Bk. 38, ch. 53) says that he was under the necessity either to submit to the sentence about to be passed on him by his enemies or to leave his fatherland. Seneca (Epist. 13: 1) pities him for dying in exile. (Vide Vol. III. p. 301-5).

Greek citizen in Athens, or in Sparta, or in Thebes. A nation independent of the city[1] did not exist—was not as much as thought of. This result followed as a direct consequence of ancient tribal society.[2]

If we now closely follow up the consequences and natural results of these two sets of ideas regarding "nationality" (the one entirely identical with the city-state itself, the other essentially independent of it), we will understand the causes, the workings of which created the sovereignties of medieval and modern Europe. Where the whole nation is supposed to be comprised within the walls of one city, there it will evidently be of little significance, whether the conquests of this nation extend over large or small territories. The city being the habitat of the nation, it matters little how large the conquered provinces may, or may not be. Unless a man be a citizen of this city, he does not belong to the nation. The inhabitants of the conquered provinces are "provincials," "municipes," but not citizens.

This thorough-going difference between modern and ancient nationality and sovereignty (one essentially personal, the other territorial) can be still better illustrated by comparing two other institutions of ancient classical times with their modern analogues. We mean our modern citizenship on the one hand, and the ancient right of excommunication or ostracism on the other. In modern times, the conquest of a new territory generally leads to a full bestowal of citizenship upon the inhabitants of the conquered land. Nay, more than that, when Germany had conquered Alsace and Lorraine, far from denying the inhabitants of these newly-acquired provinces the rights

[1] That is to say, the ruling tribe or confederacy. Vol. III. p. 436.
[2] Cf. Vol. III. pp. 436-8 and 520-1.

and privileges of German citizenship, she rather forced them upon the reluctant people.[1]

No such thing was possible in classical antiquity. They not only did not force their citizenship upon their defeated enemies, but they rather strenuously refused to grant them any of the rights of citizenship.[2] To do so would most certainly have seemed an act of political impracticability, of sheer foolishness, to a Roman. To the modern German government, it appeared to be a measure of the greatest political prudence. Such is the change in the opinions of nations and in the circumstances of different ages that, what to one appears as the height of good sense and advisability, is discarded by the other.

As to excommunication or ostracism, the contrast between classical and modern society is still more glaring. In Greece or Rome, it was one of the established modes of depriving citizens of their rights by interdicting them "*aqua et igni*," from water and fire, as the Romans said, or by ruling them out by means of a public ballot, as was usual among the Greeks.[3] In other words, both Greeks

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[1] Within two years after the conquest, every grown male person had to declare whether he intended to stay and adopt German citizenship, or whether he preferred to leave the country.

[2] Rome was constitutionally averse to granting citizenship. Even her allies had to resort to arbitrament of war (90-89 B.C.) before they could obtain this privilege. Laws were passed as late as the first century B.C. to exclude the allied nations from this privilege. Conquered nations were sometimes given a restricted citizenship, such as Vespasian conferred upon Spain. But the immense majority of the provincials of the Roman Empire were non-citizens. It was not until the beginning of the third century that Caracalla declared all the inhabitants of the then empire to be citizens of Rome.

[3] The classical nations had no workhouses or jails suitable for extended imprisonment. (Cf. Boeckh: "Public Economy of Athens," Lewis' Edition, p. 339 *et seq.*) They preferred to rid themselves of obnoxious persons by banishing them from the city. In Rome a person thus banished could not return to the city unless permitted to do so by a law passed in the Assembly, as in the case of Cicero, recalled

and Romans found it advisable to punish certain crimes with expatriation, with the loss of civic rights and with the banishment of the culprit from the soil of the fatherland.[1]

No such punishment has been adopted by modern governments. While almost all countries divest certain convicted criminals of their civic rights, none of them think of banishing them from the country. Many modern constitutions[2] have made explicit provision for this case, prohibiting the banishment of a citizen of their country from his fatherland under any circumstances. Both institutions show us very clearly how very intimately connected modern statehood is with the idea of a certain territory. To be a citizen means to have a permanent right of dwelling in a certain land, and vice versa, any one residing permanently in a certain land becomes thereby a citizen of the country.

Both modern and classical states arose from the basis of old tribal or ancient society. The subject is so important that we feel justified in presenting once more an outline of their different development. In the case of the classical nations, they had commenced to assume the important position they filled in history while they were yet mere tribal societies, consequently their history shows us a long continued conflict before the idea of territorial relations overcame the idea of personal relations. But the

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from banishment in 97 B.C. In the time of the emperors, banishment was exchanged for deportation. The Athenian ostracism prevailed also in Argos, Miletus, Megara and Syracuse.

[1] But remember the limited extent of the fatherland *i. e.*, city This was simply a survival of the tribal punishment of casting them out of the tribe (See Vol. I. p. 677).

[2] The German constitution, as well as those of Austria-Hungary, Italy, and modern Greece, explicitly provides that no citizen shall be banished from the territory of his country.

tribes of medieval Europe, whence came the modern nations of to-day, early settled on a definite expanse of land. From that time, the land became more and more the basis of society.[1] The tract of land on which the tribe settled, became known as the *gau*.[2] In time, this gau took the place of the tribe. Gau and tribe became co-extensive. Just as in classical lands, city and tribe became co-extensive. Other tribal divisions became known by the names of territorial divisions of the gau.[3] As now, modern nations commenced to grow, we can see at once that the unit of growth was always a territorial one, the gau.[4]

This is a most important conclusion to keep in mind. Knowing the unit of modern society, we will or ought to be enabled to understand its character. Modern sovereign territories are the result of a combination of smaller territories.[5] Without bearing this in mind, it is difficult to comprehend the peculiar divergence of modern social and political institutions from classical ones. The unit of Greece and Rome was the city. The unit of modern Europe and America is a tract of land essentially differing from a city. The city of Rome, or any city in Greece, was the be-all and end-all of their existence. There was nothing beside, beyond, above, or beneath it. Hence it was not only the unit of the state—it was infinitely more

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[1] Vol. I. p. 164.

[2] Pagus in Italy. Shire in England. Vol. I. p. 173.

[3] Hundreds, mark, gemeinde, commune, and parish. Vol. II. p. 173.

[4] In strictness we might find a lower unit still. For the unit of tribe was the gens, hence the territory of a gens—mark, parish, etc.—might be called the unit of the gau. The language used in making general statements must not be too closely criticised. In nicety, it may be that gau and shire, for instance, are not identical, etc.

[5] Freeman says: "The whole history of our land and of our race will be read backwards, if we fail always to bear in mind that the lower unit is not a division of the greater, but that the greater is an aggregate of the smaller."—"Comparative Politics," p. 119.

than that—it was the state itself. Hence, territorial aggrandizement could not add a title to the state as such. The new conquests did not alter the old state. They were additions to, not parts of the old state. They were provinces, not federates.

Five centuries before our era, the territory of Rome did not extend over an area larger than any other ordinary city. A few centuries later, she had brought under her rule vast countries, covering almost the whole of the then known world. Did all these new conquests alter, augment, or enrich Roman nationality? Not in the least. Did the Romans increase the number of their officials or their duties? Not in the least. The same small number of public offices were filled in the third century B.C., when Rome was a comparatively small city, with very few dominions, and in the first century, when Rome had succeeded in subduing the whole of Mediterranean Europe. There were two consuls, the censors, the prætors, the tribunes, ædiles, and quæstors. And that was all. No need was felt of creating new offices to meet the exigencies of the enormous conquests. As it was before that time, so it still continued to be for many more centuries.

What, on the other hand, do we find among modern states? The very reverse. Along with the spread of territory, goes a constant augmentation of political organs. Offices are added, old offices are expanded, the whole official structure of the state is enriched, developed, changed. The *heretog*, *herszog*, *earl*, of the smaller territory, develops into the *grand-duke*, or into the *markgrave*, or *landgrave*. The offices become hereditary—a thing utterly unknown to classical times. The different dignities of count, earl, duke, markgrave begin to crystallize into a hierarchy of the strictest form, where the great question

of precedence plays a prominent part. The office of sovereign power, instead of being a position for some one of several families, become the property of some one family.

These are some of the marked changes in the structure of modern political sovereignty. They are the direct outcome of the under-lying principle of territoriality. For all modern sovereigns are but the sum-total of those smaller territorial rulers who in the previous centuries of the middle ages occupied the several parts of the present great monarchies and empires of Europe. They grew organically, smaller cells uniting with larger ones into tissues, these again into organs, and organs, finally, into one compact body. It is a bold, yet a true saying of Aristotle, that the state is before its parts. And was not the classical state of the time of the great Greek philosopher actually so organized as to be said to exist before its parts? Did not Rome exist before her provinces and the other parts of the empire were created? Was not every joint in the structure of Roman sovereignty fully developed long before she had made those enormous conquests that were to make up the Roman Empire?

Such, however, was not the case with modern Europe. The German Empire, France, or England were not existent before, but after their constituent parts came into existence. They grew out of them. First came the dukes of Brunswick and Oldenburg and Weimar and the landgraves of Thuringia and the markgraves of Moravia etc. etc., and then, by a union of these constituent parts, Germany sprang into existence. It was the same case with France, where the dukes of Normandy, Britanny, Burgundy, etc., long preceded the creation of the kingdom of modern France. It was, likewise, the case with England, which first consisted of a number of "kingdoms," (like

Kent, Sussex, Essex, Wessex, etc.), which in 827 were united in the hands of Egbert.

This most essential point of difference is most aptly illustrated by the usage of classical nations in naming their rulers. In this case, also, languages prove faithful depositaries and archives of national institutions. The Romans or Greeks never spoke or wrote of a king of "Persia," but invariably of a king of the "Persians." They never called the emperor, in Rome, "Emperor of the Roman Empire," or "Emperor of Rome," but simply "Emperor," or "Emperor of the Romans." In modern times, on the contrary, the custom is just the reverse. Victoria is not "Queen of the English," but "Queen of England." The sovereign is named after his territory.

To call, for instance, in an official way, Umberto the "King of the Italians" would be just as incorrect and as ridiculous as to call our president the "President of the Americans." The territorial origin of these modern sovereignties has so thoroughly imbued them with a character of dependence on the territory they rule, that everything shows it. Having grown out of smaller territorial rulers the modern sovereigns still bear the unmistakable mark of their origin. In order to show this still clearer, we shall proceed to a comparison of the official titles of modern monarchs with the official titles of Roman emperors.

The Roman emperors had no official title, like our modern "Your Majesty," "Sire," and the like.[1] They were sometimes called Optimus, Pius, Felix (the best, the pious, the happy), but these appellations have no official significance.[2] To their names, they usually added the

[1] Mommsen: "Roem Staatsrecht," Vol. II. p. 724.
[2] Ibid. 723.

words "Imperator" (from which our word "Emperor" is derived) and "Cæsar" (one of the family names of the Julian gens) or "Augustus"[1] and sometimes "Princeps," (prince). But these words did not participate of the nature of a title, but that of a proper name. This can be proved conclusively by the fact that the appellative, "Cæsar," was added to the name not only of the emperor himself, but to that of the heir apparent, and to those of his agnates.[2]

Yet it would be an historical error to say that the Roman emperors used no titles. They did not use the kind of titles our modern sovereigns attach to their dignity; they used others. It is in these very titles that we see the salient point of difference between them and our modern sovereigns. Their titles were not taken from the territories they owned, but from the offices they filled. We will try to explain this at some length, contrasting it with the usage existing among our own kings and emperors.

Already, Augustus had divided the whole of the Roman provinces into two large masses, one of which was assigned to him, and the other to the Senate.[3] These provinces were not considered as mere administrative beats or districts. The emperors did not stand at the head of these provinces in the capacity of mere rulers or governors. They were the owners, the proprietors of these districts.[4] These large provinces were their patrimony, their private property.

[1] Ibid. 729-732. [2] Ibid. 730, notes 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

[3] Our sources for this remarkable partition are Suetonias: "Life of Augustus," ch. 47. Dio Cassius, Bk. liii. 12. Strabo, Bk. xvii.

[4] Egypt, for example, is frequently called the emperor's largest estate. (Cf. "Philo Against Flaccus," 2: 19; or Tacitus: "Hist.," I. ii ) The most decisive passages occur in the Roman jurist, Gaius, in the second book of his Commentaries, div. 21.

According to our modern notions of sovereignty, nothing would be more in accord with the system of imperial titles than the assumption that the Roman emperors named themselves after the vast tracts of territory which they not only governed, but actually owned. If Trajan, amongst other titles, had taken up the title of King of Bithynia or Duke of Gaul or Pharaoh of Egypt—all the three being provinces he owned in fee-simple—we would find that as much in keeping with our conceptions of sovereignty as the fact that the ruler of the territory of Wurtemberg calls himself King of Wurtemberg.[1]

No Roman emperor, however, thought of adding his territory's name to his own. The official titles he used were of an essentially different character. They had no reference whatever to his landed property, to his territories. They were taken from his dignity as a consul, as a prætor, or as a pontifex maximus. These ancient republican offices, previously assigned to as many single persons, were all united in the person of the emperor, who, by thus preserving the semblance of republicanism, contrived to have all the rights of an Eastern potentate without using the obnoxious title of King or Lord (Dominus), On inscriptions and epitaphs, we find the names of Roman emperors with the following titles: "Pontifex Maximus. Tribunicia Potestate, Imperator, Consul, Censor, Pater Patriæ, Proconsul." The sequence of these titles was established by law.[2] The titles, used by the Roman Cæsars, were thus purely office-holding titles; and had nothing to do with their territories and dominions.

How essentially different are the titles of a modern

[1] The King of Wurtemberg is a purely territorial title; there never was a German tribe named Wurtemberg.

[2] Vide the inscriptions in "Corpus Inscript. Latinar.," Vol. III. p. 904 *et seq.*

sovereign. He has quite a number of them. Over thirty in some cases, and all of them are taken from strictly territorial offices. Let us take, for instance, the Emperor of Austria-Hungary. He is Emperor of Austria-Hungary, King of Jerusalem, Bohemia, Galicia, Hungary, Lodomeria, Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia; Archduke of Lower and Upper Austria; Duke of Salzburg, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Silesia, Bukowina; Count of Tyrol; Markgrave of Moravia; Grandduke (Grossfuerst) of Transylvania, etc., etc.

Each of these titles is taken from a distinct territory, with sharply defined geographical boundaries. They have no reference to office, to obligations, to duties. They are expressions and indications of territorial dignity. We may fairly say, that the Emperor of Austria-Hungary is the sum-total of all the kingdoms, duchies, countships, and markgraviates just enumerated. How utterly inappropriate would it seem, when, in an official allocution for instance, the Emperor of Austria would be addressed, according to the law and fashion of the Roman emperors, with: "Highest Minister of the State and Commander of the Army, Provincial Governor and Chief Justice, Supreme Auditor and First Treasurer of the Country?" By thus placing their titles alongside of each other we see at once, and with great precision too, the deep difference between classical and modern sovereignty.

But there is still one more interesting point in connection with the smaller sovereigns of Europe which shows how territorial rights carry with them sovereign rights also. We have reference to the numerous dukes, princes, granddukes, landgraves, markgraves, etc., etc., forming as they do the germ and the constituent parts of the greater sovereigns. In the time of Charlemagne, his vast

dominions and provinces were ruled by "missi" (sent, commissioned officials) and "counts," who were chiefly of a military character, and as such were imposed by sovereign will on subject tribes, and we can at once see that the tribes would keep in their own hands as many of their liberties as possible. Owing to the weaknesses of Charlemagne's successors, and the negligence of the subject tribes, the usual result followed, and these office-holders came to be considered as the hereditary incumbents of their offices, and by degrees managed to claim quite a number of sovereign rights and privileges that were foreign to their original position. Among these were the right of levying troops, of administering justice, of claiming tithes, taxes, and the like.

But in many cases the real origin of their power was apparent. A landgrave of Thuringia, or an elector (kurfuerst) of Brandenburg, did not, as such, and by dint of his title, possess all those powers, which nowadays are considered as the natural and necessary outflow of sovereign power. He had not, for example, the right of administering justice to all the inhabitants of his country. Many classes of persons, who otherwise did not refuse to call themselves his subjects, most strenuously refused to have their lawsuits decided by the landgrave's or elector's officials.[1] Nor were they (as late as the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries) always entitled to levy taxes on their subjects. All these, and similar rights of sovereignty they acquired singly and by instalments, so that one duke's sovereign rights may have very considerably differed from the rights of another duke. We think it quite a matter of

[1] The topic now under discussion is one of the most complicated in history. The safest guide in this tangle is Eichhorn: "Deutsche Reichs u. Rectsgeschichte," especially secs. 299–314, 418–434, 540–541.

course that a state should be possessed of the sole and exclusive right and power of administering justice to all living in its territory.

Such was, however, not always the case with the smaller sovereigns of previous centuries. Their rights of sovereignty, as we now understand the term,[1] were acquired by slow and persistent labor in two directions. They had to coax or force the Emperor to grant them portions of his sovereignty; and they had to contend with the "Estates," and people of their country to assent to new claims on their good will as subjects. The process of the formation of European territorial sovereignty (especially in its lesser aspects, like the diverse small sovereigns of Germany, or those of Savoy, Naples, Servia, etc.) lasted several centuries and, in fact, the relation of ruler and ruled was in such an unsettled condition as to lack a definite name, the name "territorial sovereignty" (Landeshoheit) not obtaining general acceptance before the treaty of Westphalia (1648).[2] It was not until the seventeenth century that the claims of the diverse dukes, granddukes, markgraves, and electors came to be fully recognized, so as to give them a real right of sovereignty, instead of a number of single, unconnected privileges resembling the easements in private law, which, while giving us certain detached rights to the property of our neighbor, never make us the real owner of it.

Since that time, the idea of territorial sovereignty was laid on a firm basis. The people permanently dwelling in one of these sovereign's territories were, by force

[1] Sovereignty comprises the right of legislation (or of concurrence in legislation), judiciary, taxation, military command, appeal, and, if vested in a certain family, irresponsibility of the sovereign.

[2] Vide Eichhorn; see 299 note a, and K. Maurer in article "Landeshoheit of Bluntschlis "Staatswoerterbuch."

of this fact alone, subject to the sovereign power, just as every citizen of Ohio has to comply with the law of this sovereign state. The exemptions of former centuries[1] were abolished, and all classes of people were "subjects" of their territorial sovereign.

We now turn to consider the Growth of Parliamentary Authority. In our days, the word Parliament is of such common occurrence, and is found as the name of an actual political institution in so many countries[2] that it excites neither wonder nor calls for particular explanation. The whole institution seems to be such a simple structure; it answers so reasonably to the wants of society; it is in such happy and obvious harmony with a state of healthy liberty, that instead of wondering at its existence, we are far more inclined to wonder at its non-existence in former centuries. That the will of the people should be taken into consideration whenever laws or ordinances affecting the people are passing, seems to be the very element of political fairness. It is a matter of the commonest experience that for the vast majority of citizens it is practicably infeasible to attend the meetings of legislative bodies in person.[3] Hence a system of representation will arise, and a set number of citizens will commission a delegate of their choice, and the aggregate of these delegates will form a Parliament.

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[1] Such exemptions were enjoyed by many cities, by the "Landsassen," of convents, by many rural communities with regard to forest, dike, and mill litigations. See Moeser: "Osnabruck Geschichte," I. sec. 42, 43; Eichhorn, sec. 302.

[2] At present, there are Parliaments in Greece, Turkey, Italy, Spain, France, Switzerland, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Holland, England, Denmark, Sweden, United States, Mexico, Brazil, etc.

[3] In the canton of Appenzell, in Switzerland, the citizens still attend the legislative meetings in person, each with his sword, and when a bill has been approved by the Assembly, they all, in a loud voice, pledge themselves to obey the law. Vide Freeman: "Growth of English Constitution," p. 7.

This institution, however, like everything else, is a growth, a development out of a pre-existing state of affairs. In its modern form, it was unknown to the ancient world, and was unknown in Europe before the thirteenth century. It must arise from institutions of tribal society. The council, we found, was the constant phenomenon of tribal society. Each division of a tribe had an elective, or hereditary, head to represent it in the council of the next higher division. Each member of a gens had a right to meet in the council of the gens to deliberate on affairs of moment to the gens. The chiefs of the various gentes formed the tribal council, and the whole tribe assembled in council to discuss the proceedings of this tribal council.[1] Of course, as time passed on, the general outline here presented became variously modified, but the main outlines remain; thus we found legislation in Sparta, Athens, and ancient Rome resting substantially on this basis.[2]

Many interesting points come up in tracing this gradual development in Greece and in Rome. Two great and growing obstacles constantly confronted the people. It is manifest that all the voters could not meet in assembly when their number became at all large, and as the great struggle in antiquity was by the subject tribes for a share in the government, this time must soon come, and we have noticed the various expedients of rulers to meet this demand. In both Athens and Rome, we saw the formation of classes. In Rome, at least, the people voted by classes, each class representing one or more votes.[3] Modern representative government took its rise when tribal society had

[1] Vol. II. p. 206 *et seq.*

[2] Vol. II. pp. 183-186, 197-199; Vol. III. pp. 477 *et seq.*, 595-599.

[3] Vol. II. pp. 203-4.

long been a thing of the past. But we will still detect traces of the old order of things.

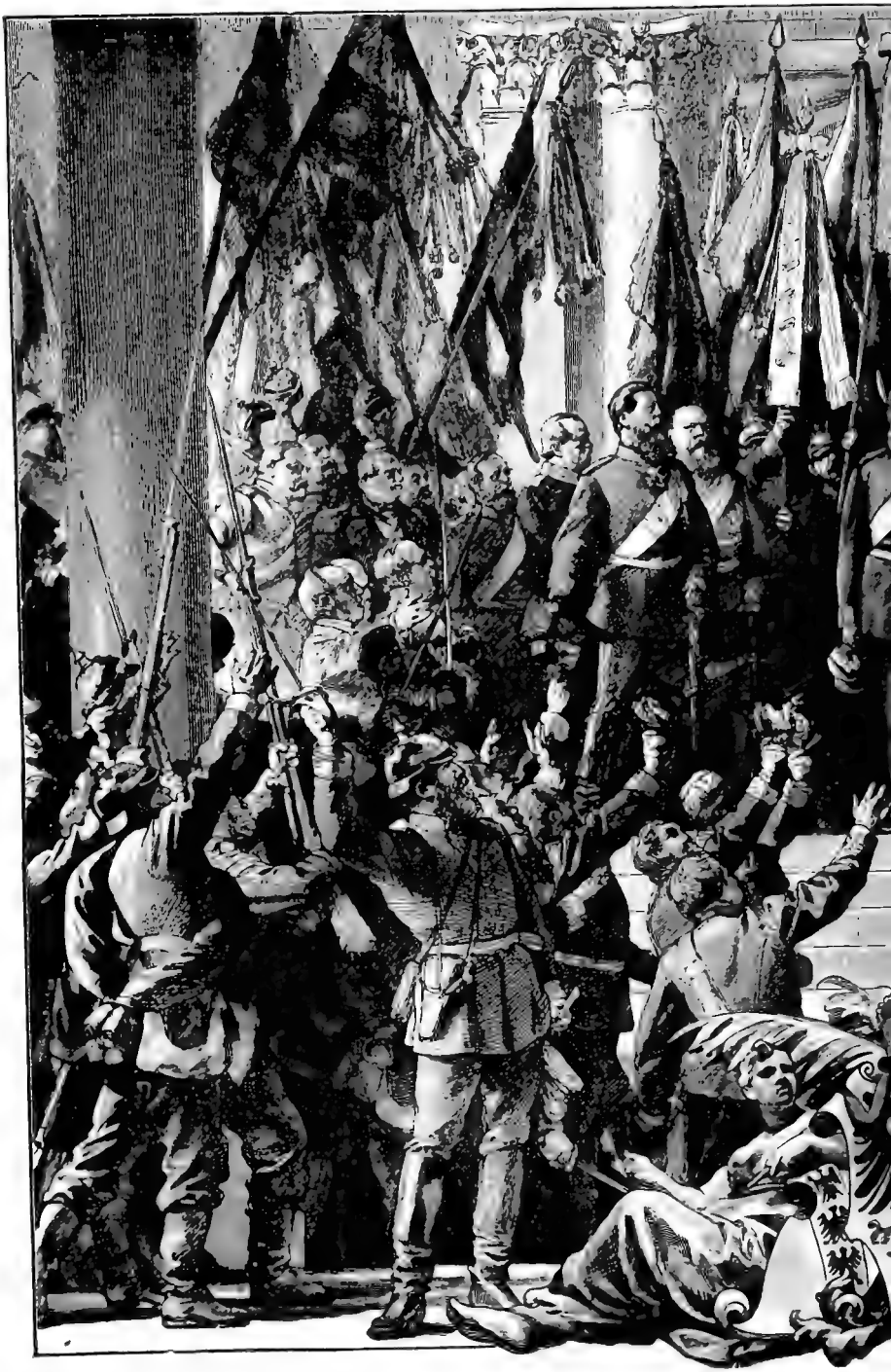
Especially is this remark true of Hungary. The Magyars of Hungary to this day retain many traces of their old tribal life, and also of tribal independence and liberty. Hungary enjoyed representative government at a time when many of the nations of Europe had lost their old tribal liberties and had not yet succeeded in winning new ones. The center of Hungarian politics is laid in their county-institution. A Hungarian county, *megye*, is very different from its American synonym. It is much more like the ancient *gau*. Each megye represents an old tribe, and preserves clear traces of its former independence, having always had the power of passing and enforcing statutes of its own. Since 1867, great reforms, all in the lines of stricter centralization, have been made, and Hungary no longer consists of fifty confederate "small states," as the counties of Hungary were called. There is, however, still a very considerable remnant of the old independence of the times before 1867.

This comes out clearly in considering their rights and privileges before the great revolution of 1848, in which the well-known Louis Kossuth played such a prominent part. It is well to glance at the most prominent. They had, first, the right of electing deputies to the Diet (Congress), and of recalling the same. For it was part of the duties of a delegate to correspond with his constituents, and inform them of any new subject of interest which might be brought before the "Table" (Diet), in order that they might be debated in the "Congregation" (County-meeting), and the result of such debate be forwarded to him for his guidance. Should he not follow the instructions furnished him, or otherwise fail to give satisfaction,

he might be recalled at any time, and another delegate be sent in his place. In one word, the counties were everything, in the Diet as well as out of it. They also exercised the right of local administration, and of passing statutes (not contrary to the common law of the realm) having force within the bounds of the county. Further, they had the right of electing their own magistrates, and the right of watching over the integrity of the law; thus controlling not only the procedure of their own magistrates, but even of the central authorities.

In the following description from one of the greatest of Hungarian historians,[1] the fact, that in the megye we are dealing with the remnants of a once independent tribe, still possessing a good share of such independence becomes very clear: "The county-meetings of Hungary acquired a character so peculiar that an exact parallel to them can be found nowhere in Europe. The English public meetings only express their opinions upon some question or other; but the fact of their not being invested with any official authority at once distinguishes them from the Hungarian 'congregations.'. . . The 'congregations' not only debated and expressed their opinions upon political questions, but had other functions which gave them a substantial share in the government of the country. To them as administrative bodies, were addressed the orders of the crown and the central government boards, *i. e.*, the council of lieutenancy, which sat at Buda, and the Hungarian court chancery, which sat at Vienna. These orders they either carried out by handing them over to the magistrates whom they concerned, or, if they considered them contrary to the laws and spirit of the constitution, they laid them

[1] Michael Horvath; "Huszonot ev Magyarorszag tortenetebol" ("Twenty-five Years of the History of Hungary.")



KING WILLIAM PROCLAI

D EMPEROR OF GERMANY.

aside 'with respect,' and petitioned the Crown or the government boards for their withdrawal or modification."

For the purpose of illustrating the rise of modern representative government, we can not do better than refer with some fullness of detail to England, where is to be found the greatest and most momentous example of Parliamentary government. The international importance of Great Britain, the fact that over three hundred million people are directly or indirectly ruled from London, attaches a significance of the very highest order to all the broader political institutions of England. It has frequently been called the mother of Parliamentary life, and while this is, in strict historical truth, not correct, England will always be considered the country, where the whole system of representation has been fostered and cultivated with a success evidently superior to that of any other country. Since in this finite world of ours, nothing succeeds like success, it is, if not strictly correct, yet expedient and convenient to take the English Parliament as the most typical form of representative government. And, no doubt, it is to her Parliament, that England owes her steady growth and enormous development of power. The foundations of this, the central political institution of England, date back to a number of centuries; and having thus struck their roots in the deepest layers of national soil, they continue to preserve a vigorous root-life, totally undisturbed by the stormy gales which at times bluster through the foliage of the trees growing on the surface of the soil.

If we compare France with England, we cannot fail to see that the spontaneous, slow, and unforced growth of the English Parliament stands out in strong contrast with the artificial, unstable growth of fits and starts of the French

"Three Estates." The functions of the English Parliament have in France, in the course of five centuries, been intrusted to an amazing diversity of ever new-fangled, experimental systems of all kinds of boards, commissions, bodies of deputies; meeting in one, sometimes in two, at other times in three chambers; based on every variety of principles—ecclesiastical, feudal, territorial, and philosophical. It is no wonder, then, that the constitutional history of France abounds with the full register of Parliamentary, despotical, aristocratical, and ochlocratical (mob) governments. The changes follow each other with astounding rapidity, and only time can tell whether the future is to be one of peace and security.

In England, on the other hand, we find a steady homogeneous growth, and it can be said without dread of exaggeration or historical incorrectness, that England, as far as its political center, Parliament, is concerned, stands at the present day exactly where it stood at the time of Edward I., in the thirteenth century. No essential change has been introduced, the structure of the building is still the same, and the precedents and customs of the time of the king just mentioned are still a matter of daily query and discussion of the latest members of the English Parliament. This peculiar continuity of an historical institution, dating far back into the middle ages, has been admirably and tersely characterized in the saying: "Up to the reign of Edward the First, English history is strictly the domain of antiquaries. From the reign of Edward the First, it becomes the domain of lawyers."[1]

The Parliament of England, like many other institutions of the public life of that country, and first of all,

[1] Freeman: "Growth of the English Constitution," p. 87.

like the constitution of that realm, does not rest on a written document, as does the Congress of the United States. No such document exists. The whole immense apparatus grew up like any other organic creature, by nearly imperceptible steps, and its foundations are "unwritten law." It is a well-known fact, that the common-law of England (which, to a very great extent, has also been accepted as the common law of the United States) rests exclusively on "unwritten" sources, that is, on single judicial precedents, and not on a comprehensive code of law expounding the principles of jural relations. Now it is just so with the law of Parliament in England. It rests entirely on "unwritten law," on precedents. The vast influence of this apparently unsatisfactory description of law will be perceived most strikingly by putting one of the outcomes of English Parliamentary government to a closer examination. In our daily papers, we constantly read of the English "Cabinet." We know, that for the time being Mr., or Lord So-and-So is prime minister, and stands at the head of affairs, selecting the members of his "Cabinet" from the adherents of his party. To these "ministers," he assigns the various departments of government, and the whole work of the political machinery. It will be easily seen that such a Cabinet plays a very important part; in fact, it is, if not the soul itself, the visible and audible expression of the soul of Parliament. What should be more readily expected than that the Cabinet in the English Parliament should have a safe legal foundation? That the law of the country should fully recognize the existence and functions of such Cabinets?

But the fact is, the law of England does not know of such things as Cabinets. The writers on the constitutional law of England in the last century never mention the

"Cabinet." To them, such a thing evidently had no legal existence, and even at the present day Englishmen habitually speak of "Lord Palmerston's Government," or "Lord Salisbury's Government," meaning thereby a certain knot of privy councillors, of whom it would be impossible to give any legal definition. The names of the persons who compose the Cabinet for the time being are never officially announced, nor are there even any official records of its meetings, or of the resolutions which may have been adopted by the members. But the English Cabinet, virtually nominated by Parliament, has never yet been formally recognized by any act of Parliament.

The Parliament of England consists of two Houses: the Upper House or House of Lords, and the Lower House or House of Commons. The Upper House consists of a varying number of members as regards the representation of England, but fixed with respect to Scotland and Ireland. All the peers of England, as well as those whose patent of peerage is for the United Kingdom, have seats and votes in the House of Lords, but the peers of Scotland and Ireland are represented only by delegates; those for Scotland being elected for every new Parliament, and those for Ireland for life. In 1878, the official "Roll of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal" returned exactly five hundred members, the list comprising, five members of the royal family, two archbishops, twenty-one dukes, nineteen marquises, one hundred and thirteen earls, twenty-nine viscounts, twenty-four bishops, two hundred and forty-eight barons, sixteen Scottish representative peers, and twenty-eight representative peers of Ireland.

The actual functions of the House of Lords are very indistinct; they exercise a general right of supervision over the bills passed in the Lower House. The House of

Lords, as a rule, is very poorly attended, and there are two reasons for this rather remarkable fact. In the first place, the attendance of three members is sufficient to constitute a quorum, while forty are required in the Lower House. In the second place, the Lords are entitled to vote by proxy, instead of in person, a right of which they very frequently make use. Two other members being present, the "Lord Chancellor" may take his seat on the woolsack, and order business to proceed at any hour during the day.

The House of Lords is at the same time the highest court of appeal in the country. This dangerous union of legislative and judicial power, in one and the same body of men, has, however, proved beneficial and the severest critics of English Parliamentary government have concurred in the general praise of the impartiality of the Lords. Delolme writes as follows: "In the exercise of their judicial authority with regard to civil matters, the Lords have manifested a spirit of equity nowise inferior to that which they have shown in their legislative capacity. They have, in the discharge of that function (which of all others is so liable to create temptations), shown an incorruptness really superior to what any judicial assembly in any other nation can boast. Even that privilege which they enjoy, of exclusively trying their own members, in case of any accusation that may affect their life (a privilege which we might at first sight think repugnant to the idea of a regular government, and even alarming to the rest of the people), has constantly been made use of by the Lords to do justice to their fellow subjects; and if we cast our eyes either on the collection of the State Trials, or on the history of England, we shall find very few examples, if any, of a peer, really guilty of the offence laid to his charge, that has derived any advantage from his not being

tried by a jury of "commoners."[1] In the process of time, the House of Commons became the very soul of Parliament, and, consequently of the whole body of the English realm. It is there that the idea of representative government has reached its full maturity; it is there that the demands of the people no less than the desires of the Crown have found a just hearing, and a satisfactory settlement. It has been and still is the model of all similar bodies and its precedents are freely resorted to not only in England but in foreign countries also. It rests on a nearly universal suffrage and consists of six hundred and fifty members elected in the counties, cities, boroughs, and universities of the realm. The great importance of the House of Commons will justify a more elaborate inquiry into its origin.

It is one of the strange things in the history of England that the capital institution of the country was inaugurated, if not created, by a foreigner, by a man of that nation with which the English were engaged in constant wars for many centuries, by a scion of the French nobility. We have said that the English constitution as well as the Parliament is a product of slow, uninterrupted, and organic growth, the work of centuries. It is but a matter of course that such institutions, while they show the influence of many individuals who, in the course of time, left their mark on their shape and form, they will only in very rare cases be reducible to the paramount influence of one man. The influence of individuals, limited as it always is, must needs be very much restricted and even scarcely traceable in institutions, the very character of which is not susceptible to the impress of individual men. In France, where political institutions are of a rather artificial make, the influence of individuals is much more perceptible than in

[1] "The Constitution of England," pp. 374-5.

England; and of many a rule, custom, and usage of French political life, clear historical traces show that they originated in the will, wisdom, or shrewdness of some one of the French nobles and statesmen.

This organic growth of English institutions, which is, as a rule, so adverse to the direct influence of some one individual, has, however, one great exception. The House of Commons owes its origin to the action and political insight of a well-known French noble, to Simon de Montfort, later Earl of Leicester. This truly great man, who, after his martyr-death, was held as one of the saints of the English people, stood at the head of the nobles and commoners who refused to yield to the tyranny of King Henry III., and who finally defeated him at Lewes.[1] Simon then convened a Parliament, and for the first time sent writs of summons to cities and boroughs. His example being adopted by his conqueror and King Henry's successor, Edward, it has been ever since kept up as the legal custom of Parliament.

In order to learn more of the character of such an important personage in constitutional history, let us quote from a recent work. "Simon had all the virtues, the strength, the grace that Henry wanted; and what advantages he lacked, the faults of the King supplied. If he be credited with too great ambition, too violent a temper, too strong an instinct of aggression, his faults will not outweigh his virtues. His errors were the result of what seemed to him necessity, or of temptations that opened for him a position from which he could not recede. Had he lived longer, the prospect of the throne might have opened before him, and he might have become a destroyer instead of a saviour. If he had succeeded in such a design, he

[1] 21st of May, 1264.

could not have made a better king than Edward; if he had failed, England would have lain at the feet of Edward, a ruler whose virtues would have made him more dangerous as a despot than his father's vices had made him in his attempt at despotism. Simon cannot be called happy in the opportunity of his death, yet it may have been best for England that he lived no longer. He was greater as an opponent of tyranny than as a deviser of liberties; the fetters imposed on royal autocracy, cumbrous and entangled as they were, seem to have been an integral part of his policy; the means he took for admitting the nation to self-government wear very much the form of an occasional or party expedient, which a longer tenure of undivided power might have led him either to develop or to discard. The idea of representative government had, however, ripened under his hand; and although the germ of the growth lay in the primitive institutions of the land, Simon has the merit of having been one of the first to see the uses and the glories to which it would ultimately grow."[1]

The institution so happily inaugurated by the patriotic energy and prudence of Montford had, however, to overcome very serious obstacles before it could command all those resources of power which, in later centuries, fell to its lot. Two drawbacks materially affected the rights of Parliament: the recognition of certain power on the King's part to do by his own authority acts of the same class as those for which he asked the counsel and consent of Parliament; and the further fact, that certain individual members of the assembly claimed and practised the right to concede or refuse their consent to the conclusions of the whole legislative body. Thus, for instance, taxes might be granted in Parliament, but the King could still

[1] Stubbs: "Constitutional History of England," Vol. II. pp. 103-4.

take the customary aids without reference to Parliament; he could increase the customs by separate negotiations with the merchants, and "at any time raise money by gifts negotiated with individual payers, and assessed by the officers of the exchequer."[1]

The second drawback, the existence of which is fully attested by contemporary evidence,[2] will strike a modern reader as rather strange. For it implies that in the first Parliaments of England it was not taken for granted that the majority rules. The authority, just quoted, asks: "When Geoffrey of York, or Ranulf of Chester, refused to agree to a grant, was the refusal final, or was it overborne by the consent of the majority? Did the baron who promised aid make a private promise, or authorize a general tax? Did the consent of a baron in council to grant a tax bind him individually only, or did it form part of such a general consent as would be held to bind those who refused consent?"

These and similar prerogatives of the Crown and of single nobles were great hindrances in the development of the House of Commons, at which we will now glance.[3] In the reign of King Edward II. (1327–1377), a very important advance is noticeable; the formal separation of Parliament into the two Houses of Lords and Commons. In course of time, it was found convenient for the Commons to have a chamber of their own, and they adjourned their sittings to the chapter house of the abbot of Westminster, where they continued to be held afterwards. The date of this event is not clearly established, but is generally assigned to the seventeenth year of Edward III.'s reign.

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[1] Ibid. p. 252. [2] Ibid. 253.

[3] In this survey, our chief authority is Sir T. Erskine May: "Constitutional History of England."

For a considerable length of time, the Commons did not occupy a prominent position, and they were officially termed "petitioners" whenever they submitted their advice or desire to the Crown. By degrees, however, they became bolder. Under the minority of King Richard II., the Commons insisted upon the annual assembling of Parliament under the stringent provisions of a binding law. They claimed the right, not only of voting subsidies, but of appropriating them, and of examining public accounts. They inquired into public abuses, and impeached ministers of the Crown. They increased very considerably in numbers. In the reign of Edward I., there were about two hundred and seventy-five members; in that of Henry VI. (1422–1461), three hundred. In the reign of Henry VIII., Parliament added twenty-seven members for Wales, and four for the county and city of Chester; and in the reign of Charles II. (1660–1685), four for the county and city of Durham. Between the reigns of Henry VIII. and Charles II., one hundred and thirty members were added by royal charter.

Prior to the reign of Charles I. (1625-1648), the condition of English society was such as naturally to subordinate the Commons to the Crown and the Lords. After the Revolution of 1688, society had so far advanced that, under a free representation, the Commons might have striven with both upon equal terms. But, as by far the the greater part of representation was in the hands of the King and the territorial nobles, the large constitutional powers of the Commons were held in check. Since the Reform Act of 1832, when the representation became a reality, a corresponding authority has been asserted by the Commons. The Lords soon learned that whenever the majority of the Commons energetically insisted on a

measure, however repugnant to the sentiments of the upper house, the wisest thing was to yield to the pressure. And thus it became a political axiom that the Commons alone determined the fate of ministries and the policy of the State.

The relations of the two houses, however, can only be understood in connection with the action of political parties. The Lords may be said, generally, to represent the opinions prevalent before 1832, while the Commons enlisted on the side of the progressive ideas of later generations. Hence, under liberal administrations, the two houses have been in frequent conflict; under conservative administrations, they have been brought into general agreement.

The close connection of the Commons with the people, the publicity of debate, the rapidity of communication with all parts of the world, and the activity of the press, have made the floor of that house the popular platform of England. In that arena, are discussed every conceivable grievance, complaint, opinion, project, or delusion. This is not an unmixed good. Subjects the most trivial are forced upon the attention of the house, by means of questions and incidental debates; and, on the other hand, after weary sittings, matters of the first importance fail to obtain a hearing.

All these minor evils, however, do not outweigh the majestic privileges of the house and its members. In none of the continental countries of Europe, are Parliamentary institutions carried to such a high degree of liberty as in the House of Commons. Every member of the house has the right of proposing a new bill containing a new law, or an amendment of a law. This precious right has but very rarely been granted the single members of a legislative body. In Rome, very few of the higher magis-

trates could submit a bill to the acceptance of the assembly. In France, when their General Estates were allowed to sit, their "remonstrances" were little regarded. In Sweden, the power of proposing new subjects was lodged in an assembly, called the Secret Committee, composed of nobles and a few of the clergy, now it is possessed by the King. In Scotland, until the Union (1707), all propositions to be laid before Parliament were framed by persons called the "Lords of the Articles."[1]

It was only in the course of the present century that the majority of European nations were granted the power of electing their deputies to the assembly, investing them with a power of framing and passing bills. We say "granted," for this privilege had to be extorted from the reluctant sovereigns of the various countries, frequently by main force, very seldom by mutual agreement. Austria got its first Parliament in 1861, Spain in 1812, Prussia in 1850, Bavaria in 1818, France since 1815, Italy (Naples) 1812 (and 1846), etc. These Parliaments were modelled more or less after the English pattern, and naturally proved abortive in many ways; for, while Parliament in England with its two houses was of historic and consequently natural origin, the two-chamber system did not suit other countries, and frequently failed of success. Taking a second lesson where it could be easily learned, the modern Greeks established a Parliament with one chamber only. The rights of continental Parliaments are not as extensive as those of the English archetype, and the upper houses in Prussia, Austria, Italy, and Spain differ essentially from the House of Lords in respect, that all the members of the high-born aristocracy are born peers, that they cannot vote by proxy, and that they have no judicial

[1] Delolme: "Constitution of England," p. 235.

power whatever. The power of continental Parliaments is reduced very considerably by the great number of political parties struggling for ascendency. While there are only two great parties in England, there are sometimes as many as twelve in Germany, eight in Austria, half a dozen or so in Spain. This very fact is a fertile source of the encroachment of the sovereignty in those countries, the discordant parties being an unfit match for the centralized power of the Crown.

We have arrived at the last division of our present chapter: at a comparative view of the constitutions of various modern countries. Here we have to regret the extremely limited space at our command. The constitution of a country is by far the most influential of its institutions, it is the faithful exponent of the spirit, force or weakness, liberty or thraldom, progress or decay, of a nation. Change its constitution, and you have changed its innermost character; change its innermost character, and you have altered its constitution. The great naturalist, Owen, said that one single tooth of an animal was sufficient to re-construct its species, habitat, and anatomical structure. If this be true of a single organ of an animal, it will be found equally applicable, in a metaphorical sense, to the organism of a higher being—of a state. Given the constitution of a state, the rest may be easily divined. If we hear of the Swiss making their president a mere figure-head, and the Americans bestowing on their chief magistrate a kingly power for the space of four years, it will be evident at once, that although both countries claim the title of republics, there must be a thorough-going difference between them.

This one example will show us, that in studying the constitutions of different nations, we must carefully avoid

laying undue stress on names. A full-fledged monarchy sometimes goes by the name of a republic, and vice versa, a republic will at times be disguised under the misleading title of a monarchy. We must, therefore, separate conceptions, apparently identical, but in reality of a divergent nature. We must keep strictly to the fundamental notions underlying political constitutions. These are as follows: all political power can be divided into three groups; Legislative, Executive, and Judicial. These powers can be intrusted either to single persons, or to boards consisting of several persons. These, again, can be in office for a certain time only, or for life-time. On the right assignment of these three constituent powers to the most appropriate system of officials and incumbents, rests the prosperity of a nation.

These are, in general, the leading principles of constitutions. An inquiry, therefore, into the constitutions of nations is mainly an investigation of the apportionment of these three powers. If the bulk of these powers rests with what we are pleased to call "The People," the constitution of the nation will be democratical. If it is possessed by a few privileged classes to the exclusion of the other classes of a people, the constitution will be called either an aristocratical or an oligarchical one, depending on whether the ruling class is an aristocracy of birth, or an aristocracy of some other description. If, finally, the three powers are united, or greatly in the hands of an elective or hereditary "king," or "monarch," the constitution will be either a monarchical or a despotical one, according to whether the king is considered the ultimate appeal in all cases or in a number of cases only.[1] For all purposes of investigation, it is much safer to speak of demo-

1 Vide Vol. III. p. 595 *et seq.*

cratical governments or constitutions than of "Republics."

Now with regard to these three powers, the first great question is, whether they shall be united or separated. In other words, whether the executive power, for instance, shall be severed from the legislative and the judicial powers, and so of each of the others. In this country, as well as in others, it belongs to the household-words of popular politics to speak of a strict separation of these three powers. It is considered not only the advisable and wholesome way to democratic justness, but the only guarantee of enduring safety. Hence, in theory at least, the three powers are held in strict separation from one another. It is not difficult to trace up the history of this opinion to the theories of the French "Encyclopædists," as they were called, Turgot, Guesnay, Condorcet, Voltaire, Helvetius, Rousseau, etc. The originators of the constitution of the United States, and more especially Jefferson and Madison, were firm adherents of the theories of the French thinkers. They most fervently embraced the doctrine of the strict separation of the three powers. At that time, very few politicians had a doubt about the great efficacy of written constitutions. They thought that, by a wise and well-made arrangement, all the powers in a state could be kept in due balance without overlapping or encroaching upon one another. As is shown by the "Madison Papers," they thought that all the "medieval misery," as they were pleased to call the feudal character of the then empires of Europe, could be easily removed by conscientiously framing a constitution in which the three powers, instead of being assigned to definite classes, would be thrown open to the competition of popular elections.

In one word, the political philosophers of the middle of the last century, and especially the framers of the con-

stitution of the United States, believed in being able to make a free country by drafting a constitution in which the three powers were to be strictly separated from one another, and the incumbents of offices elected by the franchise of all voters.

That the well-nigh incredible success of the United States is due to this wisely-framed constitution, but very few Americans will hesitate to declare as self-evident. On the other hand, however, very few Americans realize how vastly different the actual state of the constitution of the country is from its written pattern. The strict separation of judicial from legislative power does not exist in reality; on the other hand, however, its very reverse has been sanctioned both by law and custom. No American thinks it inconsistent with the principles of liberty to have the supreme courts of the single states, and also the supreme court of the United States decide upon the "constitutionality of laws." But such decisions are nothing else than the exercise of legislative power. To decide whether a certain bill shall be a law or to decide whether it shall not be a law is essentially one and the same power. A supreme court deciding upon the constitutionality of a bill is practically a legislative body; its decision in the negative is equal to the vetoing power of the president, and nobody will deny the legislative power of the president.

This one case will, we hope, throw sufficient light on the question of the separation of the three powers. It shows clearly, that the theoretical separation of one political power from the other is very far from being the only protection from the evils of the abuse of political power. A country with very free institutions may permit the joint exercise of legislative and judicial power, and a country with very despotical institutions may, theoretically, forbid

the union of the powers. Thus, one of the best expositors of the constitution of England, the well-know Walter Bagehot, expresses himself as follows: "The efficient secret of the English constitution may be described as the close union, the nearly complete fusion, of the executive and legislative powers. According to the traditional theory, as it exists in all the books, the goodness of our constitution consists in the entire separation of the legislative and executive authorities; but in truth its merit consists in their singular approximation. The connecting link is the Cabinet. By that new word, we mean a committee of the legislative body selected to be the executive body. The legislature has many committees, but this is its greatest. It uses for this, its main committee, the men in whom it has most confidence. It does not, it is true, choose them directly; but is nearly omnipotent in 'choosing them indirectly.'"

This will be rather a novel statement to those who believe that the separation of the three powers is the most desirable panacea of liberty. It proves that the liberty of a country may and may not be co-existent with the separation or union of political powers. Liberty, indeed, does not depend on the union or separation of these powers. It depends solely on the greater or lesser share of political co-operation on the part of the general people. If the generality of the people do not take interest in, or have no right to the administration of the country, then liberty is without its real foundations, no matter whether the legislative power is united with or separated from the judicial or executive power.

A comparative view of the different constitutions of France, Austria, and Hungary will show this still clearer. In France, the theoretical separation of the three powers

has long been carried into effect. The executive power is distinct from the legislative power, not only at the summit of the official machinery, but down to the smallest offices of the parish. The term "administration," in its specific sense, means the activity of strictly executive officers. At the head of every "department" (county) of France, there is an executive officer, whose obligations and rights are of a strictly executive character. No private litigations to be decided by a formal judgment can come before him; he can in no emergency interfere with the rights of private persons to the actions or omissions of other private persons. Nor can he pass ordinances involving points of common law, as distinct from administrative law. He is, in the most precise form, an "administrative official."[1]

The position of the judiciary in France is likewise separated and marked off from the other political powers. They can never decide *on* the law, they have invariably to decide *by* the law, according to the existing law. They cannot interfere with the administrative machinery of the "department," and, consequently, an American "writ of mandamus" is an impossibility in France. The legislative power, again, is ultimately vested in the Assembly of France; and no judge, no court, can overrule a bill duly passed in both houses and confirmed by the president. Anything thus accepted is final law, exempt from further supervision or questions.

Here we have a clear case of the separation of the three powers. The example of France has been faithfully copied in the "crownlands" and "provinces" of Austria, and in both countries we can trace the working of the

[1] Our source and chief guide concerning the administrations of France, Austria, and Hungary is the excellent book of Professor Torstein: "Ver Waltungslehe," the first attempt at a scientific construction of administrative institutions.

principle of separation. Does it really produce a larger amount of liberty? Does it really prove the desirable safeguard of liberty? What is the answer of facts? In spite of her title as a republic, France is far less democratical than England. The reason of this is obvious. In France, everything is decided at a few head-quarters. If, in Perpignan (a city in the extreme south of France), a bridge has to be repaired, or a mill erected, permission has to be obtained in Paris. If a small country road has to be brought into better shape, a petition has to be submitted to the authorities in Paris. And this repeats itself in all great and small departments of administration.

In one word, there is no trace of self-government, of municipal independence in France. Everything is being done for the people, but nothing by the people. And, consequently, the people grow remiss in the assertion and exercise of political rights, and the life-spirit of liberty and political energy is undeveloped and faint. The whole machinery of the country being in the hands of a few magistrates in Paris, it becomes fatally easy to subvert and upset the form, or rather the name of the temporary government without any necessity of changing the vast bureaucracy of the whole country. Since 1791, France has nine times changed its mode of government, and from an empire it has become a republic, from a republic again it changed to a monarchy, and again to an empire and a republic. These momentous changes, which in other countries are accompanied with complete change in the inner structure, left the "bureaucracy" of France, and hence the whole system of the French body-politic untouched. Whatever the name of the Parisian government may be, the political institutions of France are decidedly undemocratical, unrepublican.

Not to the same extent, but equally undemocratical are the political institutions of Austria, as distinct from Hungary. There the sharply marked off administration stands out in strong contrast to both the judiciary and the legislative. But there, as well as in France, everything is settled at headquarters in the various capitals of the "crownlands," and "provinces;" and the mass of the people, seldom taking an active part in the exercise of political rights, are inexperienced, peaceful, and of a submissive character. The only reason why revolutions and formal changes of constitutions are less frequent in Austria than in France is to be found in the circumstance that Austria is not like France, strongly centralized in one city. The capitals of the various dependencies form as many centers, and hence revolutionary movements have to start from different points and different nationalities, and thereby loose their intensity.

In Hungary, again, although the constitution was thoroughly aristocratical before 1848, and is essentially so even now, still the vast majority of the people always took a lively interest in the exercise of political rights (the reason of which we have already pointed out); and, therefore, the country is saturated with politically mature minds, loyal as long as the constitution is left unimpaired, but always bent on the most outspoken assertions of their constitutional rights.

The tendency of democratical principles has become very prevalent in Europe. There are states like Norway, and even Sweden, where the rights of the "Things" (Parliaments), are almost greater than those of the king himself, including, amongst others, the American law, that two-thirds of the votes of both houses may overrule a royal veto. Such a law is entirely unknown to the con-

stitutions of the other countries of Europe, England included.[1] This democratical tendency, the working of which was first clearly perceived by DeTocqueville, the great philosopher and political writer, has taken such a firm hold of the modern European mind, that it is, by all parties and on all hands, conceded to be the very element of politics, the a b c, as it were, out of which political speech must be constructed.

This principle, however, is essentially American, and it is, therefore, but a matter of course that many of the political institutions of America (we mean of the United States of America) have been eagerly copied by European states. This applies more particularly to those cases where several independent states unite into one confederacy, like the Swiss Republic, the German Empire, the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In the framing of the constitutions of these confederacies, the example of the American Union was kept constantly in view, and it thus happens that an understanding of the American confederacy is not only a patriotic duty of every American citizen, but also a scientific necessity.

The idea of a confederacy of states was not unknown to the classical ancients. The great Achaian League, as it is called, is a well-known example of such a union of states. The constituent parts of this league were cities, and not "states" in the modern sense of the word. This, however, does not alter its specific character as a confederacy of states, for classical antiquity did not know of any other form of states than of city-states. The cities belonging to the League were so many independent states, that is independent in internal affairs, but united for the purpose of increasing their strength and of centralizing their rela-

1 But in England no Royal veto has been attempted for many reigns.

tions to the outside world. In the beginning, they had two presidents and a council. But they soon elected but one president, who, together with the board of the Demiurgoi, stood at the head of affairs. The executive power was not vested in the president alone. Some things he could do without the concurrent participation of the Demiurgoi; others, again, he could not do unless aided by that council. In this, the constitution of the Achaian League differed very materially from the American Union, where the power of the executive is vested in the president only.

This league of Achaian city-states is the historical forerunner of the great Union of America. It cannot be proved that the "fathers" of this country had a conscious knowledge of imitating the constitution of the Achaian League, it is almost certain that they had no, or very faint, knowledge of the similarity between the Greek confederacy and the one they were about to establish. This, however, does not change the fact, that the Achaian League is the historical analogue of the American Union. The union of the Dutch states, in the seventeenth century, was far less similar to the American confederacy.

The American Union has three leading features which make its characteristic nature: The Presidency, the Senate, the House of Representatives. In themselves, neither of these three elements of the American constitution can be considered a novel institution. There have been "presidents" in the great republics of Italy, or of Switzerland (those of Geneva, for instance, up to the end of the last century); there have been institutions like the Senate, and others like the House of Representatives. But none of these foreign institutions can be strictly identified with the American institution, nor have they ever been made to

work together in the precise way in which they are left to co-operate in America.

The two houses of the American Congress are not a mere copy of the two houses of the English constitution. It were a grevious mistake to think that, because this Union has been established by men of English descent, and because English institutions have been freely adopted by the settlers in the colonies, therefore the two houses of the American Congress were meant to be copies or imitations of the English precedent. In reality, however, the English example had nothing to do with the establishment of the two houses; they grew from a plain necessity of circumstances. The American confederacy consisted of several independent states. There were two things to be taken into consideration; first, the country at large, which was to form the new union; second, the single states of this union. The union was evidently distinct from the single states; it consisted of the union of all the inhabitants, or rather citizens of the county. The states, again, had interests of their own, distinct from the interests of the whole country. If, therefore, the government of the country was to be a representative government, it was a mere matter of logical consequence to grant two kinds of representatives, one for the country at large, and another for the single states. The deputies elected by a previously determined number of votes (forming a definite fraction of the whole population) are united in the "House of Representatives." The deputies elected by the states as such (and by each state in equal numbers) form the "Senate."

That this must be considered as the real cause of the two-fold division of the American Congress can be proved in the most cogent way by the fact, that wherever a similar state of circumstances did exist, there a similar consti-

tution was provided for. In the case of the Swiss confederacy, it has been openly acknowledged to be a free imitation of the American pattern, since the circumstances of Switzerland are little less than identical with those of the American Union. In Switzerland as well as in America, there are independent states, called "cantons" (twenty-two in number) that in their aggregate form the Swiss Union. Here, again, we have to meet the exigences of two elements; first, the Swiss country at large, and, second, the cantons severally. Consequently, there are two houses of deputies. One, the *Staende-Rath*, composed of two deputies from every canton, whether small or great (forty-four in all); and the *National-Rath*, made up of deputies elected for three years, in the proportion of one for every twenty thousand souls. The Staende-Rath and the National-Rath are the exact equivalents of the American Senate and House of Representatives respectively. The same causes produced the same effects.

We have the same case in modern Germany. The German Empire is a union of twenty-five sovereign states —four kingdoms, six grand-duchies, five duchies, seven principalities, three free towns. Here, again, we have the two distinct elements: the German Empire on the one hand, the several German states on the other. In accordance with this circumstance, two Houses of Deputies have been established; one, the *Bundesrath*, the other, the *Reichstag* (Diet). The former consists of fifty-nine members, appointed for each session by the government of the individual states. The members of the Reichstag, three hundred and ninety-seven in number, are elected for a space of three years by universal suffrage. One member is elected by every one hundred thousand inhabitants.

The same law repeats itself in Austria-Hungary.

The Austro-Hungarian Empire is a union of two independent states: the Austrian states and the Hungarian state. The common interests of these two states are discussed by the "*Delegates*," meeting in Vienna or in Buda-Pesth. These delegates form only one house. The example of Austria-Hungary will serve as the best illustration of that law, the working of which called into being the American Senate. If Austria-Hungary were one country, one union of two independent states, there would arise the necessity of establishing two houses of deputies; one for the country at large, and another for the separate interests of the two independent states. But Austria and Hungary do not form one country; they are no union, they are not a confederacy. They are, as the political term has been accepted in Austria, "in personal union," that is to say, they are united in the person of Francis Joseph, who is both the Emperor of Austria and the King of Hungary. Outside this personal union there is no internal union between Hungary and Austria. The latter is considered a foreign country, and for goods imported from Austria into Hungary, customs duties have to be paid. Hence but one house is needed.

It will be clear now that the constitution of the United States requires a Congress consisting of two houses as the very element of its existence. To abolish the Senate and govern with one chamber only, like the Greeks in modern times, would most seriously impair the whole political machinery of the Union. On the other hand, there is no danger that the Senate will ever illegitimately increase its power, and endeavor to occupy a domineering position over the House of Representatives.

The third and most characteristic feature of the American constitution is the presidency. The President

of the United States is the chief magistrate of the country. In calling him the chief magistrate of the country, we have nearly exhausted his functions. It needs but one glance at the presidents of other republics to see the difference between them and the President of the United States. In Switzerland, the president is very far from being the chief magistrate of the country. In fact, he is infinitely less. He is a mere chairman. The executive power in the Swiss Republic is vested in a board of seven members, *Der Bundesrath.* The chairman of this board is the President of the Swiss Republic. His office, his rights, his obligations are no more and no less than the office, rights, and obligations of a chairman of any other board. In America, the ministers of the Cabinet are appointed by the President. They are his ministers, their actions are his actions. He can depose them at his will. He is not the mere chairman of the board of his ministers. He is the ministry. He is the executive. He is responsible.

It would seem to be the height of absurdity to doubt whether an American citizen knows the name of the President of the United States for the time being. There is no American citizen but knows it just as readily as he knows his own name. In Switzerland, however, two citizens out of ten will be found uncertain about the name of the gentleman who happens to be the chairman of the Bundesrath and, consequently, the President of the Swiss Republic.

The President of the United States of America is to all intents and purposes a magistrate vested with royal power; in short, a temporary king. This, unpleasant as it may sound to the ears of democratical citizens, is the cold fact of the matter. There is only one essential difference between a president vested with the power of an American

president and a king. A king can never be made personally responsible for his acts; he cannot legally be impeached. He can be deposed by main force; but he can not, in due legal form, be arraigned before a court of justice. To such a procedure, however, the president can be subjected. But, excepting this one point of difference, there is, *politically*, for the term of his office, no difference between an American president and a European king; but, of course, *socially*, there is an immense difference. Had the presidents of the United States been permitted to remain in office "during good behaviour," (as it was suggested by Alexander Hamilton) they would have occupied the position of the Florentine *Gonfaloniers*, that is, they would have still more resembled elected kings.

It does not need much reflection to understand why in the vastly complicated political structure of the United States, a board of executive officers (like the Swiss Bundesrath) in lieu of one president would be infeasible. As long as the states of the Union preserve the least elements of democratical institutions, and as long as the citizens of the Union continue to adhere to distinct political parties, so long will the presidency of the Union be vested in one magistrate, and the seeming contradiction and inconsistency between the royal power of the President and the republican character of the country cannot be tided over. It is one of those inconsistencies which are necessitated by the frailty of human nature. They are direct products of the prevailing circumstances, and conform easily to the actual and practical necessities of life, although they frequently clash with the demands of theory. Theory has very little to say in the construction of constitutions. The mainspring of constitutions always was and always will be expediency.

In this chapter, we have been considering the institutions of Modern Society. Taken in connection with the institutions of Ancient Society,[1] the thoughtful mind finds much to consider. One truth seems to stand out with great clearness. All our present institutions of social life, all organizations for governmental purposes, all relations in society, are found to be the result of a growth out of pre-existing institutions. We have attempted to trace this growth from pre-historic times down. For a part of the way, the road was unbeaten.[2] With all caution we have attempted to lay down the probable line of advance. We have little doubt that, in the main, future researches will but strengthen the positions here advanced, though some of the details may require modification.

What a truly great and elevating idea of man's capacities, history, and destiny is now unfolded to view. The progress has been ever upward, ever onward. Starting from the communal band, where the only division was along the line of sex, where the only rights, duties, and obligations pertained to individual groups, where personal relations were unknown, how infinitely great the progress to the modern state, with its complex series of family, social, state, national, and international rights and duties. Let us not make the mistake of judging the destiny of humanity by the aspects of our own life, times, or nation. We must learn to judge humanity as a whole, and bear in mind that decades, centuries, even chiliads of years are but a trifle in the life of man.

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1 Vol. II. chap. ii.

2 There has been no systematic attempt to trace the origin of tribal society. See Vol. II.

THE BLIND MILTON DICTATES TO HIS DAUGHTERS "PARADISE LOST." M. MUNKACSY

# CHAPTER V.

## MODERN EUROPEAN CULTURE.

SUBJECT OUTLINED—Difference between Political and Culture History—Insignificance of the Individual—The Factors of Modern Culture—Rise of the New Learning—Development of National Literature—Development of Printing—Growth of Universities—The New Learning in Europe—Colet and His Times—Luther and His Times—Development of Freedom of Speech—Growth of the Idea of Toleration in England—Elizabethan Culture—Elizabethan Writers—Shakespeare—Toleration in Scotland—Toleration in France—Richelieu—Political Freedom in England—The Stuart Kings—Literature in England—Hume—Adam Smith—The Course of Events Leading to the French Revolution—Voltaire and His School of Writers—The Revolution and its Results—Germany, after the Thirty Years' War—Present State of German Liberty—Growth of German Literature—German Culture—Growth of Scientific Freedom—State of the Sciences at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century—Development of Astronomy—Galileo—Influence of Bacon and Descartes—Growth of Physical Sciences in the Seventeenth Century—Formation of Scientific Societies—Sir Isaac Newton and His Discoveries—Growth of Sciences in the Eighteenth Century—Watt and His Inventions—Spectrum Analysis—Discoveries in Electricity—Modern Scientific Theories—The Development Theory in Animal and Plant Life—Lyell and Agassiz—Darwin and Wallace—Natural Selection and the Survival of the Fittest—Development of Weapons of War—Invention of the Locomotive Engine—Improvement in Printing—In Book-making—Improvements in Manufacturing Arts—Improvements in Mechanism—The Benefits to Society of Science—Progress the Universal Rule.

SUBJECT, as outlined some pages back, now demands that we should consider the present state of intellectual development in the Old World. We want to tell the story of the gradual unfolding of intellectual life in Europe during the last few centuries. This, taken in connection with

preceding chapters,[1] will, we trust, make clear the fact that man has lived a life of progress. Beginning at the zero point, he has moved forward, perhaps with many a halt, and here and there, perhaps a backward step, but, on the whole, he has steadily advanced.

In no one respect, is the difference between political history and a history of culture more strongly marked than in the treatment of individuals. Political history emphasizes the importance of individual men; it is concerned with the lives and accomplishments of individual kings, soldiers, and statesmen. In a history of culture, the individual is simply carried along in the progressive movement of the mass. Our present inquiry brings this result out with great clearness.

It is true, that to every great invention some historic name is attached as its author; with every plan of reform, some man or woman is heralded as its founder. It is further a matter of experience, that all minds are by no means of equal cultivation and power, and that there is such a thing as rare development of intellect in certain quarters; but further investigation shows us that, with rare exceptions, every great advance in culture and civilization is but the culmination of a long line of progressive steps.

As we proceed in the study of modern culture, we will be impressed, again and again, with the force of this statement. We will learn that Bacon alone is not the pioneer of free speech. Columbus did not sit down in the quiet of his study and figure out the problem that led to the discovery of new lands.[2] Guttenberg alone can not claim the

[1] Vol. I. ch. xv. Vol. II. ch. iii. Vol. III. chs. vi, vii., and viii.

[2] "That which imparted to the age of Columbus its peculiar character of uninterrupted and successful efforts toward the attainment of new discoveries and extended geographical knowledge was prepared slowly and in various ways."—Humboldt: "Cosmos," Vol. II. p. 240. Otte's translation.

honor of inventing printing.[1] Watt was not the sole inventor of the steam-engine with all its complicated machinery. Morse did by no means unaided develop the science of telegraphy. All of these men, remarkable though they are, learned many of the rudimentary steps in their chosen fields, from earlier investigators.

So we might catalogue the whole list of great discoveries thrown out in the development of modern culture, and it will almost always be found that every achievement has been reached by innumerable weary steps, often wearing many lives away, before the consummation is reached. Thus new inventions and new discoveries will arise whenever human progress has developed the necessary preliminary links. For example, Columbus appeared when the spirit of discovery was at its height; and eight years after his first voyage, Cabral, by accident, discovered the coast of Brazil. Some one would, no doubt, have made the same voyage if Columbus had never lived. Newton conceived the idea of the force of gravitation as the power that holds the planets in their orbits, and the stars in their courses; but even he was forced to wait for sixteen years until Picart had corrected the old measurements of the earth, and then he was able to verify his calculations.[2]

Then, too, the atmosphere of culture often becomes so surcharged with developing ideas that two or more minds grasp the same idea at the same time. Thus Adams and Leverrier, at the same time, though independently, by long and complicated calculations, accurately

[1] "The invention of printing was probably made simultaneously and wholly independently by Gutenberg in Strasburg and Mayence, and by Lorenze Yanssen Koster at Haarlem."—Ibid. 249.

[2] Vide Buckley: "History of Natural Sciences," New York, 1876, p. 159.

pointed out the position of the planet Neptune, for which astronomers had been searching for years. So, too, Wal-

Cologne Cathedral.

lace and Darwin, the one in the Malay Archipelago and the other in England, worked out, "sometimes in almost

the same words," the Darwinian theory of "natural selection."[1] From these and many other facts known to historians, it has become almost an axiom, that the age makes the man, rather than that any one man creates a new era in culture.

The factors of modern civilization are universal religious freedom, popular government, universal tolerance, freedom of speech, universal education, etc., which may be all comprised under the heading of Individual Rights. In modern civilization, we note the absence of knighthood, chivalry, and feudalism; slavery and serfdom have finally disappeared from the civilization of Aryan people; that undue reverence for kings and royal families, so general in medieval times, seems to be passing away. Indeed, it is, as we have said, the "reign of the people." In viewing modern civilization, however, we must remember that the germs of its leading factors were planted way back in the sterile soil of medieval times, and have only matured by the fertilizing power of constant agitation. And, although we must adopt some period as the dawn of modern culture, we must remember that the tints of morning twilight had been growing ever brighter and more refulgent for many generations ere we behold the brightness of the modern sun. So, too, as the sun rises on various longitudes at different hours of the day, in a similar way does the modern era dawn on various nations at different periods of time. But we can fix no arbitrary dates.

Society, in our day, comprises the entire people. Modern culture is enjoyed, in Aryan countries at least, by the whole mass of mankind. It is possible now for the individual to rise from the lowliest walks of life to a seat among the rulers of the world. The truly educated man,

[1] Ibid. 292.

no matter what his birth and calling, if he be free from vices, is welcome in the most refined circles of society. Such was not the case in medieval times. The people, as a whole, were then subject to two classes of masters—the nobility and the priesthood—who either acted in unison to oppress the people, or else, by their quarrels, ruined the people altogether. As the latter could not be hereditary, it was the only channel through which the private individual could attain to power or eminence; and it is not strange, therefore, that its ranks became filled with the ambitious rather than the pious.

It seems to have been the policy of both of these ruling factors to keep the people in ignorance. It was impious to trade with unbelievers; it was much more impious to accept or listen to any of their heretical teachings. It was heresy to study anything not from the pen of some father of the church. It was heresy to study the forces of Nature and learn new laws. It is not too much to state that everything new was heresy. Aristotle contained all that there was to be known in science, ethics, etc. If a new theory were advanced and could not be found in or verified by Aristotle, it was necessarily false.[1]

During the closing years of medieval times, therefore, we find that all the new knowledge and advanced ideas were locked up in the forbidden parchments of the Jews, the Greeks, and the Mohammedans; and what dribblings fell to the laymen of the Latin Church were mere drops from the corroded and ofttimes corrupted pens of an

[1] "Never had monarch been so universal and absolute as Aristotle. For two thousand years, he had dictated to the nations what to believe. . . . His autocratical edict was placed by the side of the Gospel. His Ten Categories, which pretend to classify every object of human apprehension, were held as another Revelation." Welsh: "Development of English Literature and Language," Vol. I. p. 331.

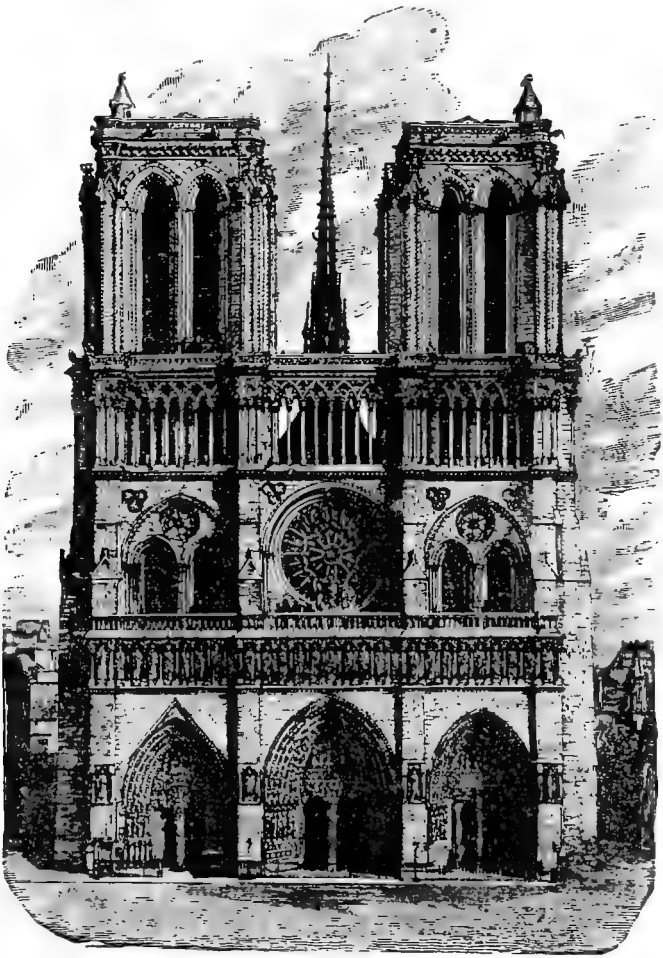
ignorant priesthood. But the voice of knowledge could not be thus hushed. The development of Aryan intellect could not be thus repressed. A new learning was pressing forward, demanding recognition. And what soil would be more fertile to receive this new learning than that of sunny Italy; and there, at length, we find the germs taking root. Soon we behold the full plant growing luxuriantly and sending its seeds into all Aryan lands.

When Islam began to spread its blighting influence over the Eastern Empire and the seats of later Greek culture, some of the scholars of Alexandria and other Grecian cities found exile homes in Italy. From the humble dwellings of these exiles there emanated a spirit of learning that spread to the shores of the Atlantic, and not only revived the study of old authors, but set the world ablaze with new ideas that did not cease to glow under the ban of both Church and Crown. From that time until Mohammed II. entered Constantinople as conqueror, this Greek culture continued to pour into Italy. According to Draper, the first token of intellectual emancipation in Europe was the movement of the great Italian poets led by Dante.[1] We must, however, take partial exception to this statement, for Roger Bacon[2] had already broken loose from the restraints of the Church, asserting his right to draw knowledge from any source. In order, therefore, to fully understand the work that Dante accomplished, we must remember that the literary language of Europe was Latin. As long as nations were subject to the rule of the church, it was for the interest of the church to have a universal language. Latin was adopted as that

[1] Vide Draper: "Intellectual Development of Europe," p. 467. Dante, 1265-1321—a Florentine poet and statesman.

[2] England, 1214-1292.

language. The church liturgy was recited in Latin. In order that a book should receive the sanction of the Church and meet popular favor as a literary work, it must be written in Latin.



Notre Dame.

In what are now the Romance countries of Western Europe, Latin had been forced upon the people in connection with Roman laws and government. Thus the people were bred to the use of Latin almost as a native tongue.

After the fall of the Western Empire, there came a time when the common dialects of France, Spain, and Italy formed such a medley of tongues, that no one was common to all the people. The epitaph of Pope Gregory V., who died at the close of the tenth century, was written in three dialects—Frankish, the vulgar, and the Latin—in order that all might understand.[1]

But, whenever the literary language is different from the common language of the people, popular ignorance is sure to prevail. It was so in this case. Even a large portion of the priesthood did not understand the liturgy which they recited. It dawned upon the world, at that time, that European nations had silently passed through a transition period, whereby the old dialects had become changed into new tongues. There was then no learning among the people. The mass could neither read nor write and dared not think for themselves. As unpromising as this condition may seem, it was one of the most important steps in the progress of literature. For, when the attempt was made to again introduce letters among the people, it was found advantageous to translate the Latin books into the vulgar tongues. King Aelfred realized this at once, and his reign is celebrated for the number of books that appeared in the English language, even from the pen of the king. Still the learned clung tenaciously to Latin as the proper vehicle for the expression of their thoughts.[2]

Dante was not the first to write in Italian. He wrote in both Latin and Italian. It was, his "Divine Commedia" that first stamped the Italian as a literary language. Then, too, Dante, was the first writer to embody in his writings much of the new learning that had already been

[1] Hallam: "Middle Ages," Vol. II. p. 482.
[2] Draper, Op. cit. p. 467.

introduced into Italy by Greek exiles.[1] The work that Dante began was taken up and carried forward by his countrymen, Boccaccio[2] and Petrarch.[3] But this spirit of progress was not confined to Italy. We believe that many authors err in giving Italy the foremost place in this early struggle of the world for freedom. We have had occasion to mention Roger Bacon and others.[4] Wycliffe[5] had already taken up the cause of popular liberty and was making the king tremble on his throne, spreading his tracts from one end of the kingdom to the other. He was preceded by the mad monk, John Ball, and that friend of the poor and oppressed, William Longland. Wycliffe, however, was the first to preach directly against church rule. The great burden of his teachings was, that "dominion in the highest sense is in God alone", and it paved the way for a later generation of reformers who fully established the reign of the new learning. Contemporary with the above names appears that of Chaucer,[6] the first of England's great poets and who like Dante established the use of a vulgar tongue for the highest form of literature.

Now, if we turn again to Italy, we will perceive what great strides the exiled Greek thought had made. It had reached the home of the great Medici family, two of whom, Cosmo[7] and his grandson Lorenzo "the Magnificent",[8] lavished their immense fortunes upon the promotion of letters. They were patrons of the Greek learning that was trying to take root in Italy. Cosmo da Medici was even willing to console his dying moments with the promises of Platonism.[9] The great work of the Medici, however, was their

[1] Dante, even in his life time, was called by some a poet; by others, a philosopher; by others, a theologian. Burckhardt: "Renaissance in Italy," London, 1878. Vol. I. p. 190. [2] 1313-1375. [3] 1304-1374.
[4] This Series Vol. III. p. 425. Cf. Humboldt: "Cosmos," Vol. II. p. 241. [5] 1324-1384. [6] 1340-1400. [7] 1389-1464. [8] 1448-1492.
[9] Draper, p. 467.

attempt to collect the works of the old authors into libraries. Lorenzo was the first patron of Michael Angelo,[1] whose masterpieces in painting, sculpture, and architecture brought into life a spirit of creation in art. His works, moreover have never been equalled by more recent artists.

The forming of a library was a far more difficult task in those days than at present. Until the later years of the

Michael Angelo.

Medici, a single fire might destroy the entire works of some old author, and thus would the world be robbed of the life work of a great man. For it often happened that an author's works existed only in the form of a single autograph manuscript of the writer. Books then were multiplied only by the slow process of copying with the pen,

[1] 1474-1563.

and it was often difficult to find a rare book in order to make a new copy. This was expensive work, and it did not even pay a poor man to try to learn to read. When Cosmo da Medici wished to form a new library, it took forty-five writers twenty-two months to furnish about two hundred volumes; and we must remember that these were but single copies. Every new library required just as much work as the first, for there was as yet no way of multiplying books by any other process. When we think of paying five hundred dollars for a mere copy of Strabo, we begin to realize the amount of work necessary to form a library.[1]

It was considered a wonderful achievement, when some one conceived the idea of engraving a text of scripture, and then a page of a book, upon a block of wood, inking it, and making an impression on paper. This was, however, only one step toward the printing-press, and the atmosphere of the world became so filled with the demand for a more rapid way of producing books, that movable letters sprang into use almost simultaneously at Haarlem, Mentz, and Venice. Letters were first cut from blocks of wood, next from pieces of metal, and, finally, the process of casting was introduced.[2]

Thus printing came to be a practical art, for a single font of type could be used over and over again for the purpose of printing all manner of manuscript. The art of printing was soon introduced into France and England. By the close of the fifteenth century, it is estimated that more than ten thousand editions of books and pamphlets had been printed by the various presses of Europe. Books were now placed within the reach of all. Then, too, if an

[1] Burchardt: "Renaissance in Italy," Vol. I. p. 261 *et seq.*

[2] Draper: p. 471; also Buckley: "History of Natural Sciences," p. 55.

edition of a work were once printed and distributed, all the powers of the Church could not gather all the volumes for burning.[1] The chances were, now, that no book could become extinct unless it died a natural death. Still the art of printing had to fight its way into common use against both superstition and prejudice. The first printers, from the secrecy with which they surrounded their work, were supposed to be in league with the Devil. Then, too, wealthy Italian scholars were ashamed to own printed books, which contrasted very unfavorably with their artistic and finely-bound manuscripts.[2] Not so, however, the people as we shall see.

In all this early printing, Venice took the lead. The knowledge that had been locked up in Greek, Hebrew, Latin, and even Arabic, became more generally known as the favorite authors' works were printed and scattered abroad. Leonardo da Vinci[3] was the scholar of his day. He was a great painter, but he did not hesitate to enter almost every field of learning, and usually led wherever he went, gaining the title of a man of "almost preternatural knowledge." We must not overlook the effect that the discoveries of the great Genoese navigator, Columbus, had upon the knowledge of this time. Although he was known to be a devout Catholic, when pleading his cause at the court of Spain, he was bitterly denounced by some over-skeptical fathers as being on the very verge of heresy.[4]

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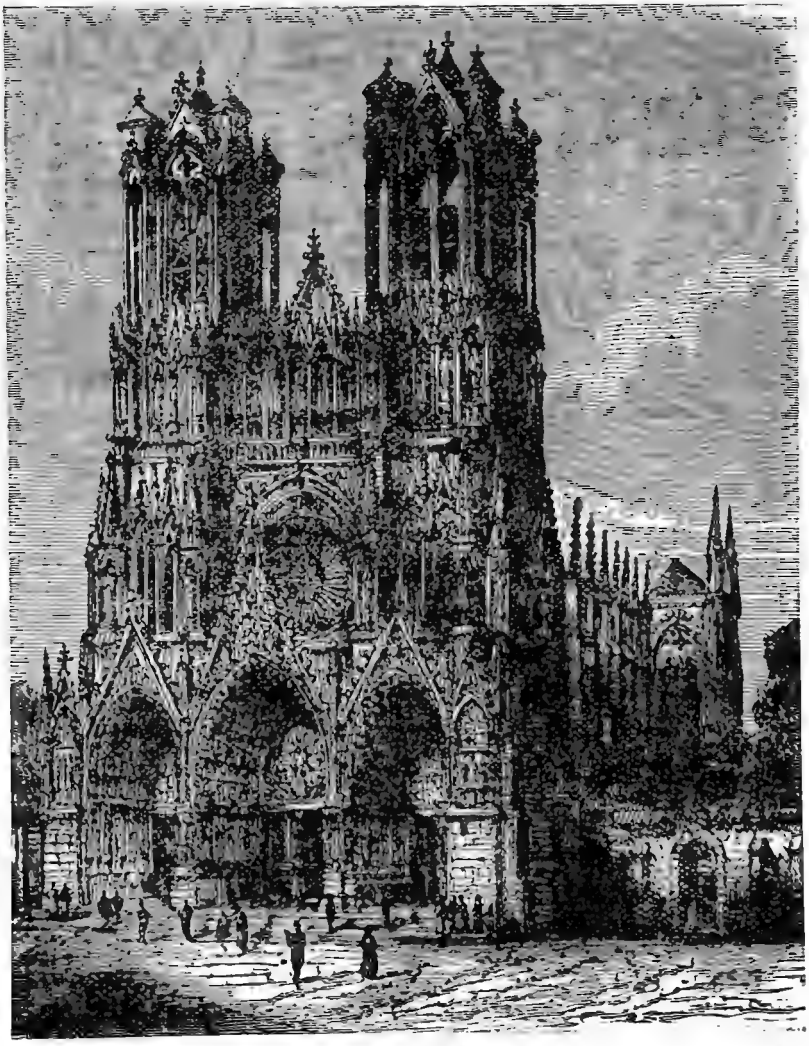
1 It was customary, if a book proved unorthodox, for the pope to order it burned by the common executioner.

2 Burkhardt, Op. cit. pp. 270-1.

3 Florence, 1452-1519.

4 Passages from Lactantitus and St. Augustine were quoted to show that Columbus' theories were "incompatible with the historical foundations of our faith." (Cf. Irving: "Columbus," Vol. I. pp. 89, 90). This argument has, to-day, a familiar sound.

When, however, Columbus proved by his voyages, that the earth was round, and that there were antipodes, these fanatics felt themselves rebuked and humiliated; and



Cathedral at Rheims.

they thenceforth treasured in their hearts a deep hatred against the great navigator, which, at last, developing into

open hostility, robbed Columbus of many of his hardly earned honors, and embittered the closing days of his life. But the world had made one great step in advance; and by robbing the ocean of its terrors, Columbus had also dealt a stunning blow to the superstition that cursed his age.

Great alarm spread among the fathers of the Church as they noted the rapid spread of books and the accompanying education of the people. From the ranks of the laymen, there now arose a few individuals who dared to face the horrors of the Inquisition for the sake of truth. From the ranks of the people, there arose scholars who dared to think for themselves and brand the superstitions of the middle ages as false. This new learning did not find the Alps an insurmountable barrier, but climbing the mountains, it gradually embraced all Europe. John Huss died at the stake for religious freedom; and scholars, here and there, began to hear of the new learning in which the Italians excelled. Earnest pilgrims, thirsting after truth, journeyed across the Alps to learn from the Greek exiles the philosophy of the ancients.

But these pioneers of modern culture did not simply glean here and there a stray head of grain, they pondered over what they learned and bound every idea, new to them, with modern thought and experience, carrying back with them golden sheaves of knowledge. Thus was the study of Greek and Hebrew extended to the universities of Western Europe. These studies were fought by the Church as fiercely as ever was the introduction of the vulgar dialects.[1] In later medieval times, the great univer-

[1] "With a quick, a jealous suspicion, the ecclesiastics soon learned to detect a heretic from his knowledge of Greek and Hebrew. . . . Long after the time of which we are speaking, the University of Paris resisted the introduction of Greek into its course of study, not because of any dislike to letters, but because of its anticipated obnoxious bearing on

sities, with their thousands of students,[1] not only had a leavening effect upon the prevailing ignorance, but were extremely aggressive in the introduction of new learning. And these institutions increased in popularity and number as the human mind became freed from its servility to past superstition.

During the two centuries immediately preceding the Reformation, many new universities were organized,

John Locke.

prominent among which were the following: Prague (1348), Vienna (1365), Heidelberg (1386), Cologne (1388), Erfurt (1392), Leipzig (1409), Rostock (1419), Greifswald (1456), Freiburg (1457), Basle (1460), Ingoldstadt (1472), Tubingen (1477), Wittemberg (1502), and Frankfurt on the Oder (1506). The first eight of these universities were

Latin theology."—Draper, Op. cit. p. 469.

[1] It is estimated that in the time of Henry III. there were 30,000 students at Oxford, and 10,000 at Bologna. Two centuries later, the University of Paris accommodated 25,000.—Hallam: "Middle Ages. Vol. II. p. 607.

founded after the model of the University of Paris, under the patronage of either the clergy or certain princes; but the remainder were established for the purpose of advancing the study of the Classics, or of this new learning of which we have been speaking.[1] As might have been foretold, many of these universities became hot-beds of so-called heresy.

Now we must not imagine that all this new learning was borne across the Alps and planted in sterile soil, for such does not seem to have been the case. We have seen how the Arabs had settled in Spain, and penetrated France as far as Provence and Languedoc. When their teachings became offensive to the Church, we have seen how the Albigensians were almost exterminated by a crusade organized for that purpose.[2] It was from these semi-Mohammedan regions that a portion of the advanced thought began, like leaven, to permeate the whole kingdom of France. Then, there was quite a sprinkling of Jews throughout the kingdom. The Jewish physician combined "with his professional skill a profound knowledge of theology, mathematics, astronomy, philosophy, music, law."[3] At last, these Jews were banished the kingdom because of their heretical teachings.

Still, their teachings had gained root in French soil. The lawyers gained a knowledge of true philosophy and logic, and both lawyers and physicians therefore gained the hatred of the ecclesiastics. As Draper puts it: "The lawyers were hated because they replaced supernatural logic by philosophical logic; the physicians, because they broke down the profitable but mendacious system of miracle

[1] Sometimes called Humanism. Vide Scherer: "History of German Literature," Conybeare's translation, edited by F. Max Muller, Vol. I. pp. 264-6.

[2] Draper, p. 433. [3] Ibid. 417.

cures by relics and shrines."[1] Then, about this same time, there occurred the great struggle between the French kings and the popes, which led to the so-called Second Captivity at Avignon (1307–1377). The real point at issue, was whether kings received their authority from God, or from the Pope. The kings maintained that they were in no way subject to the popes for their crowns. This struggle was carried to such an extent, by a post-mortem trial of Boniface VIII., as to reveal the corruption of the pontiff's court.[2] Such struggles and revelations could have no other effect than to disgust the people and alienate them from both pope and king. In this manner, the way was prepared for the new learning that was soon to cross the Alps into France.

We have already seen how the people of England and France were prepared for the introduction of new culture, and so likewise were all German speaking people by the founding of universities for the purpose of teaching advanced ideas. Then there followed a generation of scholars who had journeyed into Italy to study with the Greek exiles, and brought back with them a knowledge of Classical studies. Then there gathered about the halls of Oxford great throngs of students to listen to these new and startling truths. Grocyn[3] was stirring the students to greater activity by his lectures on Greek. Linacre opened to the Oxonians the broad fields of science as taught at Florence. Colet[5] revealed the truths of the Gospels as recorded in the original Greek, unblemished by the mistakes of intermediate interpreters.

Colet also founded and endowed a school for the education of the poor, and Lily,[6] the first teacher of Greek in

[1] "Intellectual Development of Europe," p. 408. [2] Draper, p. 395.
[3] 1442-1519. 1460-1524. [5] 1466-1519. [6] 1466-1523.

England, was stationed in this school as teacher. Latimer[1] at this time was beginning a fearless ministry against the errors of the religion of that day. King Henry VIII. was a patron of this new learning and under his protection the University of Oxford became the center of western knowledge and the champion of advanced thought. Many stu-

John Stuart Mills.

dents who could not make the expensive journey across the Alps began to quench their thirst for learning at the fountains of Oxford. Erasmus,[2] a poor orphan from Rotterdam, came hither and filled his longing soul with the rich truths

[1] 1472-1555. [2] 1467-1536.

that flowed from the lips of Colet; then he went forth to utter such burning words against the injustice of kings as to shake their very thrones. Even the liberalism of Henry VIII.[1] could bear his utterances no longer, and Erasmus sought safety on the continent.

Sir Thomas More[2] was a student at Oxford about the same time. In rank, he stood among the nobility, and Henry VIII. gladly advanced him to the most responsible positions in his government. No sooner had More left the University than he became famous throughout Europe.[3] There was a charm about his conversation that conquered the king and attracted the peasant. But he was no servile slave to royalty. He did not court the smile of his sovereign. Though free from servility to the dogmas of ecclesiastics, he was a devout Catholic. His whole soul was filled with ideas of reform, and these he set forth in burning irony and satire in his story of the kingdom of "Nowhere," or Utopia.

By picturing forth an ideal land, he could paint happy scenes—a people blessed with all comforts and virtues of life; the poor freed from the oppression of the rich; crime punished only in proportion to its enormity; the government most liberal and kindly; the religion the purest Christianity as taught in the Gospels. Sir Thomas More's life was in keeping with his teachings; and when it came to the test, rather than perjure himself by false actions, he went cheerfully to the block, and became a martyr to this new learning.

[1] Henry VIII. liberalism was strangely original. He rather encouraged than feared this new learning. He knew his own strength, while he took little pains to check the extravagance of his emboldened subjects. When any one of them became dangerous to the king's plans, it was a few hours in the tower, then the block, and the king was freed from all annoyance.

[2] 1480-1535.

[3] Greene: "History of the English People," Vol. II. p. 97.

The germs of this new learning were planted in Germany, when Heinrich von Langenstein went as a teacher from the University of Paris to that of Vienna.[1] By making a vigorous attack upon the prevailing astrological superstitions, he paved the way for future astronomers. Then there appeared the book (well known in our own day even) entitled, "Imitation of Christ,"[2] the authorship of which is attributed to various German authors.[3] Mr. Draper[4] says that "every man his own priest," would be an appropriate title for this work. It is claimed that more copies of it have been printed than of any other book, except the Bible. Thus is manifested the degree of skepticism that prevailed in Germany even at the beginning of the fifteenth century, which was to eventuate in so much good to the world at large.

When a new generation of scholars came into prominence, we find the great Regiomontanus[5] following in the steps of Langenstein, and pushing onward the study of science. Soon Agricola[6] appeared at Heidelberg, and spent his short life in trying to promote "a taste for literature among his contemporaries. No German wrote in so pure a style, or possessed so large a portion of Classical learning."[7]

By the close of the fifteenth century, the Rhenish Society, established for the advancement of new learning, was in a very flourishing condition. Conrad Celtes,[8] the son of a German peasant, is said to have been the most

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[1] About 1383. Vide Scherer: "History of German Literature," p. 265.

[2] "De Imitatione Cristi."

[3] Usually Thomas a Kempis (1379-1471), although there are a number of claimants.

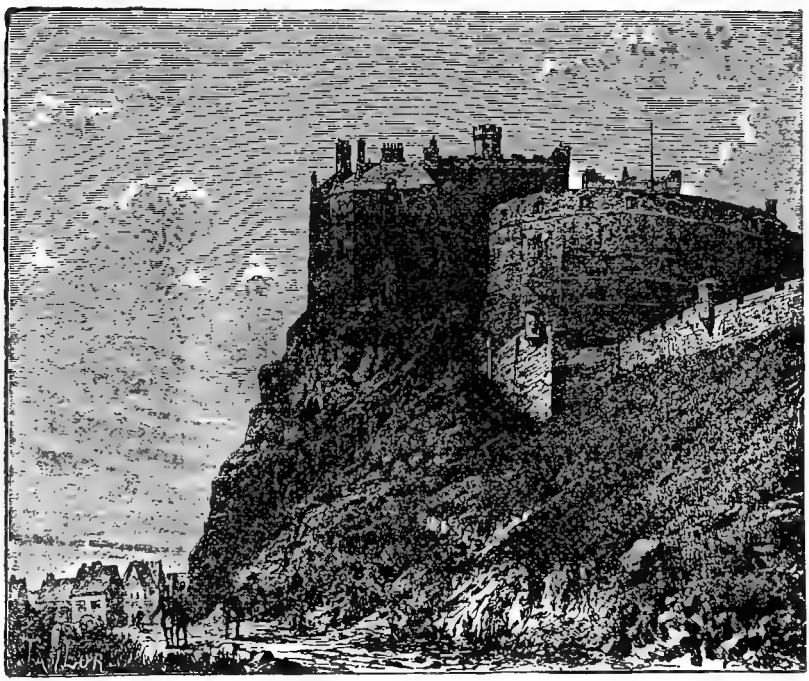
[4] "Intellectual Development of Europe," p. 470.

[5] Johann Muller (1436-1476). [6] 1443-1485.

[7] Hallam: "Literature of Europe," Pt. I. p. 217.

[8] Crowned with laurel by Frederick III., 1487. Hallam, Op. cit. p. 218.

celebrated member of that society. He was called the "wandering preacher of Humanism," and spent his time travelling from one university to another, lecturing and founding literary societies. Thus, by constant agitation of these vital subjects, the advocates of advance thought began to broaden their ideas and demand a thorough, systematic education. It was in this atmosphere that Erasmus



Edinburgh Castle.

was born, and started upon his noble career, drifting thence into England. A broader education tends toward independent views, and German scholars soon began to throw off their servitude to Classical writers, and to think for themselves.[1]

The fifteenth century was ushered in, in Germany, by

[1] Cf. Scherer, Op. cit. p. 265-8.

a dispute over the proposition of burning all of the Hebrew manuscripts in that country, except the Old Testament. This strife brought Reuchlin[1] into prominence, and led to the organization, at Erfurt, of a band of young scholars—the Order of Mutianus—who conjointly produced the "Epistles of Obscure Men," which had for its double object the defence of the study of Hebrew and the ridicule of ignorant, superstitious, and licentious ecclesiastics, drawing their characters and their vicious habits from real incidents in the surrounding social life. And now Martin Luther appears upon the scene. But we must note the long and tedious steps that had already been taken in the direction of this new learning previous to Luther's time. The spirit of reform did not jump into being at his beck, but arose, step by step, calling upon that great leader to take command when everything was ripe for the consummation of the Great Reformation.

But we are wandering from our subject. We are here concerned with Luther and his great work only as it affected the literature of that period. Now, it is a noteworthy fact, that the Reformation and the resulting struggles between the great religious factions not only interrupted the gradual progress of new learning, but destroyed almost all branches of culture, and even society itself, for the population of Germany was almost annihilated before the close of the "Thirty Years' War." Like a long-gathering storm, when the Reformation finally came, it wrought more or less havoc. The great literary work of Germany, until after the re-organization of society, at the close of the religious wars of the seventeenth century, was Luther's translation of the Bible from the Hebrew and Greek manuscripts.[2]

[1] 1455-1522.

[2] Scherer, Op. cit. p. 274.

Previous to this, the literature of Germany had no favorite dialect. There were Low German and High German, and other dialects of minor importance. Luther wrote in High German, and made it the literary language of all Germany. Then his translation of the Bible "laid the foundation of a common culture for all ranks of society and opened a whole intellectual world to the people. Luther's Bible was an inexhaustible source of grand and edifying thoughts, a noble and imperishable literary monument, a treasure often worshiped to a point of superstition and abuse."

After Luther began his fight with the Roman church, the amount of German literature increased many-fold. It is said that during eight years[1] the number of printing-presses increased nine-fold. But religion was the all-absorbing topic. Newspapers had already begun to appear,[2] but regularly numbered journals were not known before the middle of the last half of the century. The reformers entered every path of life and did not, of course, neglect the educational. Melanchthon was the leader in organizing the old German school system that remained in vogue for over two centuries. He wrote the text books for many of the best schools and colleges of that day. Copernicus, Gesner, and Paracelsus belong to this period. They were Germans, though the last two did not dwell in what is now a part of the German Empire. The seventeenth century opened upon Germany with the book trade[3] rapidly increasing, and all classes on the highway to knowledge; but the blighting curse of war swept down upon this people, and its fields and homesteads were transformed into battle-

[1] 1516-1524.

[2] "Zeitungen." The first at Augsburg, 1505. Vide Scherer, Op. cit. p. 285; cf. Draper, Op. cit. p. 475, who fixes the date at 1563, and Venice as the place.

[3] Scherer, Op. cit. p. 315.

CARRYING THE BODY OF CHARLES XII. TO STOCKHOLM.

fields and grave-yards, and a new culture at last arose from these ruins.

The early literature of France seems to have aided little in this cry for freedom that thus early rose from other parts of Europe. Francis I. was a patron of literature, though not as prominent a patron of advance thought as his contemporary across the Channel, Henry VIII. Clement Marot,[1] who stands pre-eminent among the poets of the sixteenth century, was the French king's favorite. He did much to improve the style of French poetry.[2] Etienne de la Boetie[3] seems to have been the first republican agitator among the writers of France.[4] The burden of his cry was against the absolute power of kings, and the servility of subjects. This was the middle of the sixteenth century. Ronsard had already, however, organized the "Pleiades," a society of seven, whose main object was the improvement of the French language. La Boetie is even classed as one of the "minor Ronsardists."

The pioneer of political oratory, and of that tolerance that modern culture grants both Catholic and Protestant was L'Hopital,[5] who was chancellor of the kingdom while Catharine de Medici was in power. By his wise and noble conduct, he was deemed worthy of being called "a second censor Cato." Calvinism was at its height at this time. John Calvin[6] was a Frenchman, and shortly before the

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1 1497-1544.

2 Marot's royal mistress was the Queen of Navarre, who, in her celebrated book, "Heptameron," paints in colors true to nature the low and indelicate condition of society in those times. The book is read more, to-day, for its indecencies than for its literary merits. Vide Bridge: "History of French Literature," p. 133.

3 1530-1563.

4 "La Boetie is almost the single instance of a republican character till nearly the period of the Revolution."—Hallam, quoted in Bridge, Op. cit. p. 208.

5 1503-1573. 6 1509-1564.

middle of the sixteenth century had published his "Institution sur la Religion Chretienne," the greatest work that the Reformation had produced.[1] Pamphlets first appeared during the sixteenth century, and thus had been discovered a new agency in the matter of agitation. Scores of pamphlets appeared and were scattered broadcast over the kingdom.

Rabelais[2] and Montaigne[3] belong to this period also. Of the former, we need simply say that he belonged to that class of French writers (who, in fact, are not yet extinct), who, by their foulness, have been rendered unfit for the perusal of modern readers who respect purity in thought and action. Skepticism as to the right or justice of existing laws or customs was one of the first steps toward toleration. Montaigne was the first skeptical writer in the French language,[4] and so we are prepared to hear that he was the first to teach "the innocence of error and the evil of persecution."[5] He died in the last decade of the sixteenth century, but we shall find that his ideas were not given to the world in vain—they lived after him and spread over the whole of France.

We have now gained an idea of the origin of freedom of speech. We have seen how, from solitary examples of bold reformers, there had arisen a host of fearless talkers and writers in every land who dared to raise their voices in behalf of the rights of the individual to defend himself and his family from the oppressive authority of the Church and the nobility. But, from the first manifestations of this spirit of freedom, the ruling factions (princes and ecclesiastics) took alarm, and we detect the spirit of intolerance,

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1 Bridge, Op. cit. p. 115. 2 1483-1553. 3 1533-1592.
4 Vide Lecky: "Rationalism in Europe," Vol. I. p. 111.
5 Op. cit. Vol. II. p. 63.

luxuriating in the rank growth of bigotry and superstition, that had overspread the world, watching its chance to strike down the individual who dared to raise his voice for freedom.

We need not go back to the beginning to trace the growth of this spirit of tolerance, under whose benignant smile society has developed into its modern state of culture. We have seen how Roger Bacon was led to prison; we saw Columbus on the verge of heresy; we saw Duke Alva murdering his thousands of Protestants in Holland; and when we enter the fields of science, we will see one votary after another forfeiting his life for the sake of truths that were first revealed to him. We have now reached a time when the spirit of intolerance seemed to rule all classes of people.

Henry VIII. was a strong and seemingly tolerant sovereign, but even the great statesmen, Cardinal Wolsey and Sir Thomas More, could not, with impunity, oppose his plans for divorcing his first wife, Catharine, without suffering the extreme penalty of that great monarch's displeasure. England, under Mary the Catholic, was extremely intolerant. The Queen, as wife of Philip II. of Spain, tried to co-operate with him in exterminating Protestantism. Henry's favorite preacher, Latimer, his archbishop, Cranmer, and many others who had been his instruments in establishing the English Church, were burned during her reign for heresy.[1]

Elizabeth, on the other hand, was more politic. She adopted her father's course, that was a system of toleration of everything that did not run counter to her own plans. She favored the Church of England, but we do not find her murdering her subjects on account of their

[1] For this time, see Greene: "History of the English People."

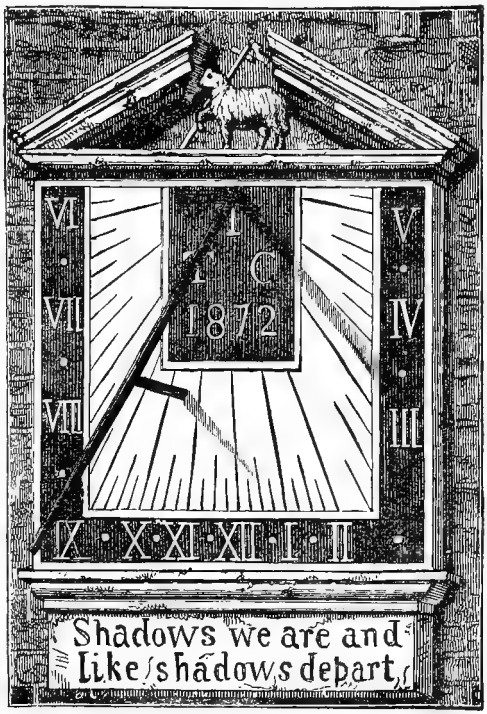
religious beliefs. In fact, the long reign of Elizabeth was a great season of growth, not only in toleration but in every branch of culture. At the beginning of her reign, appeared Jewel's "Apology for the Church of England;" near the close, Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity." The names of these books will themselves indicate the freedom with which church affairs were discussed. While the former, however, bases its arguments upon the traditions of the Church, the latter insists upon the exercise of reason.[1] Thus, a general spirit of inquiry and doubt was springing up. It became customary to discuss religious doctrines and creeds, and the bars of infallibility that had been erected about the monumental teachings of the fathers were ruthlessly torn down and in many cases revealed nothing but fallacies.

Cardinal Wolsey.

Before passing on to study the growth of toleration on the continent, we must turn aside to review the literature of England during the closing years of Elizabeth's reign, for it ranks first in time, and had a leavening influence upon the world at large. We have now reached a period when more is known about the lives of those men who were the most influential in shaping the course of events in the history of the world. Literature, politics, learning, and, to some extent, the government had been

[1] Buckle: "Civilization in England," Vol. I. pp. 250-1.

by this time taken out of the hands of ecclesiastics by more worthy subjects who had emerged from the masses of the people. It is interesting to note the condition of English society as we enter the Elizabethan period.




The Old Sun-dial.

Even at this time, there were herds of deer roaming the forests of England, and no attempt had been made to convert the bogs and marshes into pasture lands. The population of the whole kingdom was barely five millions, and the people in general lived in mud-built huts, thatched with straw or reeds. Chimneys were uncommon even in the better class of houses. The floors were covered with reeds instead of carpets, and even the best made houses lacked all of the comforts of our own times. The poor had no physicians, and the physicians of the rich tried to cure rather by the practice of magic than by science. Manufacturing was carried on by the peasant and his wife in their solitary hut, for none of the large mills, which have made England the foremost manufacturing country of the world, had been erected.[1]

[1] Vide Vol. III. pp. 698-9.

During Elizabeth's reign, the spirit of humanity had begun to attract attention to the sufferings of the poor. Hospitals and other retreats were erected for the accommodation of the needy. Whereas, in a previous reign, the highways and by-ways were lined with gibbets upon which criminals were hung in numbers, Elizabeth is said to have founded houses of correction for the punishment of lesser offences. In manners, even the more refined were coarse when compared with our own times. Even "Good Queen Bess" was wont to break out in torrents of fearful oaths when her counsellors gained her disfavor. So we see a condition of affairs where there was religion without piety, and social life without refinement.

Then, as to the education of the English people at this time, we often expect more than we really find. Henry VIII., in his endeavors to advance the new learning of his time, did not neglect his own children. Elizabeth is said to have read both Latin and Greek fluently. But the people who were gaining power and importance every day were not so fortunate. "Many of the rank were illiterate, the majority of the middle-class were uneducated, while the lower orders were in comparative darkness. As late as Edward VI., there were peers of Parliament unable to read. It is a question whether Shakespeare's father, an alderman of Stratford, could write his name."[1]

The language, itself, at this time, was in an unsettled state. There was no system of spelling in universal use, but every writer seems to have spelled according to his own taste. Tyndale's translation of the New Testament "did more to fashion and fix our tongue than any other

1 Welsh: "Development of English Literature and Language," Chicago, 1883, Vol. I. p. 292.

native work from Chaucer to Shakespeare."[1] The advance in commerce and manufactures, the discoveries in science, and the great interest taken in foreign languages, brought many new words into use. Then the language began definitely to form itself and prepare for the advent and use of the great writers who flourished at the close of Elizabeth's reign.

Were we to pass rapidly in review the great cluster of eminent writers who were living when Elizabeth died, or who were connected with her reign, we could but note that many of them came from the lower ranks of life, while it is gratifying to notice, also, that those who did come from the nobility were indeed noble in every sense of the word. Following closely after Sir Thomas More, comes "Arcadian Sidney," whom Elizabeth called "the jewel of her times." His short life of thirty-two years[2] was filled with events, all of which point to his worth—his younger days at Oxford, at Paris on the terrible St. Bartholomew's day, studied the sciences at Venice and the languages at other places in Italy, an ambassador to the continent for the purpose of furthering Protestantism at the age of twenty-two, knighted at twenty-nine, killed while fighting for freedom in the Netherlands—still he had the time to build for himself a monument of literary fame that will be everlasting. His writings are noted for their beauty and purity.

Hooker[3] was a still more influential writer, though he rose from humble parentage. He was one of the first to break away from the traditions of the Church and of religious teachers, and to advocate the supremacy of reason in deciding one's religious tenets. Thus his influence tended to establish a spirit of tolerance, for it admitted a

1 Ibid. 294. 2 1554-1586. 3 1553-1600.

doubt into the teachings of ecclesiastics.[1] In style, Hooker was "methodical, correct, ample, massive, and grand; . . idiomatic without vulgarity, and learned without pedantry."[2] In his age, to be "a learned divine without fanaticism" is, indeed, a glowing tribute to his superior mind. In philosophical thought, he stands foremost among the men of his day; in daily life, a model of simplicity and patience that reminds one of Socrates, for his domestic affliction was greatly similar.

But this seems to have been a season when there were great minds, capable of excelling in a variety of ways. We have already had occasion to refer to that elegant courtier, Sir Walter Raleigh,[3] and he now appears again, in the field of literature. Although once he had lived under the smile of his Queen, a single misstep had gained her ill-will and sent the quondam favorite to the Tower. Released, however, he was confined again by her successor, James I., and after twelve years' confinement, was executed on the charge of treason. While passing the weary years of prison life, Raleigh busied himself in writing a "History of the World," which is not without merit as a literary work. It further has the name of being among the first attempts at the writing of a comprehensive history, free from much fiction and exaggeration that characterized the history of the day.

The poet Spencer seems to have received few favors from his queen. He was poor, and was obliged to accept a private secretaryship to Ireland, where he dwelt in solitude in a lonely castle. At last, he became poet laureate to the Queen, but he died in obscure lodgings, though his body found a resting place by the side of Chaucer's in Westminster Abbey. Spencer filled English poetry with

[1] Buckle, Vol. I. p. p 248-9 [2] Welsh, Op. cit, p 348. [3] 1552-1618.

harmony and imagination. A great school of followers claim him as their teacher and model. Francis Bacon[1] is contemporary with all these writers of note. He had just begun to write when Elizabeth closed her long reign. His "Essays" are masterpieces of prose writing. Baconian philosophy, with its determination to subordinate ancient principles to modern experience, was the heaviest blow which had at that time "been inflicted on the theologians, whose method is to begin, not with experience, but with principles, which are said to be inscrutable, and which we are bound to believe without further difficulty."[2] Such was the influence of Bacon in favor of advanced ideas.[3]

We must next mention the greatest literary character that any nation has ever produced. Those who revere the ancients and worship any one who chanced to write well in a language that is now dead as well as those who believe that the more modern the literature the better it must be, are alike obliged to pay reverence to the name and works of William Shakespeare,[4] the poet of Stratford on the Avon. Shakespeare's father was at one time a prosperous tradesman,[5] but upon meeting with reverses, the son was set adrift upon the world. He found his way to London where he became attached to the theatres, serving in almost all positions until he became shareholder and manager in the Black Friars and Globe theatres.

Shakespeare owed not a little of his early success to his ability to revise dramas. This certainly is the key to his entire success for he is not, in one sense, an original writer. His was a mind of varied genius. It drew its information from every source. Old dramas are revivified

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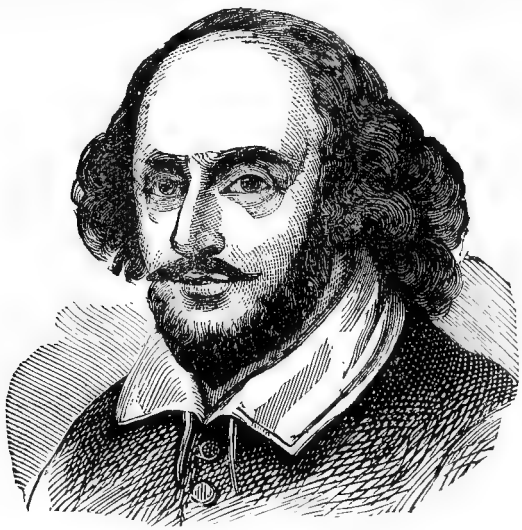
1 1561-1626. 2 Buckle, Vol. II. p. 324.
3 Cf. Hallam: "Literature of Europe," Pt. III. p. 59.
4 1564-1616. 5 Welsh, Op. cit. p. 373, *et seq.*

by his pen; history is dramatized and made life-like; fiction is remodeled and filled with living characters; crude and uninteresting matter is transformed into the rarest specimens of literature. Such is the poets art, and in such Shakespeare excelled. His characters are as real as life; and when we remember that he painted scenes from every walk of life, we can understand how varied and thorough must have been his knowledge. "He scatters metaphors profusely over all he writes; every instant abstract ideas



William Shakespeare.

are changed into images; it is a series of paintings which is unfolded in his mind. He does not seek them, they come of themselves; they crowd within him, covering his arguments; they dim with their brightness the pure light of logic. He does not labor to explain or prove; picture on picture, image on image, he is for ever copying the strange and splendid visions which are engendered one after another, and are heaped upon him".[1]

[1] Taine; "English Literature," Van Laun Ed., New York, 1875. Vol. I. p. 553.

"Rare Ben Johnson",[1] lived to write for nearly a quarter of a century after the time of Shakespeare. What a difference in the characters. The former was supposed to have been bred to the profession of a bricklayer, but became a soldier in Flanders, "an actor, a duellist, a convert to Romanism, a revert to the Anglican Church, a married man, a dramatist".[2] Physically his appearance was repelling; but "he wrote delicate, voluptuous, charming love poems".[3] Even in his age, he was noted for his vast store of knowledge; he delved into the classics and sought from original sources the minutest details of learning; but for all this, his writings were not cumbersome. With this store of knowledge, however, he did not hesitate to criticise right and left, caring neither for enmity, nor for friendship, for rank nor ability. He struggled for the bare necessities of life, and died in poverty and loneliness.

We have thus passed in review the rarest constellation of literary men that has at any one time lived in any land. They found a language that was barely suited for a vehicle of thought; they made of it a language noted for its clearness, flexibility, and beauty. They found society in a miserable condition, they helped elevate it. They found the people oppressed and ignorant, they helped educate all mankind; as many of them were themselves of lowly origin, they proved that the people could raise themselves to the highest social plain. They found the people subject to ecclesiastical authority, they freed them from their bonds of servitude by teaching that reason and not tradition or superstition should be the guide of men.

The fruit of this season of instruction is undoubtedly seen in the toleration which King James manifested in

[1] 1574-1640

[2] Vide Saintsbury: "A History of Elizabethan Literature," London, 1887, p 175. [3] Taine, Op: cit. p. 306 and 335.

several instances in the administration of his government, notably in refusing to persecute the Catholics in general for the guilt of a few concerned in the Gunpowder Plot,[1] and in his proclamation of toleration which his own bishops

Dr. Johnson

refused to read. But James had recently come from Scotland where the rankest intolerance was in practice. John Knox[2] had lived there and had established the strictest form of Calvinism, so that here the reformers became the most heartless persecutors of those who would not worship according to their dictation.

[1] Above p. 88. [2] 1505-1577.

Though the followers of Knox were themselves dissenters from the Catholic church, they were taught to have little tolerance for the beliefs of others. A history of the persecutions thus engendered would fill a volume, and would be out of place here. Strong convictions always lead to extremes. Hence it is not strange that the Scotch became very superstitious and were the last to abolish persecution.[1] The people at last became the slaves of ecclesiastics. Mothers were terrified into deserting their children, and children their parents. Never had the priests of the Roman Church exercised a greater authority over the laymen than did the Scotch Kirk over the people of that country. Early in the eighteenth century, schools were established in every parish in Scotland.[2] A few generations later, there arose some strong minds that did much to liberalize the national intellect. Such were Adam Smith, Hume, etc., and they will be mentioned in due season.

During the period of English history that we have just reviewed, three great statesmen succeeded one another in ruling the French people. These were, as we have seen,[3] Richelieu, Mazarin, and Louis XIV. Now the policy of Richelieu was far in advance of his time. He was a Catholic cardinal, but he, as chief adviser of the king, banished all feelings of interest for the Church. He made political authority superior to ecclesiastical, just as he made his king superior and absolute over all his noble subjects. His church, of course, expected favors, but found

[1] The last witch was burned in Scotland 1727, although as late as 1773, "the divines of the associated Presbytery passed a resolution declaring their belief in witchcraft, and deploring the skepticism that was general." Lecky: "Rationalism in Europe," Vol. I. p. 151. Cf. Buckle Vol. III. p. 176. *et seq.*

[2] Hittell: "History of Culture," New York, 1875, p 291.

[3] Above p 94.

that the laws governing and taxing its property, were as rigidly enforced as those governing other sects. His edicts of toleration granted freedom of religious opinion to Huguenots as well as Catholics; but when Huguenots became themselves rebels and persecutors (for they rebelled against the king and persecuted the Catholics who happened to reside in their towns) the armies of Richelieu were speedily dispatched to quell the rebellion and to enforce the law.

Then, too, we have noted with no little wonder the wise policy of the great statesman during the "Thirty Years' War. As it was a religious war in which the Catholics were striving to strangle the rising germs of Protestantism, they naturally expected assistance from the French. But such assistance was not granted them. The Emperors were Hapsburgs and hereditary enemies of the Bourbon kings of France. When, therefore, Richelieu saw them gaining in power and meeting with success over the armies of the German princes, the influence of France was thrown upon the side of the struggling Protestants. Gustavus Adolphus entered Germany, supported by Richelieu, to whose help, no doubt, much that seems marvelous in the young Swede's success was due.

By aiding the Lutherans against the Emperor, by aiding the Calvinists against the king of Spain, by establishing the "principle, that, in matters of State, no Catholic ought to prefer a Spaniard to a French Protestant,"[1] and by a similar system of management throughout, Cardinal Richelieu stands out as one of the foremost, and most powerful champions of toleration. Then Mazarin succeeded to power. As long as he and the queen regent were left free to act for themselves, they followed, as a general

[1] Buckle, Vol. I. p. 388.

thing, the policy taught them by their master, Richelieu. But there was another result of the great cardinal's policy which did not so admirably redound to the well-being of the French people. Richelieu, at the same time, placed his vice-like grip upon the throats of the nobility, and ground them down to utter subjection to the authority of the king.

We have noted the rebellion of the Frondeurs during the ministry of Mazarin, and we have seen its result. When, therefore, Louis XIV. took the reins of government, his power was as absolute as that of any Cæsar. And during his long reign, he guarded that power with a jealous eye. He throttled every indication of freedom. Those writers who had the misfortune to live during his reign must needs write for the king's own pleasure or glory. Any one who dared to criticise the government, or to write for any other purpose than to praise his country and his wise king, was condemned to obscurity if not to punishment. The literature of Louis XIV.'s time is almost a blank. Great men lived before his time and flourished in every field of culture. But "more than a quarter of a century before the death of Louis XIV., most of these eminent men had ceased to live."[1]

But "truth crushed to earth will rise again." The seeds of freedom that were planted during Richelieu's wise reign were neither killed nor smothered. They were simply lying in dry and unfertile soil. Louis XIV. had scarcely been laid in his grave before there arose a gener-

[1] Buckle, Vol. I. p. 512. At the death of Louis in France, "there was nothing but confusion, abroad there was nothing but disaster. The spirit of France succumbed, and was laid prostrate. The men of letters pensioned and decorated by the court, had degenerated into a fawning and hypocritical race, who, to meet the wishes of their masters, opposed all improvement and exerted themselves in support of every abuse."—Ibid. p. 575.

ation of writers who neither reverenced God nor feared kings, but who preached freedom and tolerance to all mankind. Before, however, reviewing the work that they accomplished, we must turn to England and note the changes that were there transpiring. We have already seen the way in which the current of events was tending as expressed by the literature of the time of Elizabeth and James I. Now, since very early times, the spirit of political freedom, also, had been aggressive in England. We saw it manifesting itself again and again in the middle ages, more strongly than usual in the time of King John, when the barons extorted the Magna Charta from their unwilling king.

This same spirit of freedom had grown apace and spread abroad throughout the kingdom. It was embodied in the House of Commons, which could usually boast of one or more members who guarded carefully the rights of the people. The power of the commons grew from reign to reign. This body freely discussed current events. It came to control the revenue of the kingdom and of the sovereign. It thus acted as a check upon the actions of the king or queen. Now Henry VIII. raised himself to such a degree of power that the Commons obeyed his dictation. Elizabeth ruled by making concession after concession, and thus gaining popularity. James I., the first of the Stuarts, pursued another policy. He believed in the "divine rights of kings," and used every means in his power, and planned every way possible to make his power absolute. Charles I. carried this policy still further. He did not wish to countenance the assumed rights of the Commons to interfere with his government; he did not relish the manner Parliament had of discussing so freely the actions of the king and the measures of the govern-

ment; he tried, for a number of years, to rule without the aid of Parliament. He imprisoned the bolder and more independent ones. We have seen the success of his policy—how his attempt to raise "ship-money" aroused such patriots as Hampden to open resistance to the king, and we have seen how the second Parliament that Charles summoned after the long vacation overturned the monarchy, beheaded the king, and established the Protectorate. The House of Peers was abolished, and the Commons, with a commoner as chief magistrate, ruled the kingdom. If we analyze the party that thus came into power, we will find that it was composed of the leading dissenters from both Church and royal authority, and that means that the spirit of freedom and tolerance had conquered the kingdom. But the ambitious leader, Cromwell, usurped the authority of a king. His son was as incapable of ruling as the son of the ordinary king. The people considered that they were just as badly off as they were under the old Stuart dynasty. Charles II. was called to the throne.

A re-action now set in. The people had rendered themselves powerless to check the ambition and passions of their king. They had, of their own free will, called the king to rule over them. They must, of course, support him. The old forms of tyranny were introduced. Then the king and his court gave themselves up to every license. The court, the government, the theatre, the literature, and every field of culture or of life were befouled with licentiousness and obscenities, that render the writings of that period unfit for the pages of a modern book. Thus it was during the reigns of Charles II. and his brother, James II. When William and Mary, at the call of the people of England, ascended the throne, the reform party again were enabled to arise and advance.

It will be remembered that the Whig or progressive party came into power with the government of Walpole at the accession of William and Mary. Walpole was made premier. His was a peace policy, and he was the author of some of the great reform measures that gave the people greater liberties and better protection. This was pre-eminently so during the reigns of the Georges, when the kings became accustomed to let Parliament and the ministry rule the country. The great work of the Whig party in England, was to establish under the monarchy the very principles for which the people had fought under Cromwell. The Commons were now the supreme power in the state. The principles of the Whigs were further freedom of conscience, freedom of speech, and free government. During their long reign, these became so fully established that "Englishmen had forgotten that it was possible to persecute for difference of opinion, or to put down liberty of the press, or to tamper with the administration of justice, or to rule without Parliament."[1] Thenceforth the English people have continued to progress in all forms of culture. To-day, England stands as an example of the most liberal monarchy and the most enlightened people of the Old World. The treatment of Ireland is a blot on their good name in this respect. We may hope, however, to see the sense of justice finally triumph, and the cause, for which the Irish patriots have so long labored, successful in the end.

Still the period of the Protectorate and of the restored Stuarts can boast of a few writers who are ranked among the best that England has ever produced. And their writings show the steady progress, even in those dark days, of ideas that have produced the liberty of the Eng-

[1] Greene: "History of the English People," Vol. IV. p. 125 *et seq.*

lish people of to-day. The first two great works of this period appeared so shortly after the Restoration that they may with justice be called the fruit of the Protectorate. In fact, the authors of both were identified with the cause of the people in beheading Charles I. The year following the accession of Charles II., the great master-

Charles Parnell.

piece of English poetry, "Paradise Lost," appeared. Its author, John Milton,[1] was born in London, and had all the advantages of education and travel. He identified himself with the party that dethroned the Stuart kings, and upon the Restoration was in danger of being proscribed.

[1] 1608–1674.

At that time, he was blind, and his pittiful condition may have engendered some sympathy. His books, however, were burned by the hangman, and he was imprisoned for a short time.

As a contemporary of Milton, there had arisen a poor tinker, who joined the Parliamentary army. His only education had been confined to the reading of one or two deeply religious books, written for the dissenters from the established Church. He, however, became a preacher of some power. When Charles II. came to the throne, he, too, was imprisoned for his religious views, and there he remained for a number of years. This was John Bunyan. While in his prison cell, he wrote his great allegory, "Pilgrim's Progress," which ranks to-day next to the Bible itself, as a masterpiece of pure English, and a model of Christian literature. These two works but voiced the religious sentiments of those days when the very air itself was redolent with Puritan doctrines.

To the reign of Charles II. belong also the eloquent divine, Jeremy Taylor,[1] and the great philosopher, Hobbes.[2] The former is seldom surpassed in the beauty of his style and language. He placed himself so conspicuously at the head of the independent thinkers of his day, that he even then gained the name of being an atheist. John Locke[3] wrote in this period, and created, as much as any one man can, modern ideas on "civil rule, value of money, and liberty of the press."[4] Another generation of writers appears, whom, though gifted and brilliant, though adding much to the literature of the times, our space will not permit us to review. It may only be regretted that some of them spent a portion of their valuable time, and wasted

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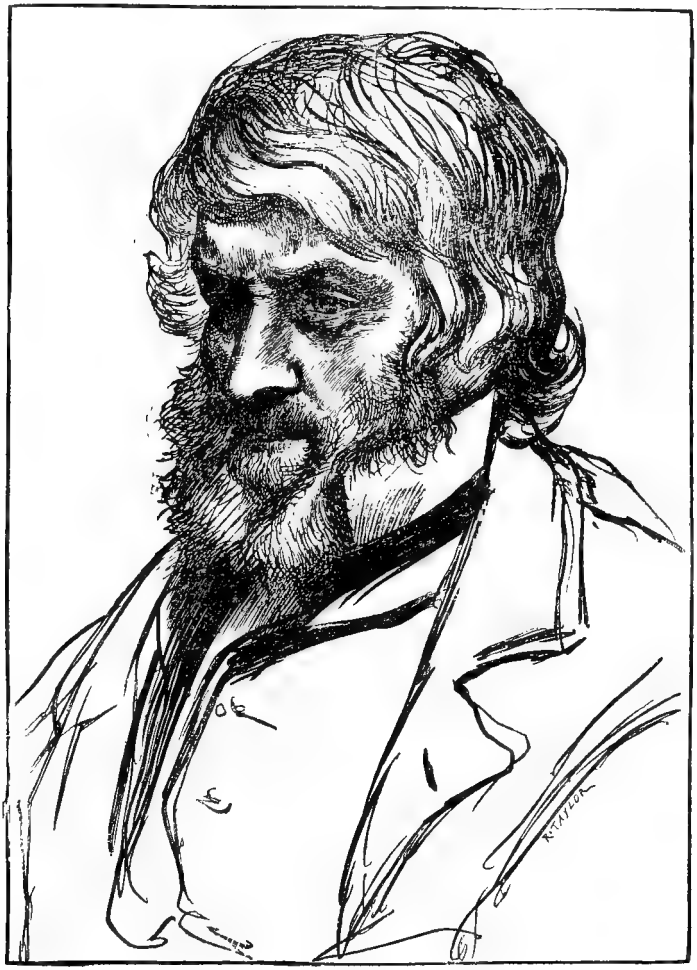
[1] 1613-1667. [2] 1588-1679. [3] 1632-1704.

[4] Welsh: Development of English Literature," Vol. II. p. 40.

their talents in pandering to the licentious tastes of their sovereign, Charles II. Of this group of writers, we will mention only a few of the better class. Such were Dryden,[1] DeFoe,[2] Swift,[3] Addison,[4] Steele,[5] and Pope.[6]



Carlyle.

Then we pass on to still another generation, whose

1 1631-1700. 2 1661-1731. 3 1667-1745. 4 1672-1719. 5 1671-1729.
6 1688-1644.—The English people as a whole were not in an envi-

literary works live as monuments of those times. The Scotch soil, though seemingly so unfertile for the growth of independent thought, produced two of the great minds of the eighteenth century. These were David Hume[1] and Adam Smith.[2] Hume leads the world as a philosophical historian. To him, history is more than a series of events or dry annals, or tales of wars and bloodshed, though he did not seem to have a comprehensive view of the period he describes.[3] His style is spoken of as "beautiful and chiseled . . . polished as marble, but cold as marble, too." In his philosophical writings, Hume seems to have been in advance of his age. Though some of his statements were colored by the peculiar social condition of the Scotch people of his time—very superstitious, and in a most servile state to the Scotch Kirk, the most intolerant of all masters, believing in witchcraft, etc.,—he advanced ideas as to the natural history of religion that are now gaining in credence. He appears also as the advocate of free-trade as theoretically the wisest commercial policy. A century later, English statesmen made it the policy of the English government, and are still firm advocates of its wisdom.

Adam Smith produced two books that have a world-wide reputation. These were his "Theory of Moral Sentiments," and "Wealth of Nations. We have not the space to enter into an analysis of these works. Their names indicate their nature and show the boldness with which laymen could at that time discuss subjects that were wont to be proscribed. Of these two men, Hume was

able social condition during the reign of Charles II. It takes one hundred and twenty-five pages of Macaulay's "History," (Vol. I. ch. ii.) to do justice to the subject.

[1] 1711-1776. [2] 1723-1790.

[3] "His imagination was not strong enough to picture the whole of that great century" (the seventeenth).—Buckle, Vol. II. p. 361.

F. LIX.

LOUIS XVI. BIDS ADIEU TO HIS FAMILY ON THE POINT OF DEPARTING TO THE PLACE DE LA CONCORD TO BE GUILLOTINED.

the more accomplished reasoner as well as profound and fearless thinker, while Smith excelled in comprehensiveness and imagination.[1] Gibbon[2] belonged to this same generation. His history of the Roman Empire is still as valuable an authority as the English language can boast. Thus we see that the authors of a century ago who

T. B. Macaulay.

wrote in English had attained a degree of perfection and value that renders them not at all antiquated in our own day. Thus far we have seen that freedom of speech, freedom of conscience, and political freedom have followed the

[1] Buckle, Vol. II. p. 360. [2] 1737-1794.

development of literature, and have advanced as the great writers have led the way.

As we shall not again refer to English literature, it may be well, here, to notice a new departure in letters that has gained in importance during modern times. The modern novel, as a separate branch of literature, had its origin in the writings of Sir Walter Scott, and has developed into such an important department, that the markets have been glutted with fiction, ranking in character from the merest trash to masterpieces of literary art. All this has had a wonderful effect upon society—polishing the rude, educating the ignorant, elevating its tone even more than the drama when the theatre was at its height of popularity. Among very recent writers, the probabilities are, that such men as Dickens, Thackeray, etc., will live and influence multitudes, while Hume, Adam Smith, and others can only now and then gain the attention of a solitary student.

If we turn again to France, we will perceive that the history of that kingdom confirms this same principle of growth. We have seen how the literary spirit died out when Louis XIV. wrested from it that freedom which a writer must have in order to produce a work of merit. But when that monarch died, the hand of the despot was removed, and the drooping spirit of freedom of speech raised its head again, and sought to overstep the bounds of reason itself. Now, the schooling of the French people had been such as to deaden the religious sentiment entirely. The kings had been Catholic. Henry IV. was Protestant at heart, but turned Catholic in order to gain his crown. Then he gave his Protestant subjects the protection of the law. There followed, at a later date, the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day, in which Protestants

were murdered by thousands. Then the Catholic kings quarreled, even to blows, with the popes, over the right of the latter to appoint the former. Richelieu followed with his policy of making his church subordinate to the State. All this removed from around religion its halo of sacredness, and created among the French people a sentiment adverse to any sort of religious belief.

Charles Dickens.

So, in regard to political freedom. France had grown up from a number of petty states. From the earliest times, internal warfare was common. The rights of princes to rule absolutely were not as much respected as they

were in some countries. The Frankish and Norman spirit of freedom continued to live, and manifested itself in such popular uprising as the Jacquerie and the Fronde. But nothing of the kind had been attempted under Louis XIV. His power was too firmly established, and he kept the energy of his people exhausted with his foreign wars. As soon, however, as Louis died, the spirit of freedom showed itself possessed of more strength than ever.

In the last years of Louis' reign, there had arisen a few young spirits who were not satisfied with the advantages offered them by their government for gaining an education and for teaching and writing in their own country. They turned their eyes across the channel where there was freedom for all men. Finally, there was a rush toward England. English ideas were eagerly adopted, and English freedom was craved. In this way, was produced a class of French scholars, who were extremely uneasy under the restraints imposed upon everything that savored of innovation. Among these, were Montesquieu,[1] Voltaire,[2] Rousseau,[3] and Diderot,[4] who exerted a great influence upon the history of France. Montesquieu, rather than David Hume, may be ranked as the pioneer in treating history as a philosophical or scientific department of literature. The remaining three writers are definitely connected with that train of events that, finally, culminated in the French Revolution.

It is interesting to notice in particular the condition of society in France about the time of the death of Louis XIV. "If ever there existed a state of society, likely by its crying and accumulated evils, to madden men to desperation, France was in that state. The people, despised and enslaved, were sunk in abject poverty, and were

[1] 1689-1755. [2] 1694-1788. [3] 1712-1778. [4] 1713-1784.

curbed by laws of stringent cruelty, enforced with merciless barbarism. A supreme and irresponsible control was exercised over the whole country by the clergy, the nobles, and the Crown. The intellect of France was placed under the ban of a ruthless proscription, its literature prohibited and burned, its authors plundered and imprisoned."[1] Rank was almost as rigidly outlined as caste in India. No matter how degraded one's rank might be, there were others who were conceived as still lower, and social barriers were erected and jealously guarded, distinction in dress and manner of living marking one's rank.

Out of such a state of society sprang that class of writers represented by Voltaire and his contemporaries. As showing the perils of literature, we might remark that offending authors were openly beaten on the streets by the servants of nobles who had felt the sting of some criticism (Voltaire was twice thus beaten), but there was no redress. As a consequence, authors as bold as Voltaire were obliged to spend much of their time abroad. This persecution of authors in France grew in severity even to the very decade when the revolutionary spirit broke forth in earnest. Books discussing questions of government were proscribed;[2] it was made a capital offence to write books likely to excite the public mind;[3] death was the penalty for attacking religion, or for speaking of matters of finance;[4] and, nine years before the Revolution, measures were in progress to abolish all publishers, and to allow books to be published only by a press controlled and paid by the government.

In France at this time, "there was neither free press, nor free Parliament, nor free debates. There were no

[1] Buckle, Vol. I. p. 540, also 663.
[2] 1764. [3] 1767. [4] Buckle, 540.

public meetings; there was no popular suffrage; there was no discussion on the hustings; there was no habeas corpus act; there was no trial by jury. The voice of liberty, thus silenced in every department of the State, could only be heard in the appeals of those great men who, by their writings,

Rosa Bonheur.

inspirited the people to resistance."[1] It was no more possible to keep inflammatory literature out of France than it is out of Russia to-day. The writings of these authors, printed in other countries, found their way to every fireside, and

[1] Ibid. 541.

added fuel to the smouldering spirit of revolution. Is it at all strange that those writers advocated radical changes in every department of life? In the then existing conditions of the French people, where there was neither protection from the government nor confidence in religion, is it strange that atheism became the most popular cult? These authors are charged with being the instigators of the crimes of the Revolution. When, however, there can be found nothing good in the existing government, society, or religion, whence shall men look for relief, except in change?

Thirty years before the French Revolution, vestiges of a great social change were plainly visible. The physical sciences of which we shall speak in detail later, had made great headway in France. People from all ranks of social life began to meet together to listen to lectures on scientific subjects. Ladies neglected society in order to listen to popular lecturers. Soon rank came to be no barrier to social equality in the lecture room. Society became re-organized, with education as a mark of aristocracy. Peculiarity, richness, and frivolity in dress no longer marked the citizen's rank. The dress was as simple and as plain as it could be made. Even those who were entitled to wear stars and orders of nobility discarded them or wore them concealed under their coats. This passion for simplicity was carried to such an extent that a common frock-coat for men, and an ordinary morning gown for women of all ranks was considered a suitable dress for the ball-room, dinner, or supper. Thus it will be perceived, that the French were only one step removed from the "equality" of the Revolution.

A result, probably the most important, of the rage for attendance upon lectures was the organization of various

clubs for the study and discussion of questions of importance. In the electing of members to these clubs, the prevailing disregard for rank was carried into practice. As was but natural, in a club composed of members of all ranks and social conditions, who were bound together by ties of educational equality, the prevailing abuses in

David Livingstone.

both government and religion were topics freely discussed. This explains the origin of the famous Jacobin Club, whose leader, Robespierre, was the controlling spirit of the Revolutionists during the bloodiest days of their power. The government, at last, alarmed at the boldness of these

clubs, took measures to suppress them altogether, but succeeded only in shortening the days of the monarchy.

Thus we perceive the chain of events that produced such a condition of society as rendered the French Revolution possible. A people oppressed and burdened by an absolute government, were maddened to rebellion; a people despised by a nobility, after tasting the equality of education, were wild in their demands for literal equality in every way; a people whose religion had become corrupt, failing to feed the spiritual nature of man, odious through its lack of every quality that renders religion sacred, cast the god of that religion beneath their feet, and enthroned Reason as the only god who had accomplished great works in their behalf. The Revolutionists of France were by no means the scum or off-scourings of the large cities, but they included educated men and women, prosperous merchants, and, in fact, every man who was not a noble, a priest, a prince, or dependent upon one of these classes.

The blood-curdling scenes of the Revolution, the useless and cruel executions, the months of terror, the rending of the social fabric throughout—all have been sufficiently touched upon in a previous chapter. The example set by the American colonists, in rebelling against Great Britain, is said to have been a great stimulus to the French people to rebel against kingly authority. But it is the nature of the French people to go to extremes. They demanded that the entire social fabric should be torn into shreds and remodeled. The Revolutionists tore it to pieces, Napoleon and his army remodeled it. But note the change that has taken place. In the empire established by Napoleon, the people were, at least theoretically, the rulers. It was to the popular vote that Napoleon subjected his constitution. It was by a popular vote that Napoleon was made Em-

peror. The people had then a degree of freedom of speech and of conscience, and a political freedom never before known in France.

Thus the cherished wishes of Voltaire and other Frenchmen of letters became almost fully realized. But the rulers of Europe, afraid (probably justly) of the ambitious designs of Napoleon, did not rest until they exiled him to lonely St. Helena. But the spirit of freedom still lived, and when royalty again endeavored to reclaim its old authority and prerogatives, another revolution (1848) occurred, another republic was organized, and, though still later, another empire appeared on the scene, it was only to give place, within a score of years, to the present republic. This government, now, seems to be increasing in stability and power. The dangers in its way have been sufficiently outlined.[1]

In tracing thus the development of modern ideas of individual liberty and freedom of speech, conscience, and government, we have confined our study to England and France, for the following reasons: Russia has not yet attained a degree of civilization that will permit us to point to her as a model of modern culture in any particular branch. Her government is still absolute, her people ignorant and almost barbarous, at least in sections. Although serfdom was abolished by Alexander II., although the nations of Europe, fearing the brute force of Russia, are forced to respect her, yet the subjects of the Czar are ground down under a tyranny as bitter as slavery. And it is, perhaps, not strange that Russia, to-day, is a sleeping volcano, and no one knows when an outbreak will occur, but when it comes, wide-spread destruction will be its accompaniment.

1 Above, p. 310.

Italy has, only within a score of years, become united under one ruler, and the people are given the social and political freedom of other limited monarchies.[1] Spain has been strangely callous to the civilizing influences of modern thought and freedom. Having lost forever the political ascendency over other European nations that she enjoyed under Philip II., she has never since risen to a level in culture with her neighbors. She seems, to-day, to be in a pitiable condition, without the germs of ambition necessary to growth. Old and antiquated customs are still clung to. Old systems of agriculture, mining, etc., are still in vogue. Therefore we need not concern ourselves with its civilization. Neither need we enlarge on the culture of Scandinavia, for that country now holds a subordinate place in Europe. Holland has ever since enjoyed the freedom that William the Silent won for her.

We are concerned more particularly with the progress of culture in Germany, whose universities are so much sought in our own day, and whose authors are masters in deep and philosophical thought, and in original research. We left the German people, at the close of the Thirty Years' War, in a deplorable social condition. It is hard to realize the exhaustion of the country. For thirty years the German states had been a battle-field, and thus the country had become utterly exhausted. The population was reduced to a very small number compared with previous years. Nine hundred thousand men had fallen in Saxony alone. In order to build up a population after the war, the clergy, in some sections, not only permitted, but even urged the necessity of the laymen marrying two or more wives.[2]

[1] At the moment of present writing (1888), the franchise has just been extended to two million more inhabitants of Italy.

[2] Baring-Gould: "Germany, Present and Past," London, 1879, Vol. I. p. 290. Burger, a Gottingen professor, did not hesitate to appear in

It must be remembered, that thirty years represent a generation. The rising generation knew only of the barbarous customs of war. They knew nothing of social life, with its civilizing tendencies. Homes had been destroyed; trades and professions were forgotten; manufacturing had ceased. "The peasants' dwellings differed little from those of their animals."[1] Fields that, under careful cultivation, were wont to yield bountiful crops, were now but desolate scenes, presenting the aspects of uninhabited districts. Scholars no longer flocked to the great universities. "Medieval culture had been killed in the course of development. . . Poetry, literature, painting were extinguished. Religion also had expired."[2] There was stagnation in social life and every branch of industry. From almost entirely new foundations, Germany has erected her modern social structure [3]

The Thirty Years' War had not only ruined the "landed gentry," but had almost destroyed them. There was now no connecting link between prince and peasant, for the citizen "had nothing in common with the peasant, and was brought into no contact with the prince."[4] Germany was full of petty princes, who numbered, during the eighteenth century, between two and three hundred. These princes grew in absolute power, and finally became regular tyrants. In her state of exhaustion, after the Thirty Years' War, Germany was unable to take much

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public with two sisters as his two wives. Ibid. Vol. I. p. 212.

[1] Hillebrand: "History of German Thought," London, 1880, p. 43.

[2] Baring-Gould, Op. cit. p. 291.

[3] "Germany was thrown back two hundred years (by the Thirty Years' War), as compared with Holland, England, and France."—Hillebrand, Op. cit. p. 42. This gives us an idea of the terrific struggle attending the birth of the idea of toleration in religion.

[4] Baring-Gould, Op. cit. p. 293.

part in the wars of Louis XIV. But during this long period, she was slowly recruiting her strength.

Thus time passed in Germany until we come to the time of Frederick the Great, who inherited the accumulated wealth, the well-equipped army, and the strong government of his barely less renowned ancestor, Frederick William. In the Seven Years's War, he brought the Prussian kingdom into European prominence. This was more than a century after the close of the Thirty Years' War. When we gain a true idea of the condition into which German society had drifted, we readily understand how such harsh masters as the Prussian kings could arise and the important work they accomplished. They checked the abuses with which Germany was then cursed. The petty princes had grown stronger and stronger in absolutism. They were grinding their subjects down by taxation, and were squandering the wealth of their overburdened states upon expensive courts, and licentious court life. Frederick II. noticed this even as late as his day, and said, "There is not a younger son of a side line, who does not imagine himself to be something like Louis XIV. He builds his Versailles, has his mistresses, and maintains his armies."[1]

Such habits and desires spread to all departments of life. Subjects imitated their masters. The marriage tie became a very loose bond of union. Every one who could afford to kept his one or more mistresses in imitation of his prince. Virtue among women is said to have been the rare exception. Then many of these states tore themselves loose from the weakened empire. The clergy had become tools of the petty princes. The rigorous rule of the Prussian kings was necessary to reform this condition of

[1] Hillebrand: "German Thought," p. 46.

society. Frederick William and Frederick the Great introduced discipline into their army, frugality in their court and government, and general reform in social life. Only by such management could the German people be brought back to their old condition of life.

Then, too, the successes of Frederick the Great in his wars, inspired the German people again with their old-time vigor and courage. The French Revolution and the wars of Napoleon killed feudalism in Germany,[1] for at this time the number of German states was reduced to about forty. In 1806, the German Empire, the descendant of the Roman Empire, was formally dissolved, Emperor Francis II. becoming simply Emperor of Austria. Thirty-nine of the Old German states were formed into a confederacy, but the union was unsatisfactory to both rulers and the governed. The people were now clamoring for a share in the governments of their respective states. The sovereigns of Prussia and Austria were obliged to yield and grant constitutional governments to their subjects. This contest continued for many years. At last, and in our own day, as one of the results of the Franco-Prussian War, the new German Empire, with its liberal form of government, was established by the voluntary union of nearly all Germany under the leadership of Prussia, with free government, free speech, and toleration.

But the freedom of the German people is by no means the freedom of the citizens of such a republic as ours, or such a monarchy as England. On the other hand the liberty of the German people would seem to us little short of intolerance. The government of Germany is a military government, and the nation has been compared to

[1] Sells: "Outlines of the Literature of Germany," London, 1880, p. 161.

one vast camp. Every stage and department of life is controlled by the state. Thus, in the education of the youth, the state examiners appoint and pay the teachers. The state also determines the courses that shall be studied, and the books used; it determines how long a child shall go to school; and, when he has reached the right age, the state forces him to a certain number of months service in the army. The education of the German youth is general and compulsory. Thus far the system is beneficial. But a teacher, or preacher, or any professional, is obliged to prepare for his work according to a rigorous state program.

In religion, the antiquated ideas of the time of Charles V. still cling to the system by which the government controls the beliefs of its subjects. That is to say, in the main, the religion of a community is the same as that of the ruler. The people are little consulted on the subject of belief. The rulers for the time being have determined their religion. "As the rulers have changed their shibboleths, so have the people been required to screw their mouths." Protestant and Catholic communities stand side by side, but there is no mingling; "a conversion from one to another is almost unknown." In fact, the state does not countenance a change of religion.[1] Then, too, "the theological teachers are appointed, not by the church, but by the state, and may represent the culture-minister rather than the faith of the church whose pastors they prepare."[2] In

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[1] "If a Protestant officer, say a lieutenant, should enter a Catholic church during service, and his superior officer were to hear of it, he would be reprimanded; and if he repeated the offence, punished; and so, if a private or officer, who is registered in the roll as a Catholic, attends Protestant worship, he subjects himself to reprimand and punishment. "Baring-Gould, Op. cit. p. 122, note, also Chapter xiii.

[2] Vide Article in "Andover Review" Oct. 1885, p. 336.

Prussia, the ruling state of Germany, we are told that "absolute religious liberty is guaranteed by the constitution".[1] But the Protestant Church is governed by "consistines," or boards appointed by the government, one for every province. So, too, among the Catholics, the Crown controls the election of bishops and prelates in all the provinces, except the Rhenish province.[2] All other religious bodies are in a great minority in Germany, as the German Protestant Church is composed of a union of Lutherans and Reformed, under the name of the Evangelical Church.

Again, German liberty and toleration does not recognize the individual and individual rights, as those inestimable liberties are recognized by the most advanced nations. Says Baring-Gould, "As every male infant is an embryo soldier, and every female babe a prospective mother of soldiers, they must be registered by state functionaries, educated by state functionaries, married by state functionaries, and shovelled out of the world by state functionaries. No man is a free agent, for every man is a soldier. He must be drilled by state corporals on week days, and preached to by state chaplains on Sundays. The State takes charge of his digestion and conscience." Such is the freedom of the German people to-day, and no one can claim that it is equal to the freedom of the English-speaking branch of Teutonic people.

German literature, likewise, was almost killed by the religious war. There were no manifestations of a revival until nearly fifty years after its close. Then there arose a spirit of criticism that began to promise a renewed interest in literature. The cultivation of the national dialect had been neglected from the time of Luther. Lec-

[1] Statesmen Year Book, 1888, p. 126. [2] Op. cit. p.127.

tures at the universities were still repeated in Latin until about the middle of the eighteenth century, when that language came to be discarded from the lectures and manuals. The national dialect thenceforth grew in popularity, although Frederick the Great harbored Voltaire and other French scholars, encouraged the use of French as a literary language, and even despised his own language as a proper medium for German men of letters. Three names of more than usual prominence are connected with this attempt to restore the national dialect. These are Lessing, Klopstock, and Wieland.[1] Lessing[2] has been called the second father of German literature, ranking next to Luther in importance. He founded the drama and introduced a freer discussion of theological questions. Klopstock[3] owes his reputation to his great poem entitled the "Messiah," as well as to his support of the popular cause during the French Revolution. Wieland[4] was a Swabian, but was educated at Tubingen and Zurich. Though he tried to attain the elegance of Voltaire's style, he was too much inclined to cater to the demands of a baron's licentious court, where he obtained encouragement and patronage.

The tenacity with which German teachers and writers clung to an antiquated and erudite style of literature, led (about 1772) to the formation of the "Gottingen Dicter-Bund," or "Poets' Club of Gottingen," which had for its purpose the regeneration of German poetry and the substitution of an easy, popular style for an old erudite one. "They proposed to abjure all Latinized or Frenchified diction, and to write in pure Teutonic."[5] Prominent among the members of this school are mentioned Burger, Voss,

[1] Sells: "Literature of Germany", p. 86. [2] 1729-1781. [3] 1724-1803.
[4] 1733-1813. [5] Sells: Op. cit. p. 108.

Claudius, Holty, and the two Counts Stolberg. They wished to write for the people in general, and, by introducing characters drawn from German society, succeeded in greatly popularizing literature.

While the rulers of Prussia and Austria were free enough to patronize and protect French and other foreign men of letters, they were, strange to say, ready to condemn and discourage the attempts to build up a popular national literature. Frederick the Great returned a book, written in German, to the author who had sent him a copy, with the reply that he would not tolerate it in his library, but would treat it as rubbish. But the ruling family of Saxe-Weimar treated German authors quite differently. At the court of Karl August, were gathered Wieland, Herder, Schiller, and Goethe, who ranked at the head of German authors when popular literature was at its zenith.[1]

We have mentioned the work of Wieland. Herder's[2] skill as a writer attracted attention even while in attendance at the university, but his "Cid" established his reputation as a poet. The ministry was his profession, and he became the chief clergyman at Weimar when called to the court of Duke Karl August. It is further said, "that he inspired all the writers of this period of literary history." He was, at twenty-six, "the mentor, the initiator, the guiding genius of Goethe."[3] Of Schiller[4] and Goethe[5] we can by no means speak to the extent that their fame demands. Their works are known and read by every student of the German language. Schiller's "Mary Stuart," "Maid of Orleans," and "William Tell;"

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1 "The year 1800 may be considered as the zenith of German Literature."—Selss, Op. cit. p. 90.

2 1744-1803. 3 Hillebrand: "German Thought," p. 118.

4 1759-1805. 5 1749-1832.

Goethe's "Faust," "Iphigenia," etc., have a world-wide reputation as masterpieces of literature. Therefore, we can rank these two great minds at the head of German poetry, when that literature was in full bloom. Their influence upon the culture of Germany was too great to be better illustrated in the space we have to devote to them.

After the French Revolution, German writers became divided into two schools—one advocated conservatism and clung to old customs, while the other was as strong a friend of progress. It seems barely credible to us that, within our own century, freedom of thought and of speech have met with bitter persecution in European countries. But such was the case even in Germany at the dawn of the nineteenth century; and, among the advocates of reform, there were "martyrs as well as champions." Of the reformers of this century, Heinrich Heine[1] was, perhaps, the most talented and reckless. Though he was a poet, ranking among the first, he did not become renowned as a writer until he connected himself with a printer, of Hamburg, who owned a secret press in the suburbs of that city. From this press were issued the most radical works on reform that could be written; and these were stealthily circulated in Prussia and Austria. The inflammable and caustic nature of Heine's writings early attracted attention. He soon thought it best to take up his residence in France, whence he continued to pour his essays into Germany. In the presidency of Thiers, he was granted a pension by republican France, but the sale of his books was prohibited in Germany.

We have not, thus far, touched upon one branch of literary culture, in which the Germans have, during the

[1] 1799-1856.

past century, gained great notoriety. We refer to their philosophy, and to the world-wide reputation that Germans have as abstract thinkers. Lecky[1] says: "It is probable that the capacity for pursuing abstract truth for its own sake, which has given German thinkers so great an ascendency in Europe, is, in no slight degree, to be attributed to the political languor of their nation." Leibnitz[2] stands out as the pioneer among modern German philosophers. But Immanuel Kant[3] was the greatest of the philosophers Germany has produced. Here, again, we must be satisfied with the bare statements, that his style "is clear and connected," and his "design was to criticise the limits of the human intellect." A review of his philosophy would occupy pages instead of the paragraph that we can give it. His greatest productions are his critiques on "Pure Reason," on "Art," on "Ethics," and his "Logic."

Fichte[4] followed Kant, and enlarged upon the views of his master, especially in the field of religion. While Fichte was found pleading for religious freedom and the right of philosophical inquiry, he taught a purer skepticism than did Kant, or rather put a broader interpretation upon the doctrines taught by his great master. Schelling[5] was a disciple of Fichte. He introduced a new philosophy; and, by trying in later life to reconcile it with Revelation, made himself the butt of the sport and ridicule of his contemporaries.[6]

Hegel[7] attained great popularity as a lecturer—divines scholars, and statesmen are said to have crowded his lecture room. His reputation as a great thinker was unrivalled by contemporaries. His mind was versatile, for

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[1] "Rationalism in Europe," Vol. II. p. 133.
[2] 1646-1716. [3] 1724-1804. [4] 1762-1814. [5] 1775-1854.
[6] Selss, p. 232. [7] 1770-1831.

he left works on law, theology, history, ethics, and art. Thus was ushered in the system of fearless inquiry and independent thought that has placed German scholars at the head of all departments of modern learning. Above all others, they are noted for their boldness in presenting new ideas of advance thought, for they do not hesitate to test, by the scorching laws of criticism, all departments of study, some of which are considered, by many a student, as too sacred to be subjected to the light of reason. In the field of religious thought, therefore, we find Germans of all shades of belief, from sound orthodoxy to the rankest materialism; but, in much of their literature, the reader is convinced of the earnestness of the writers; and the toleration of modern times can not utterly condemn the work of an honest mind. Before leaving the study of German literature, we must notice the new sciences that have, within the past half century, arisen among the great German scholars. We refer to comparative philology and mythology, which, as we have seen, have told us so much about the early Aryans and their culture. We need not enlarge upon that here further than to notice that the names of Jacob Grimm and F. Max Muller have been immortalized by their connection with these new sciences.[1]

Thus far we have confined ourselves to a study of the progress of European people in the great struggle of the individual, no matter what the condition of his birth, for recognition as a unit in society. We should note that literature has usually paved the way for freedom of speech, toleration, and freedom of development of the physical sciences, the inventions and discoveries in which have raised mankind from the lowest scale of Savagism, to our present high scale of Civilization. The naked savage, chained

[1] Hillebrand: "German Thought," pp. 170-1.

down by the bands of ignorance, has been freed, clothed, and taught to enjoy the works, and investigate the subtle laws of nature, and thus fitted to hold closer communion with his Creator, This result has been brought about, in a great measure, by his study of the physical sciences. To this field of research, let us now turn our attention.

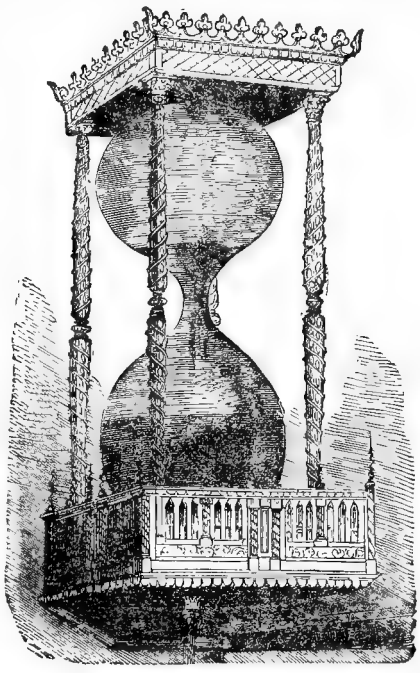
The imprisonment of Roger Bacon and his few contemporaries for their supposed heretical and magical teachings could by no means check the spirit of investigation into nature's laws that had sprung into activity through their noble examples. Arabic, Hebrew, and Greek thought had already begun to spread toward the shores of the Atlantic. But the notions which even the savants of the East had on scientific subjects now only provoke a smile from the most ignorant of our people. The astrologers still held sway in the field of astronomy, and the stars were consulted in order to determine the fortune or fate of a new-born babe.[1] Comets were looked upon as presaging all sorts of misfortune to mankind. Even the shape of the earth was a subject of doubt until Columbus proved its spheroidal form. In medicine, spells, and incantations, the bones of saints, and other relics were considered more meritorious than nature's remedies. The surgeon, in amputating a limb, could stop the bleeding only by searing the wound with a red-hot iron, or placing it in a kettle of boiling pitch. The study of chemistry, while openly condemned by ecclesiastics,[2] as savoring of witchery and demonology, was secretly encouraged in hopes that the long-sought philosopher's stone might be found, or that

[1] As illustrating the tenacity of such superstitions, we might remark that some people still think children should be weaned according to the "signs."

[2] At one time alchemy "could reckon among its adepts bishops and kings—and even a pope." Routledge; "Popular History of Science," p. 75.

the secret of turning ordinary metals into gold might be discovered.[1]

From these crude beginnings, physical science had its start. When, however, Columbus had succeeded by his discoveries in overturning some of the old theories, a spirit of doubt was sent abroad in the field of knowledge which, as in all such cases, soon gave birth to a spirit of inquiry. Nicholas Copernicus[2] was still a young man when the fame of Columbus was at its height. By close study, this son of a Polish surgeon rose to be a canon of Frauenburg. Looking from his garret window into the starry heavens, he saw more than the visions of the wild astrologer, for nature revealed to him some of her secret laws. As he watched the stars and planets in their various changes from night to night, and from year to year, he studied all the theories he could find in the writings of the day. There were no telescopes then, so he had to be guided only by the naked eye; but he continued patiently his observations, noting his conclusions in writing. The result of his



The Hour Glass.

[1] One Dr. Dee claimed to enjoy the power of transmutation even in Elizabeth's time. He also was an astrologer of such note that the queen sent the Earl of Leicester to him, to ascertain the most auspicious day for her coronation. Vide Mackay: "Popular Delusions," Vol. II. p. 208 *et seq.*

[2] 1473-1543.

long life's work was a book which, as soon as it was published, was placed under the ban of the Church, for it taught the old Pythagorean theory of the universe.

Medieval philosophers taught that the earth was the center of the starry system around which every heavenly body, even the sun itself, circled in its orbit. But Copernicus claimed that the sun was the center of our planetary system, and that the earth with other planets revolved around it. He is said to have died just in time to escape burning for heresy. His disciple, Bruno, a Dominican friar, was burned at the stake, in the last year of the sixteenth century, because he taught the Copernican theory. But the theory had been enunciated, the movement was started, one more step had been taken in the direction of truth.

Vase.

In order to see the bitter opposition to all forms of advanced thought in the sixteenth century, we must turn to another branch of science—that of anatomy. All that was known at this time of the structure of the human body had been learned from a study of the muscles and bones of lower animals, so that we can judge of the incapacity of physicians and surgeons of medieval times. About the middle of the century,[1] Andreas Vesalius, a Belgian, became professor of anatomy at the University of Padua. He taught that the only way to obtain a correct knowledge of human anatomy was by

1 1514-1564.

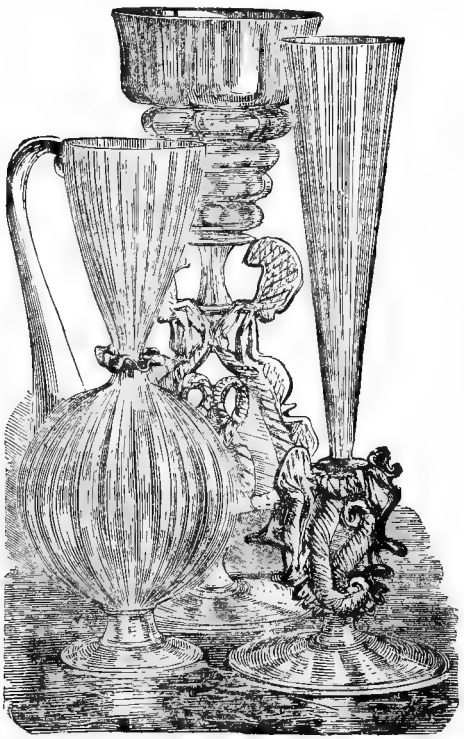
dissecting the human body. Putting this theory into practice, he completely revolutionized the study of anatomy. He finally published a book in which he gave correct descriptions of many of the bones and organs of the body of which little had previously been known. In this way, he brought his teachings to the notice of the Inquisition, which, upon a false charge of dissecting a man alive, condemned him to death. Charles V. interceded for his old physician, and the sentence was changed to a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The vessel, however, was ship-wrecked and Vesalius perished. This was the year in which Shakespeare was born.

There are a few more names that stand out like the giants of a forest in this early transition period between old and new thought. Such were Gesner and Cæsalpinus in the field of botany; Paracelsus and Van Helmont in chemistry; Porta, in light; Gilbert, in electricity; Tycho Brahe, in astronomy; and then we come to the name of the great Galileo,[1] whose parents were poor and lived at Pisa in Italy. All have heard of his discovery of the principle of the pendulum by watching the vibrations of a lamp, while attending service in a cathedral; and that other experiment of dropping balls of different weights from the summit of the leaning tower at Pisa, to establish a law of falling bodies, is also familiar to all. Even this heretical sort of study had branded him as a man to be carefully watched by the Inquisition. But the great work of Galileo is in the field of astronomy, and is connected with the first part of the seventeenth century.

Even toward the close of the sixteenth century, Galileo having become professor at Padua, turned his attention to the study of astronomy, and saw the truth of some features

[1] 1564-1642.

of the Copernican theory. He came to the belief that the planets moved around the sun. But with Galileo, nothing short of proof could be satisfactory. In 1609, however, he heard of a discovery of Jansen, in Holland, that, by a certain arrangement of lenses, distant objects could be made to appear closer at hand. In other words, the magnifying power of lenses had been discovered.



Venetian Glass.

Galileo thereupon went to work and made the first telescope to help him in his study of astronomy. This telescope magnified eight times. With this instrument, Galileo set about to prove the Copernican theory. First he viewed the moon, with its hills and valleys, and he also saw the secondary light which the earth reflects upon the darkened face of the moon. Then he turned to Jupiter, discovered the four moons, and traced them in their courses around that planet. Next, Venus was the object of his study. Night after night he watched her as she passed through all the phases which that planet displays in her journey around the sun. His telescope could not distinguish the rings of Saturn. The great astronomer, filled with the

truth of his theory, then went to Rome, in order that the pope might see these wonderful movements of the heavenly bodies. While there, by watching the changing spots upon the surface of the sun, he proved that the sun turned upon its axis every twenty-five days.

But enough had been taught by him to alarm the ever-watchful ecclesiastics, and Galileo was summoned before the Inquisition. He was commanded to be silent about his new theories. But the brave old man continued to spread his wonderful tidings far and wide, publishing a book entitled "The System of the World of Galileo Galilei." Again he was summoned before the Inquisition and dressed in sackcloth, resting his hands upon the Holy Bible, was forced to take his solemn oath, that "it was not true that the earth moved around the sun, and that he would never again in words or writing spread this damnable heresy." Although seventy years of age, history accredits him with the boldness, even in sight of the irons of torture, of reiterating the statement, "Nevertheless it does move." Thenceforth he was kept a prisoner in his own home, forbidden to leave it or see any company without the pope's consent.[1] This was a quarter of a century after Shakespeare had ceased to live.

At this time, Kepler[2] was helping Tycho Brahe, at Prague, to work out his great mathematical tables.[3] But when Brahe died, Kepler continued the work for himself, and began to apply his mathematics to the study of astronomy. He made a more powerful telescope than that of Galileo, and, by his observations and calculations, succeeded in establishing the three laws of Kepler in regard to the movements of planets.

1 Buckley: "History of Natural Sciences," New York, 1876, pp. 87, 94.
2 1571-1630. 3 Rudolphine Tables.

As we have already seen, the world was beginning to be much more tolerant. The scientific world in particular was about this time greatly indebted to two philosophers for this state of affairs. These were Francis (Lord) Bacon[1] of England and Descartes[2] of France. Six years before his death, the former published his "Novum Organum" (New Method), in which he boldly advocated a new plan by which science should be studied. He insisted, that every step ought to be proved by the student as he went along, that a question should be studied from every possible point of view, and that upon the result of such study only could a general law be founded.

Two-handed Vase.

Buckle[3] calls Descartes the "most profound among the eminent thinkers France has produced. . . He is the author of what is emphatically called modern philosophy. . . He was the reformer and liberator of European intellect." But at present, we are concerned only with his work in the physical sciences. Not only was he a great mathematician; not only did he add much to the knowledge of light—explaining the formation of an image on the retina of the eye; not only did he detect the causes of the rainbow; not only did he accept theories that are now known to be true, but then were discarded and ridiculed; but, by his fearless and unhesitating attacks upon existing errors, prejudices, superstitions, and traditions, he did more than any previous

[1] 1561-1626. [2] 1596-1650. [3] Vol. I. p. 417 *et seq.*

ALPHONSE DE NEUVILLE.

CARDINAL RICHELIEU AND FATHER JOSEPH.

writer to remove obstacles from the path of progress, and make it possible for scholars to advance new ideas in the scientific field. A contemporary of Richelieu—the one established the laws of toleration as the best policy in government, the other introduced his daring "innovation in the national intellect," and, we might add, in the scientific intellect of the day as well.[1]

Art and a Lump of Clay.

Descartes, also, demanded experiment and proof for all scientific statements. Now it is plain that the influence of such writers went a long way to break down the old authority of the Inquisition, to encourage original research, and to establish accuracy and reliability in the work of scientists. The seventeenth century was thus made a time of great growth in every branch of knowledge. It seems strange to us to learn that the circulation of the blood, from the heart to the extremities through the arteries, and back again to the heart through

[1] Stewart "has given to Descartes a very proud title, 'Father of Experimental Philosophy of the Human Mind,' as if he were to man what Bacon was to nature."—Hallam: "Literature in Europe," Pt. III. p. 88.

the veins, was altogether unknown in the time of Shakespeare. It was not until three years after the death of the great English poet that Harvey[1] succeeded in proving the circulation of the blood.

Previous to Harvey's time, there had been theories advanced to explain the beating of the arteries. Vesalius had believed, that the arteries carried a sort of "vital spirits" from the heart to all parts of the body, and that the blood was pumped to and from the extremities by the heart, moved by the action of breathing. A Spaniard, Servetus, an Italian, Columbus, and Cæsalpinus had suggested that the blood from the heart flowed through the lungs and came back to the heart again. Cæsalpinus had noticed that if you tie a vein it will swell on the side of the bandage from the heart. So we see that scientists were gradually drawing closer and closer to the truth. Finally, Harvey, after nineteen years of study and experiment, advanced the true theory. He was at the time physician for Charles I., but so great was the prejudice against innovation that he, even, was obliged to complain that he had lost many patients on account of his new doctrine.[2] Still the connection of the arteries and the veins at their extremities by means of capillaries was not demonstrated until the microscope revealed them to the eye of man.[3]

We can not, of course, offer a detailed history of all the steps by which mankind increased their knowledge of the physical sciences. As time went by, new discoveries were made on every hand. Galilèo had noticed that water would rise in a vacuum about thirty-four feet, but it was two years after his death before Torricelli proved that it was the weight of the atmosphere that made it rise at all.

1 1578-1657. 2 Buckley: "Op. cit. pp. 110-114. 3 About 1656.

Then it was only one step more to the invention of the barometer. Likewise, Galileo is said to have made the first thermometer—a glass tube filled with air and inverted in a vessel of water and partly filled with the liquid. He observed that by heating the bulb of the tube the air was made to force the water out of the tube.[1] Then another used the spirits of wine. At last, mercury was used; but the thermometer was of no practical use until Fahrenheit, Celsius, and Reaumur attached the scale to the tube and taught people how to measure the temperature in degrees.

In the middle of the seventeenth century, the air-pump was invented by Otto Guericke, burgomaster of Magdeburg. Then by its use he proved that the pressure of the atmosphere is equally exerted in all directions. The air-pump was a necessary instrument in the future discovery of many principles of science, and admirably illustrates how knowledge in the broad field of nature could be gained only one step at a time. But, in following the chronological order of events, we must turn to another of Guericke's inventions, which has proved of more importance than the air-pump. In 1672, he made the first electrical machine by mounting a globe of sulphur in a frame so that it could be turned, and using a cloth as a rubber.

The middle of the seventeenth century witnessed a very momentous event in the scientific world, that was the foundation of the "Royal Society of London."[2] Thenceforth superstition, intolerance, bigotry, and persecution were to meet with organized opposition, and organization, we know, will conquer the world. The same year, the "Imperial Academy of the Curious in Nature" was

1 Routledge: "Popular History of Science," London, 1881, p. 106.
2 Chartered by Charles II. 1662.

founded in Germany; and four years later, the "French Academy of Sciences," at Paris.[1] At the meetings of the societies, every new discovery and invention was discussed and commented upon. No longer was a great student of

Henry Bessemer.

nature obliged to stand alone before the Inquisition, for he had numerous powerful friends and allies whom, as a body, no government dared persecute. As a result, the strides which science made were so rapid that we can

[1] Buckley, Op. cit. pp. 124-6.

only mention here and there the more important discoveries.

Mayow's[1] experiments on respiration and combustion proved that fire will use up the same element of the air that animals do in breathing, and that element is absolutely necessary to the life of both fire and animal; and so investigation was started in this direction. The telescope was, no doubt, early modified so as to magnify objects near at hand. By constant improvement, this has grown into our present powerful microscope. Malpighi,[2] however, first gave the world lessons in the science of microscopy. He astonished the world with the wonders that the microscope revealed. First he pointed out the minute tubes (capillaries) that join the arteries and the veins, then the air-cells in the lungs, next he showed the structure of the human skin, then he pointed out the breathing pores and tubes in insects.

At last, Malpighi turned to the microscopic study of plants. Nehemiah Grew[3] entered this field about the same time, and by their study the cellular structure of plants was made known. But by all means the greatest discovery of the microscope at this time was under the eye of a Dutchman, Leeuwenhoek,[4] who first saw the schools of animalculæ that sport in a drop of water, opening a new world to scientists. The closing years of the seventeenth century witnessed the first attempt at a scientific classification of plants and animals by two Englishmen, Ray and Willoughby, who worked conjointly.

But we have said nothing as yet about the greatest of scientists, Sir Isaac Newton,[5] whose work began in the latter half of the seventeenth century. His father was a farmer, and in this instance as in many others, we see

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1 1645–1679. 2 1628-1694.
3 1628-1711. 4 1632-1723 5 1642-1727.

great men rising from the lower walks of life. Newton, however, had the advantage of a good education and began early in life to study the great problems of nature which, by solving, have made his life famous. His work was on three main problems--mathematics, light and color, and gravitation. He made his discoveries in these all about the same time, about the year 1666. In mathematics, he presented his "Method of Fluxions," or, what is about the same, invented Differential Calculus. But Leibnitz claims a share of the glory here for he, about the same time, invented a similar process.

The Microscope.

In his study of light, Newton explained the separation of a ray of white light into seven primary colors. He also observed the different angles of refraction. But the greatest discovery of Newton was the laws of gravitation. Seeing an apple fall from a tree, he asked himself why it should fall? The result of sixteen years' study was the discovery of that force which acts through all space and all distance upon all bodies. By this force, the pebble falls to the earth, and by virtue of the same, the planets are held in their orbits. Then he worked out the laws of the force which he called attraction of gravitation, and the scientific world was given the key with which to explain many of the phenomena of nature. Newton himself explained the tides, and since his time the astronomer has been able to not only explain irregular movements of the heavenly bodies, but to calculate their position in the heavens, and discover new planets and stars.[1]

[1] For a detailed account of the great work of Sir Isaac Newton, vide

Enough discoveries had at that time been made to enable Halley[1] to calculate the paths of the planets in space, and foretell just when Venus and Mercury would pass between the earth and the sun. From the transits of these planets, have been calculated the distances of many

Sir Isaac Newton.

heavenly bodies from one another. Halley also mapped out the courses of comets, and foretold when they might be expected to return. Enough had also been learned to enable scientists to ascertain the velocity of light, and the present undulatory theory of light was advanced before the close of this century of great men.

"Memoirs," by Sir David Brewster, London, 1855.

[1] 1656-1742.

When the eighteenth century at last opens, we perceive what a vast foundation of knowledge it had to build upon. We will not, therefore, be surprised to learn of the much vaster results of another century of scientific study. Then, too, we must realize that at present, though society may condemn a man and thus persecute him for opinion's sake, no civil or religious authority can inflict bodily torture or death for the mere utterance of one's belief, no matter how much it may differ from our preconceived ideas. Then, too, we have reached a period when the various branches of science have become separate and individual lines of research, claiming the entire time and attention of their various votaries. So, early in the century, we find Boerhaave[1] devoting his life at Leyden University to the study of medicine and organic chemistry, manufacturing vegetable drugs and oils as well as analyzing plants. Then he carried his study into animal life, and made many discoveries in the elements of animal tissue. Haller[2] was a pupil of Boerhaave. Even in those days of toleration, he was driven from Paris because he dissected human bodies. He became at last professor of anatomy, surgery, and botany at Gottingen. Here he so conducted the work of his students that he was enabled to publish one hundred and eighty volumes on science, containing much that was new in the study of his specialties.

With John Hunter[3] began the scientific study of comparative anatomy. He not only spent his whole life in this work, but a large fortune in building a museum for his collection of anatomical specimens. Even at this time Buffon[4] was preparing material for his "Natural History," which was designed to be a history of the living world. And Linnæus[5] was studying, naming, and classifying

[1] 1668-1738. [2] 1708-1777. [3] 1728-1793. [4] 1707-1788. [5] 1707-1778.

plants. Though the former was favored with rank and fortune sufficient to enable him to pursue his studies unmolested and to best advantage, the latter rose from a peasant's rank, through bitterest poverty, to the highest rank and honor as a student and a noble-minded man.

In the latter part of the seventeenth century, the rocks with their fossils and signs of past life began to attract the notice of students, yet geology is a comparatively new science. It was not until the last quarter of the eighteenth century that Abraham Werner[1] began to lecture at the Freyberg school for miners. He first told his students of the wonderful history that the rocks revealed to him. He pointed out the arrangement of rocks in layers, and was enabled to tell the story that the fossils embedded therein revealed. Then he pointed out how some great force must have bent these rocks into hills and valleys, or rent them asunder, revealing other rocks that must have been formed by the action of fire. Thus, the foundation of the study of geology—the study that has revolutionized the early history of the world—was laid. Hutton and William Smith took this study up and enlarged upon the views of the founder, correcting some errors and explaining some new features. Henceforth it became an important branch of science.

One other branch of science is so closely connected with geology that we will mention it here, though it belongs to the nineteenth century; we have reference to archæology, or the science of the antiquity of man. As the geologist has shown the great age of the world, so the archæologist has shown the great antiquity of man. A complete revolution has been effected in this respect.[2]

It was in this century that the old school of alchemy

[1] 1750-1817. [2] This Series, Vol. I. chs. i.—v.

and the false phlogiston theory had to give way to our modern science of chemistry. Black discovered carbonic acid; Cavendish, hydrogen; Priestly and Scheele, oxygen; Rutherford, nitrogen; and the properties of all these gases were thoroughly studied and commented upon before the great scientific societies. Chemists had now discovered the gasses which compose fire, air, and water. Then La-

James Watt.

voisier,[1] a Parisian, began to experiment with these elements, and discovered the true nature of the change that occurs when a substance burns. He also investigated many other chemical changes. He then adopted new names and terms and the science of chemistry was introduced to the world.

We must now mention the most important event in the scientific world up to this time. We refer to the in-

[1] 1743-1794.

vention by which James Watt[1] made steam of practical use as a mechanical power. We must not conclude that Watt was the inventor of the steam-engine as we now know it, for he not even deserves the honor of being the first to try to use steam as a motive power. Hero, an Alexandrian Greek, used steam to turn a globe more than a century B.C.; Porta, in the sixteenth century, DeCau, the Marquis of Worcester, a Frenchman named Papin, an Englishman named Savery, in the seventeenth century—all had tried to make steam-engines.[2]

When Watt began his work on the improvement of the steam-engine, he had a Newcomen engine, used for pumping, to start with. Watt's great improvement on this engine was in the shape of a condenser, by which both heat and steam could be economized. He began with a very crude, impractical machine, and by one invention after another, succeeded in so perfecting the steam-engine that it became a safe, satisfactory, practical agent for the use of steam as a motive power. A Birmingham manufacturer, named Boulton, now joined Watt in the manufacture of steam-engines. Of such practical use did they thenceforth become, that manufacturing in England was revolutionized.

The study of electricty had attracted no particular attention until our own countryman, Benjamin Franklin,[3] turned his attention to that branch of science. When it was known among European scholars that a resident of Colonial America had something to tell them in regard to science, there was occasion for all manner of sport over the presumption that any good thing could come out of the

[1] 1736-1819.

[2] Buckley, Op. cit. pp. 245-6; Yeats: "Technical Hist. of Commerce," p. 363.

[3] 1706-1790.

"woods of Penn". But, in the mean time, Franklin was making his silken kite and waiting for a rainy day. When it became noised abroad that he had actually drawn electricity from the clouds and thus proved that lightning and electricity were identical, the ridicule of scientists was changed to the deepest respect.

Sir Robert Peel.

Franklin made many experiments with electricity, and its study then attracted much attention in Europe. Galvani,[1] a professor at Bologna, by the merest accident, discovered animal electricity. Then Volta,[2] a professor

[1] 1737-1798. [2] 1745-1827.

at Pavia, took up the subject, and applied the knowledge thus far gained to his system of experiments. The result was the "Voltaic pile", an invention by which enormous and constant quantities of electricity can be produced by means of the metals, copper and zinc, placed in a vessel of acidulated water.[1] It was likewise discovered that this electricity could be conducted over a continuous circuit of any length, and thus we see that the scientists of the eighteenth century were only a step or two removed from a knowledge of the electric telegraph.

In astronomy, great strides were made during the century under consideration, but it would require a technical knowledge of the science in order to understand the greater portion of the discoveries. We must, however, mention a portion of the work of three great astronomers—Lagrange,[2] Laplace,[3] and Sir Willian Herschel.[4] The first two were Frenchmen, the latter, though a German by birth, accomplished his great work in England, under the patronage of the English king. Laplace and Lagrange worked together a great deal and their work was principally mathematical, solving great astronomical problems, such as the libration of the moon, the long inequality of Jupiter and Saturn, the stability of the orbits of the planets, etc. All of these questions were necessary to establish the truth of Newton's theory that gravitation was the controlling force of the movements of the starry universe.

Laplace advanced the nebular hypothesis of the formation of the world, the theory which, with some modifications, is the accepted one to-day. The work of Sir Will-

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[1] For a description of the experiments of Galvani and Volta, vide Routledge, Op. cit. p. 548, *et seq.*

[2] 1736-1813- [3] 1749-1827. [4] 1738-1822.

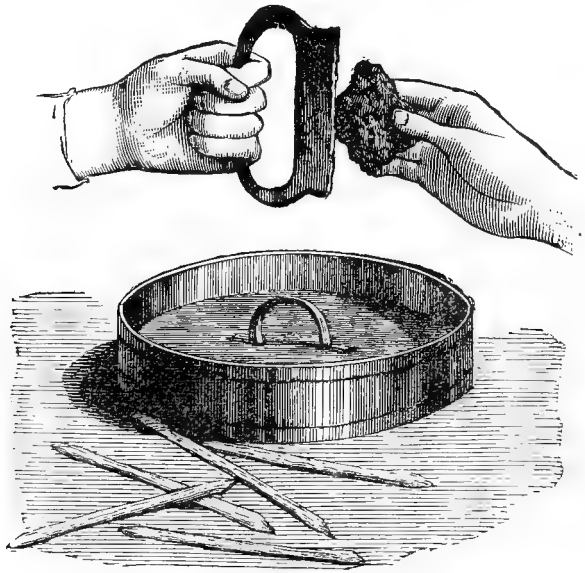
iam Herschel, however, was in a practical line. He constructed his own telescope and began to study the heavens. When it became known that he had discovered a new planet, Uranus, his fame was established. He also discovered many double stars, studied and classified the nebulæ, or star clusters, and finally, proved that our sun is rushing through space at an enormous rate of speed. It had previously been regarded as stationary, and his discovery gave a new light to the grand system of the universe.

The nineteenth century brings to our consideration the work of men who are still living. The success in all branches of study and investigation has been such as to surprise and startle us. But we must again call the attention of the student of history to the much greater scientific impetus with which this century opened than had any previous one. All the knowledge that had thus far been gained formed but a foundation on which our century was to build. So great is the structure that has thus far been erected, that a mere outline would fill volumes. We will try, however, to follow it in brief but chronological order.

The study of astronomy was continued with unabating interest and much greater success. Comets were named, and their courses mapped out; asteroids were discovered; in distant space a new planet, Neptune, was found circling around our sun. Sir John Herschel wrote about all these discoveries in popular language, and revealed all this knowledge to the whole world; meteors were explained; and then the science of spectrum analysis was developed, and it told scientists facts of which they had little dreamed. The last of these steps in astronomy deserves more than a passing notice. All this time, it must be remembered, experiments with light and heat and in other departments

of physics and chemistry were in progress; and, among other valuable arts discovered, was that of photography. In 1802, Dr. Wolloston, in experimenting with light, discovered seven dark, upright lines in the solar spectrum.

A German scientist, Joseph Fraunhofer, also discovered these lines, studied them, measured them, and compared them with the spectra of star-light, and other light. In this way, he proved that the light from the sun



Tinder Box, Etc.

and from the stars must be different, for the dark lines would not correspond. Not to go into the technical study of spectrum analysis, we can give the result of this plan of study. When Bunsen and Kirchoff, professors at Heidelberg, took up this study, they proved that the spectrum of every metal produces one bright line, which corresponds with a dark line in the solar spectrum. It was further discovered, that by passing sun-light through the flame of a metal, it will darken the bright line of that metal.

Therefore it became evident that the white light of the sun must pass through the incandescent vapors of various metals before it reaches the earth, and that these vapors must be in the atmosphere of the sun.[1]

The result of these experiments was the revelation that the sun and many of the stars are composed of just such metals as is our earth. It then dawned upon the scientific world that the Creator of this starry universe had used the same material for making all his worlds. Of the great service of the spectroscope in chemical analysis, we cannot here speak, for it would lead us into a technical study of the whole science. We must turn our attention next to the study of electricity; and, even here, we can barely refer to the various steps that have been made from time to time in the practical use of that subtle power.

The Voltaic pile, of which mention has been made, was the first form of what are called electric batteries. Improvements were made in the manufacture of these batteries, and electricity became a prominent study in the universities. One day, by accident, Professor Oersted, of Copenhagen, discovered the effect that a current of electricity had upon a magnetic needle. Thus a new science called electro-magnetism was introduced. Then Ampere, a French professor, began to experiment in this new science. Electro-magnets were made. Then the great Faraday took up the study and showed that an electric current can be created by means of a magnet. Professor Seebeck produced electricity by means of heat during the same period. And lastly, the electric telegraph was in-

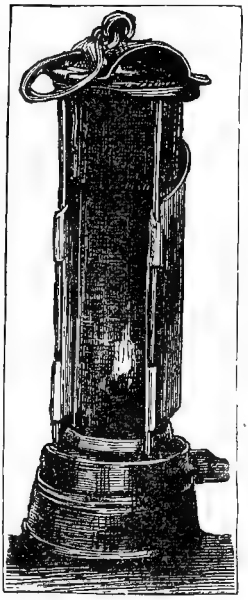
1 In this matter, we have followed the usual authorities, but it seems that our American scientist, Dr. Draper, was the unacknowledged source from which the German professors drew some of their ideas. This will be shown in the next chapter.

vented. We must now notice that the knowledge of electricity had become so generally spread throughout the world that three electric telegraphs were invented the same year—one by Wheatstone and Coke, of England; another by Dr. Steinheil, of Munich; a third by Professor Morse, of America.

These were, of course, crude machines and almost impracticable at first. But later study has perfected them, making it possible to transmit messages, from ocean to ocean, across the continents of the world. Then the cable was made so that the electric wire might be stretched from shore to shore beneath the intervening oceans, and messages be made to encircle the earth in a few moment's time. How wonderful does this appear! But still more astonishing is the invention of the telephone, which, by means of electricity, enables one to converse with friends many miles distant, and distinguish their voices. Then, too, we hear rumors of the still more wonderful invention of the phonograph, whereby whole letters, lectures, etc. can be transmitted to a waxen tablet, filling the silent sheet with the voices of our distant friends, to the music of which we can listen as soon as the cylinder reaches us. Thus, perhaps, at no distant day, by the aid of this subtle power, we can treasure up the voices of our departed friends, and oft commune with them again in the secret chambers of our deserted homes.

In the field of chemistry, we must not pass by unnoticed the work of Sir Humphrey Davy and a few others. The work of Davy continues in a measure the study of electricity; namely, in its application to chemical analysis. Water had already been separated into its component gasses by electricity, but Davy perfected this process, which is called electrolysis. Then he applied the same

process to the decomposition of earths into their elemental parts, discovering potassium and one or two other metals. It might here be remarked that Faraday was his pupil, and that the two names are often connected with the same work. But we can always remember the name of the former by its connection with a "safety lamp," a simple invention whereby a light can with safety be carried into a mine or well containing explosive gasses.[1]



The Davy Lamp.

The name of Dalton is also connected with the chemical researches of this period. By showing that definite chemical elements always combine in definite proportions, and by advancing the modern atomic theory, giving chemical analysis a definite nomenclature, he showed how the composition of any substance can be expressed simply and definitely, and how actions and reactions of chemicals can be simply explained. This did much to perfect the science of chemistry.

In botany, the name of the great German poet, Goethe, comes before us as a scientist. Here he appears as almost the first to set forth the development theory, for he showed that all the various organs of a plant are but peculiar transformations of the stems and leaves—the soil and the method of cultivation affecting its growth to a large extent. In 1859, appeared the last printed pages of Alexander von Humboldt's "Cosmos." He had been sixty-six years in writing this description of the universe, travelling the world over

[1] Vide Routledge: "Popular History of Science," London, 1881, p. 611.

to gain his knowledge.[1] In this work we have the foundation of the study of physical geography.

As the work of Humboldt belongs to the first years of this century, so do the labors of three great professors at the "Museum of Natural History" in Paris. These were Lamarck, Cuvier, and Geoffrey St.-Hillaire. Lamarck followed Goethe in the development theory, but his field of study was among animals. He tried to point out how all the varied forms of animal life may have been formed

Dean Stanley.

from simpler ones by gradual changes, subject, more or less, to their various environments. Now Geoffrey St.-Hillaire in part accepted this theory. His work was with the organs of various animals, and he believed that the different organs of different animals are the same, only modified to suit environment and general mode of life of the particular animal; as, for example, the leg of a dog and the

1 Buckley: "History of Natural Science," p. 384.

wing of a bird are but different modifications of the same organ.

In this way was the comparative method of study, which has done so much for the establishment of true knowledge, introduced. Cuvier carried on the same method, but reached very different conclusions. His work was with the skeletons of animals. As he studied the bony framework of animals, he was struck more and more with the admirable adaptability of the various bones of any one skeleton to the whole. So well did he understand the necessary mechanism of a skeleton, that, it is claimed, from a single bone or more, he could tell the probable structure of an entire animal. Now he could not believe that the various parts of the vertebrate skeleton could take the various forms found in the different species. To him, every particular bone was made for every particular use in a particular skeleton. So he discarded the development theory.

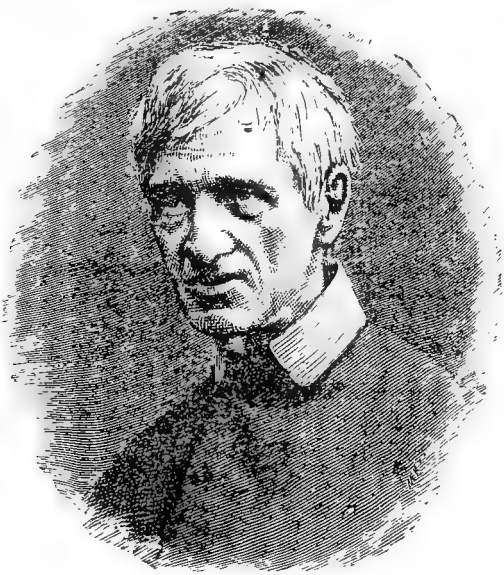
The work of Cuvier, however, opened a mine of information to the scientist. For, by it we are told of the various and strange animals that dwelt upon the earth in the geological eras of the past. Cuvier visited the caves of the continent, and pictured for us the quadrupeds that dwelt in a temperate Europe before the Glacial Age. So, too, he cut the fossil from the stone quarry, and told us of other strange animals that roamed through the forests or swam the waters of a Mesozoic Europe. Thus the study of comparative anatomy, founded by Cuvier, has revealed to mankind many of the secrets of nature's history.

Von Baer next took up the study of embryology, and showed how admirably it harmonized with the theory of development thus far set forth; for he showed that "the embryos or beginnings of an ox, a bird, a lizard, or a fish,

V. SCHUTZER

CHARLOTTE CORDAY BEING SUMMONED TO EXECUTION

are so like each other that they can only be distinguished by their size; and what is more remarkable, they remain alike until they have been growing for some time."[1] Then each would gradually change into its own peculiar kind. How fitting it is that Sir Charles Lyell and Louis Agassiz should turn their minds to the study of science just at this time. As the former walked abroad in the fields, he began to observe the changes that were daily occurring in the world about us.



Cardinal Newman.

Lyell noticed the rivulets and rills as they carried their loads of mud down from the mountain tops through the great river systems, thence to the ocean, and spread these enormous cargoes of soil over the bottom of the sea. He noticed the burial of all manner of animals in this new made soil. He observed the action of the earthquake in changing the surface of the earth, causing some portions

[1] Buckley, p. 401.

to rise and other portions to sink. He saw the volcano belching forth its mountains of molten minerals. From all this evidence, he showed how the rocks with their fossils had been formed in the past, and how they were raised to their present position on the mountain sides. All this was new to scientists, and the people in general were by no means ready to abandon the old conception that the world in just its modern shape and condition came into form immediately at the fiat of God.

But the people were soon to receive further lessons in world-building from the great Agassiz. This scientist dwelt in the vicinity of the great glaciers of the Alps, and studied their courses and the effects they had upon the nature of the country about. Then he travelled and observed how the great plains of Europe and the mountains of Scotland and America, as well, showed all the signs of having been subjected to the action of enormous glaciers. Then he perceived how the northern hemisphere had passed through a Glacial Age, and how the glaciers had helped in forming much of the soil of our present plains.[1] In this way, by the aid of these eminent scientists, was advanced what has been accepted as the true theory of the process by which portions of the surface of the earth have been improved and rendered more fertile and better fitted for animal and vegetable life. The same process is going on around us to day, and is further changing the surface of the earth.

It was necessary that all these great changes should take place, and all this new learning become spread abroad in order to prepare the world for still greater and more startling theories. Scientists were sorely puzzled for many years to explain the process by which the various

[1] Vide Vol. I. ch. v.

species and kinds of animals originated from a few, as Lamarck, St.-Hillaire, and Von Baer had reasoned. At last, as a key to the great development theory, Darwin and Wallace, at about the same time, hit upon an admirable explanation, which removes many of the stumbling

Charles Darwin.

blocks which were constantly in the way of their predecessors.

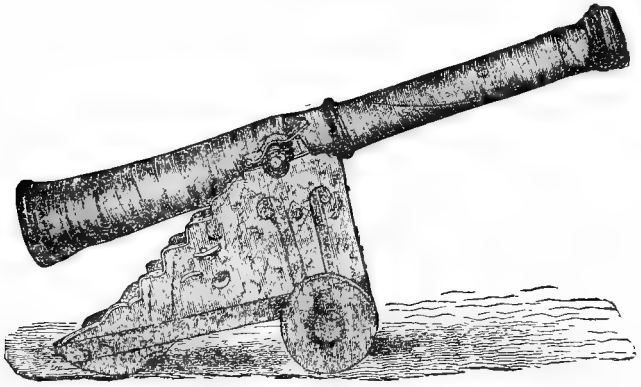
This new theory was that of "natural selection," and may be made to explain the origin of the different families

of animals as well as the various species of any one family. We will endeavor to briefly interpret this theory, by means of a few illustrations. Take for instance the rabbit. We might ask why there are no wild *white* rabbits. The advocate of natural selection would answer that the grass in which the rabbit lives, being of the same color as the ordinary rabbit, hides it from its enemies, while the white rabbit is made the more conspicuous by its color. Therefore, the animals that prey upon the rabbit would be enabled to capture all the white ones while the grass would hide the others. The latter by interbreeding would in time produce only brown rabbits. In a similar way, insects were produced that appear exactly like the leaves of the plants on which they rest.

This theory is also identical with that of the survival of the fittest. To illustrate, the retractile claw is supposed not to have been natural to all of the first felines, but it enabled those that were fortunate enough to possess them to better seize their prey. Thus they are supposed to have flourished, while the less fortunate died, and, consequently, in time, all the family became thus marked. So, too, we might remark that the potato bug and locust (grasshopper) of our own country have increased in such swarms as to destroy whole crops, because no animal has yet been found to feed upon them. All of us know what changes man has produced in domestic plants and animals by favoring certain peculiarities. Nature, too, seems to be pursuing the same plan in developing the life of her kingdom.

We have traced the progress of scientific study from the crude ideas of medieval times to the more perfect knowledge and the more reasonable theories of our own times. No one can prophesy of the future. The dis-

coveries of the French Dr. Pasteur in the field of vaccination as the treatment for some of the diseases of mankind that have hitherto baffled the physician's skill, may, if found practicable, revolutionize the science of medicine. So, too, when we consider how great and wonderful changes have, within a few years, been brought about by the discoveries in electricity, when we consider how insignificant is our knowledge of that subtle force, how can we foretell what the study of science may reveal to us in the near future? We appear to be standing upon the threshold of



Swedish Leather Cannon.

a new era of progress, more promising than any that the world has yet seen, and that may, to future generations, be known as the "Age of Electricity."

What wonderful changes have been wrought in social life by the study of science. We can, perhaps, get some idea of this by a rapid review of the progress or growth of inventive genius to satisfy the increasing demands of society for new inventions. Gunpowder was among the first valuable discoveries made by the chemist. By its use in blasting, it enabled the same number of miners to greatly increase the produce of ores so as to render them cheaper. By its use in war, it led to the manufacture of the first

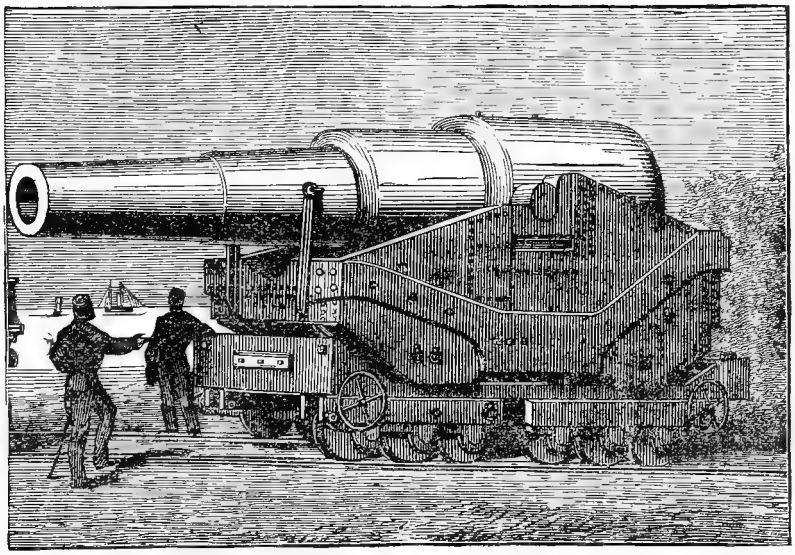
leather cannon, then as iron ore became more common, cannon were made of wrought iron but were very costly and unwieldly. The cast-iron cannon followed. Then as machinery of other kinds came into use, such as drills run by steam, etc., solid cannons were cast, and bores of any caliber were drilled. The balls have been improved accordingly, in the start stones were used. The range of the guns has steadily grown—at the battle of Waterloo, a distance of eight hundred yards was considered out of range. Now guns are in use that carry balls with destructive force five miles.[1] New explosives have been recently introduced whereby it is claimed that a single shot can be thrown ten miles, and the explosion that follows its striking an object will shatter to fragments the largest gunboat that sails.

So, too, with small arms, there has been a steady improvement from the clumsy barrel with its heavy rest, its two kinds of powder—a fine for priming and a coarse for loading—the burning taper for lighting the fuse, and its uselessness after the first discharge; through the fire lock, flint-lock, percussion cap, needle gun, and repeating guns, to the deadly weapon of modern times. Nowadays, rulers regard war as quite another thing than did the knights of feudal times. When a single gunboat can anchor out of sight of New York city and blow her buildings into fragments in a few hours' time, it is well for nations to avoid wars. They are too expensive in destruction of both life and property.

Wars have, therefore, grown of shorter duration. Feeble nations cannot afford to begin war even to protect their most cherished rights. Large nations are ruined in a short time. The Franco-Prussian war lasted only two months before Napoleon surrendered. And this surrender

1 Yeats: "Technical History of Commerce," p. 333.

illustrates another feature of warfare unknown even in feudal times. Napoleon III. surrendered with an army of eighty-four thousand men rather than cause any useless loss of life. This humane spirit has grown in connection with the spirit of toleration and freedom. Formerly, it was considered no crime for the victorious army to butcher the wounded enemies as they lay upon the field of battle. Modern warfare will permit nothing of the kind. Inter-



An Eighty-Ton Gun.

national law has recently developed into a science. It demands that wounded enemies shall have the same medical and surgical attendance as wounded friends, and unnecessary butchery is prohibited. International law also demands that prisoners meet with humane treatment from their captors, and no longer is slavery the lot of the vanquished in battle.

Indeed, the tendency is, in our day, to avoid war altogether. Questions of dispute are now usually settled

by arbitration. Commissions are appointed to determine the facts in a case. Congresses, such as the Berlin Congress, are convened to legislate upon international affairs. In this way, a system of international law is forming which tends more and more to unify the nations of the Aryan world. These congresses become more and more frequent, and point to a time when Aryan nations may become as states under one central representative government with a code of international law which every nation is bound to obey. Then, should the new language, Volapuk, become universal, the world may witness what seems to us almost improbable—a united population, of the same racial type, with the same language, which is the work of the inventive genius of our time. But here we have allowed ourselves to lapse into dreams. Let us return to more practical questions.

Society did not rest satisfied with the steam-engine as improved by James Watt, though it enabled what little machinery there was in use in those days to do many times the amount of work that it had been able to do with other forms of motive power. So there was a greater demand for crude material. More coal and ore were needed. Canals were run through the country to promote the cheap transportation of raw material to the centers of manufacture. Stages were introduced as a means of rapid travel. Carriages were deemed so unsafe that Good Queen Bess preferred to ride in a sedan-chair borne on the shoulders of sturdy yeoman.

The traffic in coal became more and more important as manufacturing in England increased, and how to transport it from the mines to the factories was a great problem in those days. Rapid transportation was demanded. Every means possible to cheapen transportation was

adopted It was found that a horse could draw a much heavier load over a carefully graded road. The advantage of laying wooden rails along the road was found to greatly increase the power of a horse. To cover these rails with iron was found to save the rails. To make the entire rail of cast-iron proved a saving.[1] Then stationary steam-engines came into use for transporting coal up and down inclines and over portions of these rude railways. Early in our present century, a number of engineers were experi-

Queen Elizabeth in Her Chair.

menting with locomotive engines, and even used them for transporting coal over one or two of these short railway lines in the mining districts.

Among these engineers was George Stephenson, "the engine-wright of Killingworth," who made an engine in 1813 that could draw thirty tons at the rate of four miles an hour. This he improved by the introduction of the steam-blast[2] so as to double its power and speed, and

1 Croal: "About Travelling," p. 455.

2 Op. cit. p. 461.

proved the adaptability of the engine for transportation purposes. A few years later, the English Parliament was asked to pass a bill authorizing the construction of the Stocktonand Darlington railway, permitting the use of any kind of motive power, and the transportation of passengers as well as goods. This bill met with strong opposition in three Parliaments before it passed.

This act authorized the construction of a railway twenty-five miles long, and opened the London market to the colliers of Durham and Yorkshire. When the project was under discussion, Stephenson proposed to the proprietors that the steam-engine be used as a motive power. His plan was adopted amid many prophecies that it would fail. But at last the day was set for the trial.[1] The road was completed, and Stephenson's engine stood upon the track. Crowds of people came from far and near to witness the trial. They lined the track from one end to the other impatient to see the first railway train. The anxious throng crowded on board determined to ride. At last there were six hundred passengers on board. Finally it started amid enthusiastic cheers. Horsemen on either side dashed through the fields to keep it company. When, at a suitable portion of the road, the horseman who preceded the train with a banner was told to clear the track, Stephenson turned on the steam, and the train sped over the country at the incredible and dangerous speed of fifteen miles an hour! Thus was ushered in our wonderful age of steam.

The fears that were entertained at the dangers of such rapid transit are almost ludicrous, but were genuine among the people of those days. We cannot mention them here, however, but would draw the comparison between the full

[1] Sept. 27th, 1825.

speed of the first engine and the ordinary speed of the locomotive on the fast lines of our day, where a mile a minute is no alarming rate of travel. Then, too, we must notice what the railroad has done for society in opening up all portions of the world to settlement; the inventive genius it has called forth in spanning rivers and chasms

George Stephenson.

with bridges of steel, the mechanism of which is wonderful to behold; in enabling mankind to obtain the commodities of the world to use for his comfort or luxury; in enabling the manufacturer to gather raw material from the ends of the world at a low rate of expense; in demanding of the manufacturing world greater and more intricate

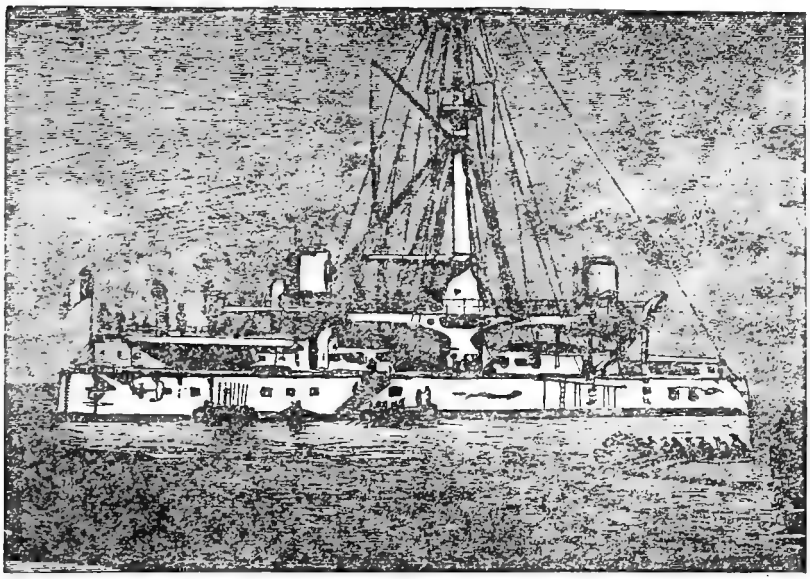
machinery, not only to furnish the great railways with their rolling stock, but to convert the amount of raw material thus brought to the doors of the factories, into articles of use or beauty.

While we wish to give the steamboat its share of the honor of all this change, we will reserve that for a future place. We must now turn our attention to the consideration of the great revolution in the social world that has been brought about by our inventive genius, aided by Watt's application of the steam-engine to manufacturing and Stephenson's application of the same to railway transportation. We take first the printing-press. We have seen how rude a machine the first one was. The type was cut from blocks of wood; and the mechanism of the simple machinery was thought to be the work of the devil. Hand-made metallic type proved superior to wooden. The demand for books increased; a faster mode of type manufacture was demanded; casting was introduced; at last machine-casting was invented, greatly increasing the supply of type. As the demand for printed books increased new machinery for the manufacture of paper was demanded. The inventive genius was not found wanting here. As a result, "paper more than four miles in length and two yards in width has been produced in one piece. Fine writing paper is sized with gelatine, dried, and cut into sheets at the rate of sixty feet in length and seventy inches in width per minute."[1]

To keep step with these increased facilities for supplying type and paper as well as to satisfy the demand of the more generally educated masses for reading matter, new machinery was brought into being for every department of the printer's art. Hand presses have been obliged to give

1 Yeats; "Technical History of Commerce," p. 374.

way to those run by steam. Simple machines were replaced by the complicated revolving cylinder presses. Newspapers have abolished the old coffee-houses of England where every one went to learn the news. Competition in newspaper work, the introduction of telegraphy, and the general rush of this century demand daily more and more rapid facilities for spreading news abroad. In 1806,



Modern War Ship.

one thousand impressions per hour was rapid work, and then it required a feeder and many assistants to produce a newspaper folded and ready for sale.

Now there are London newspapers that have a daily circulation of more than a quarter of a million copies. A speech delivered in the House of Commons at four a. m. is often found in the six o'clock editions of the morning papers. The machinery that does this is capable of making thirty-nine thousand impressions an hour, "feeding itself from a roll of paper four miles long, and weighing six

hundred-weight, it dampens the paper, prints both sides from vertical stereotype cylinders, finishes off between polished rollers which remove superfluous ink, dries the paper in the process, then cuts into sheets, keeping tally of the number, and when government stamps were enforced upon newspapers, impressing and registering the stamp. As a final incident, thrown in for a boon—not a trifling one—the sheets fold and arrange themselves in piles for delivery.[1]"

The book business has felt the stimulus of all this energy. Germany, it is claimed, leads in book work. Leipsic sends out about five million booksellers' parcels every year. Six thousand new books appear every year in Germany. The State printing-office at Vienna employs eight hundred and fifty men. The British Bible Society has sent out over one hundred million copies of the Scriptures in two hundred and seventy languages and dialects, in about three-fourths of a century. All this represents a great improvement in the machinery used in bookbinding and in every department of the bookmaker's art.

We next glance at the progress of inventive genius in the fully as important arts relating to the manufacture of clothing. The persecution of the Protestants in the Spanish Netherlands, and the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, by Louis XIV., did much to revive manufacturing in England, for thousands of these persecuted people found homes on the freer soil of England. They were acquainted with the manufactures of the day, and were a peaceful and industrious people. Therefore England became the gainer by their arrival on her shores.

The process of spinning was a very slow, tedious one until the time of Hargreaves.[2] Previously, the peasant

[1] Yeats, Op. cit. p. 377 and 476. [2] 1764.

in her cottage with her hard hands carded the wool into rolls, and spun it into thread. She could make only one thread at a time, and reel off, after a hard day's work, perhaps, a pound of yarn. Hargreaves invented a machine that would produce eight threads at once. This was the spinning-jenny. Six years later Arkwright invented a machine that "carded, rove, and spun with astonishing quickness and precision." Nine years later, Crompton

Ancient Distaff Spinner.

combined Hargreaves' "jenny" and Arkwright's "frame," and produced the spinning-mule. This machine was fitted for the entire process of manufacture of yarn from the raw material. And see what a change it has made in the amount of yarn that can be produced. Arkwright's machine could produce eight threads at a time, the modern style of Crompton's "mule" will produce twenty-two

hundred[1] at a time, and all these spindles can be kept in operation by one attendant.

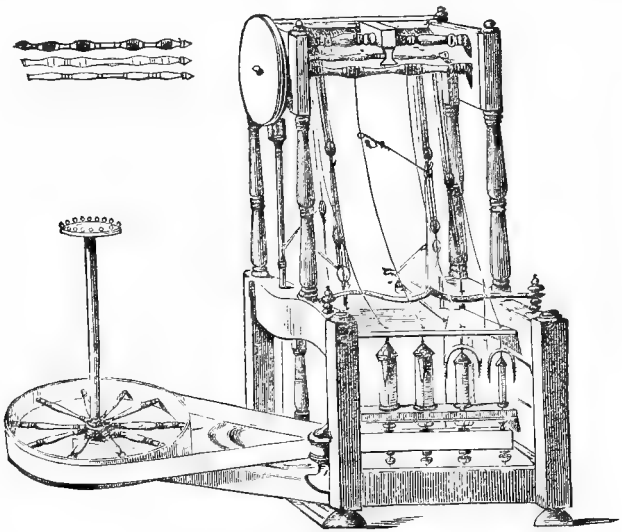
These spindles are now made to perform eight thousand revolutions a minute, and yarn can be made so fine that one pound would extend about five hundred miles. The process has been so perfected that almost any kind of raw material suitable for that purpose can be made into yarn by machinery. But see the effect that has been brought about. The invention of the spinning-mule enabled the mills to turn more raw material into cloth than the world could furnish. Then Whitney produced his cotton-gin, by which one machine was made to do the work of over three thousand hands in picking the seeds from cotton, and preparing it for the spinning machine.

Then the cultivation of cotton became an extensive business, for there was an ever-increasing demand for it. So, too, with flax and wool. This led the agriculturist to adopt improved methods for cultivating the ground. The inventive genius and science have helped the farmer by the invention of new machinery, and by preparing the soil for the production of better crops. The grazier was led to take better care of his flocks, for more wool was needed. So marshes were drained and forests were cleared, parks were abandoned and mountains were occupied, in order to furnish pasture lands for the increasing flocks. New breeds were introduced, as were also improved methods of stock-raising. In fact, the science of the agriculturist has been established as one of the great occupations of mankind, and the world is made to bloom like a garden.

But now the manufacturer was supplied with raw material and machinery capable of manufacturing enor-

[1] Am. Encyclopædia.

mous quantities of thread, new machinery was needed in order to manufacture this thread into cloth. Kay's fly shuttle had already come into use, but this was incapable of doing the amount of work necessary. At last, Cartwright invented the power-loom, and the Jacquard loom came into use. Then, as these were improved by one invention after another, the weavers were abundantly able to use all the yarn that the millions of spindles could produce from the raw material at hand. And even



Arkwright Spinning Machine.

more, for it was found necessary to introduce methods for saving raw material. The silk cocoon was made to furnish three or four times as many yards as formerly, and bits of cloth, etc., are now used in the manufacture of "shoddy" goods that have come into pretty general use. In order to convey to the reader some idea of the extent of manufacturing by the new processes as compared with the old, the statement has been made that "there are in manufacturing districts of the British Isles at least fifty

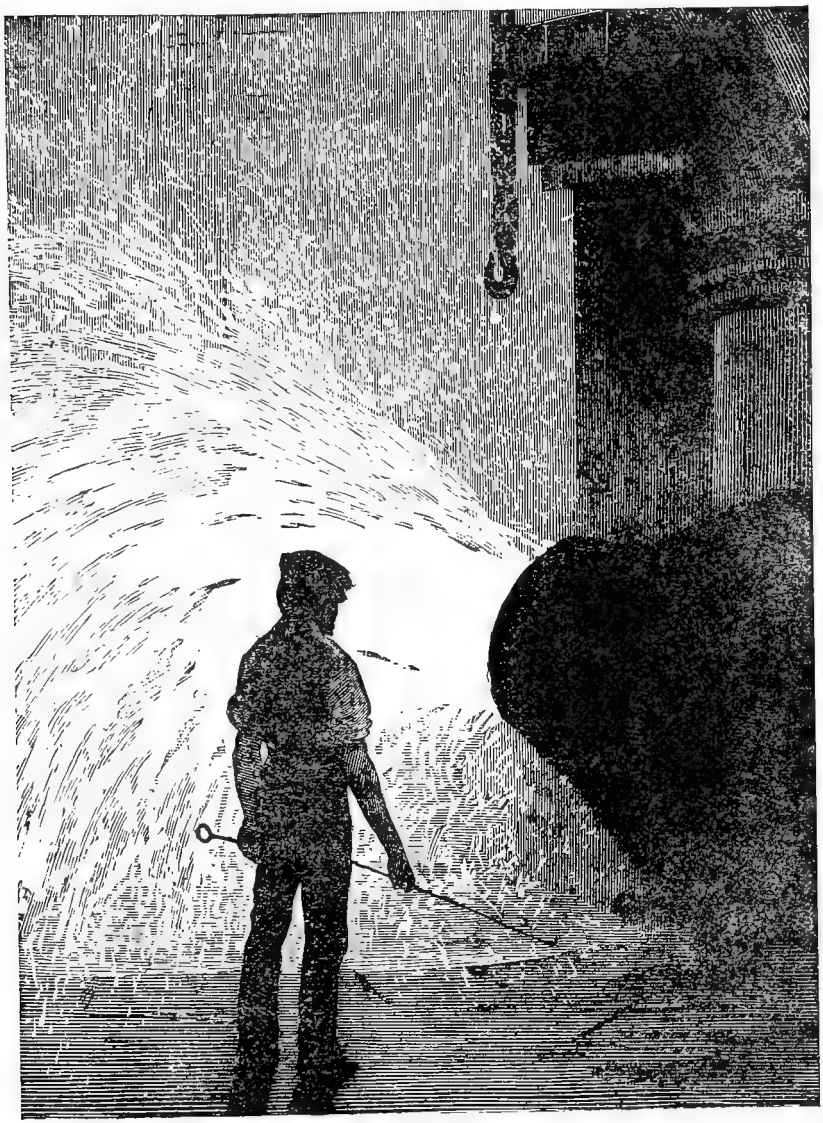
million spindles, producing yearly, in the three materials (cotton, wool, and flax), fifteen hundred million pounds of yarn. This is equivalent to the hand-labor of forty million spinners; while the number of hands actually engaged is less than three-quarters of a million."[1]

By the application of steam as a motive power in manufacturing, England has been transformed into one vast factory. The railroad and the steamboat has enabled her manufacturers to draw to their doors abundance of raw material from the remotest corners of the earth. Then the telegraphic and cable lines are also of great use; for the manufacturer is enabled to watch the foreign market, and instantly notify his agents to buy his raw material or sell a consignment of goods as the prices turn to his advantage. Thus are both time and space conquered by the skill and ingenuity of mankind.

We must now notice very briefly the progress in machine construction or the changing of the ores into the powerful and complicated machines that are everywhere in use. Of course a great amount of machinery is necessary to enable us to produce such mechanical inventions as the various forms of the steam-engine, the printing-press, the various departments of cloth manufacture, etc. First, in mining the ore great improvements have been introduced. Then in smelting a rolling process has been introduced that is supplanting the steam hammers, the falling weights of some of which equalled eighty tons, in crushing ores. In making steel, a process of hydraulic pressure is used instead of the old process. A continuous pressure of eight hundred to fifteen hundred tons can thus be exerted.[2] Then the Bessemer and Siemen methods of converting

1 Yeats, Op. cit. p. 276.
2 Yeats, Op. cit. p. 469.

iron into steel have rendered the latter so cheap that it is used for railroad rails and many ordinary purposes



Bessemer Converter.

where it was formerly considered as too expensive.

Then rolling-presses have been introduced in the pro-

cess of transforming iron into the proper shape for handling. Thus is bar-iron transformed into plates, and these into sheets. A rod of iron can be extended by this process from four feet to thirty-two. Rails for railways are thus rolled. So, too, are iron plates bent into shape for ship-building and for boiler-making. In the process of nail-making, machinery does the work, turning out nearly one thousand nails per minute. Two youths can convert two tons of iron into six thousand screws in one ordinary day's work.

The greatest skill in mechanism has been reached in the manufacture of machinery by machinery. Parts are made and adjusted that must not vary by one-thousandth part of an inch in order to work in their places. Thus, the chisel for filing or smoothing an iron bar was a mere point, working with such precision as to almost polish the surface, until it was superseded by the rotatory cutter, which could not be adjusted with sufficient accuracy until solid emery wheels where introduced for grinding so that the cutters could be sharpened "without softening, filing, and retempering." Such elegant precision must be attained in the manufacture of the largest and bulkiest machinery, and such has the machinist attained.

The benefits accruing to society from all this knowledge of science, and from all the mechanism of the machine world can barely be hinted at in our present chapter. It has raised the agriculturist from the half savage cowherd of early medieval times, who subsisted upon the flesh of his flocks and depended upon their skins for his dress, into an educated gentleman, clothed in the finest of garments and fitted to occupy almost any sphere in life. It has taken the laborer from the pits and slums and drudgery of a life barely fitted for the brutes, and con-

verted him into the skilled mechanic, supplying his former degraded place with machinery of the most beautiful mechanism. By furnishing abundance of books and papers, it has made education universal, and enabled every individual to cast off the bonds of ignorance and become in-

Baron Rothschild.

dependent of any would-be dictators or masters. Even the ones who occupy the lowly positions formerly occupied by servants, serfs, or slaves are enabled to gain a store of knowledge that may place them in a better position. They are enabled to surround themselves with comforts; they can dress in silks that the fairest Roman matrons

could not have afforded; new avenues of life open before them; and they, too, taste the sweets as well as the gall of life.

In modern society, therefore, birth has not the significance that it had in medieval times. There is nowadays an aristocracy of wealth, and wealth is open to every one, no matter what his birth. Those who reach this pinnacle of fame are by no means few, but are becoming more and more numerous with every generation. It is rarely possible for the boor to reach a position in the ranks of this aristocracy without attaining education and polish that are wanting in many of the modern representatives of the old style of aristocracy of birth. So we find, among this new aristocracy, the true patrons of science and the arts. They own libraries and art galleries; they endow schools and colleges; they maintain charities; and they sacrifice their lives for the benefit and the blessing of mankind.

There is also now an aristocracy of education, and education is open to all. The learned rank high in every land, and are even supplanting the old line of rulers in authority in many of the nations of Europe. Where will we find a grander historical character than Gladstone, for many years the virtual ruler of the British Empire. Prince Bismarck is the autocrat of Germany still. Still it was the improvement of their advantages, or their education, rather than rank that raised them to these commanding positions. So every village or hamlet in the most flourishing of European countries has its educated and to a degree polished circle, whose members enjoy a social standing above those who neglect the advantages offered them upon every hand. This is a real aristocracy, a proud aristocracy; but its ranks are open to any who will improve to best advantage his God-given powers. Every man, however,

is obliged to maintain his rank in this aristocracy or else he will soon fall below. So there is always a sufficient reward to stimulate every one to work incessantly for one's own greater improvement.

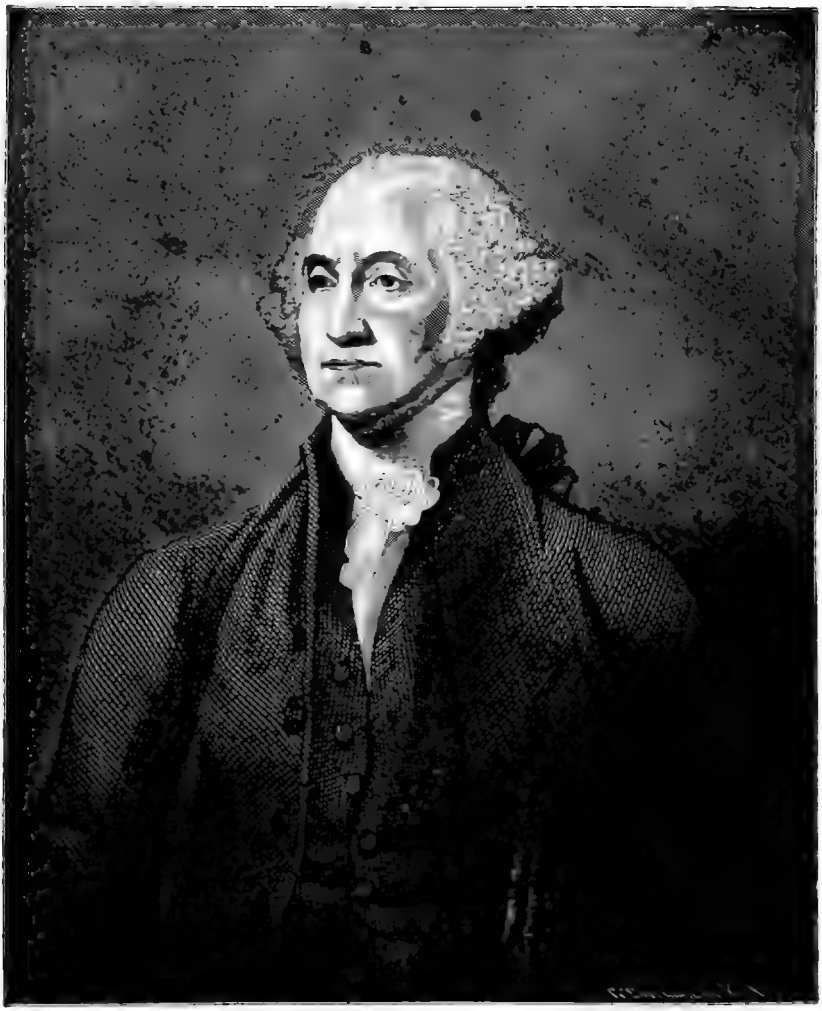
Now, in conclusion, we would again point to the much better and happier condition of mankind than at any pre-

William Gladstone.

vious period in the world's history. Then we have noticed that the improvement in the culture of mankind has been much more rapid during the modern era, and has ever increased in geometrical ratio. If we search for the impetus which set this great world of modern wisdom and culture in motion, we will find it in the freedom of the human in-

tellect from serfdom or slavery to its political and religious rulers. The nobility and the ecclesiastics were holding the individual intellect under a bondage more terrible than can now be conceived. As soon, however, as the intellect of man arose and shook off its lethargy and demanded its natural freedom, individuals came forth to vie with the old-time royalty for supremacy.

In every branch of culture that we have been enabled to examine, we have noticed an almost continuous line of progress. Here and there, human ignorance has interfered and broken this line; but, like the broken cable on the ocean's bed, the threads are soon caught up and the line again made continuous. We would not be taken for optimists, for many of the plans of men are unwise; but we have no sympathy for the pessimist who detects good in nothing except the antiquated. To him who points to the remote past as the "Golden Age" of the world, this study of the progress and development of mankind from the ruder to the more cultured, from the rough stone to the polished stone period, so to speak, should teach that the real "Golden Age" must be far in the future, when the intellect of man has reached a state of perfection, of which we now know not. When the finite shall have drifted into the infinite. When the the human intellect shall have attained more nearly to the divine in power. Such a Utopian age is real only to the dreamer, however, for man's motto should ever be upward and onward.



GEORGE WASHINGTON.

FANEUIL HALL, BOSTON

# CHAPTER VI.

## AMERICAN CULTURE.

GOVERNMENT in Mexico and Central America—South American Republics—Early American Settlers—The Puritans—Religious Toleration—Condition at Close of Revolutionary War—Life in Southern Colonies—Effect of Slavery—Manufacturing in the Colonies—British Restrictions—Life in the Northern Colonies—Introduction of Steam Machinery—American Inventive Ingenuity—Printing Machines—Telescopes—Improvements in Telegraphy—The Telephone—The Phonograph—Electrical Motors—American Engineering—Progress in Science—Astronomy—Medical Science—Educational Facilities—Great Educators—American Literature—Franklin—Edwards—American Statesmen—Washington Irving—Longfellow—Whittier—Ecclesiastics—Historical Writers—Development of the Great West—Growth in Population—Conclusions.

SCHOLAR need not possess the subtle powers of the seer or prophet to foresee that the American historian, a few ages hence, will only half-tell his story if he confines himself to the tale of the wonderful development of our own favored country. Far to the south, there are many young republics which promise to vie with us, if not in extent of territory, surely in culture, enterprise, and the liberty granted to their subjects. President Monroe was among the first legislators to recognize their importance; he foresaw the future possibilities of American nations, and determined to cast the influence of the United States in their behalf. The "Monroe Doctrine" warned all foreign powers that our republic would not countenance any scheme of conquest on the part of ambitious kings or princes.

This relieved the feebler American countries from the fear of foreign conquest. In process of time, the example set by the United States, in throwing off the yoke of allegiance to an European country, was followed by one after another of the various colonies in America, until this great western world has become pre-eminently the home of Republics. Mexico, our nearest neighbor on the south, is still trammeled by antiquated laws and customs. But, as modern enterprise and ideas are quietly forcing their way into her territory, the old must give place to the new, and the antiquated to the improved.

Further south, we come upon the republics of Central America. There are five of them, and they are in a very prosperous condition. The territory of these countries is becoming covered with railroads and telegraphs. Schools and colleges have been established. Foreign commerce is encouraged. Foreign capitalists are invited to invest there, and they are protected by the governments. Great inducements are offered to immigrants, and thrift is the reward of their energy. The last progressive step was but recently taken when, by the treaty of Guatemala,[1] such mutual agreements were enacted as may tend in time to unite the five into one large republic. Not a bad idea of the social stage of these states may be gathered from the first article of this agreement, which declares, that perpetual peace shall exist, and that all differences shall be arranged or submitted to arbitration. Thus acknowledging one of the foremost principles of international law.

But the republics of South America are far more important still. Of the great divisions of that continent, all except two are republics. Guiana is a dependency of European countries, and Brazil is an empire. The latter

[1] April 15th, 1887.

nation shows much less encouragement to progress than do the others except, perhaps, Paraguay. In fact, the signs would rather indicate a retrogression than a progress in commerce, agriculture, manufacturing, etc.[1] However, as Brazil has but recently abolished slavery, we may look for a rapid change in this respect, and even the plan of government may yet be changed. The greatest export of Brazil is coffee. Of the republics, Paraguay is of the least importance. It has no sea-coast, and gives little encouragement to commerce and manufacturing.

Venezuela has a population of more than two millions, and is well supplied with schools, colleges, and universities. Railroads and telegraphs have been projected into various parts of the country; two sub-marine cables have been projected, one of which has been completed, connecting that country with the United States, while an extensive and increasing foreign commerce is carried on. Colombia is rather ahead of Venezuela, having a population of three and a-half millions. The government has shown great activity in all departments. Modern enterprises are encouraged. Light-houses and breakwaters are being erected. Several thousand dollars have been voted by the government to such steamship lines as shall make regular stoppages at her ports. Railroad and telegraph lines have been extended; cables have been laid; electric lights and water-works have been introduced; and the whole condition of affairs seems to be encouraging.

Uruguay is an important commercial state on the Atlantic coast, and Chili on the Pacific. The latter state extends for two thousand miles along the coast. The country is rich in mining products and raw materials. Manufactories have been introduced, so that large quan-

[1] Yeats: "Recent and Existing Commerce," pp. 56-7.

tities of raw material are now imported. Wine, manufactured in Chili, is even attracting European notice. Although the republic encourages railroads and commerce, it does not meet the neighboring Atlantic state half way in the construction of transcontinental lines of railway. Chili seems rather to fear that a railroad line across the country, from the Pacific to the Atlantic, would ruin her harbors, since much of the produce annually carried around by the Straits of Magellan, would find a shorter and cheaper route across the continent. Chili enjoys electric lights and telephones as well as other evidences of modern improvement.

But of all the republics of South America, the Argentine Republic seems to have the brightest future. The old state of Patagonia has been unequally divided between Chili and the Argentine Republic, the latter receiving the lion's share. This makes it a large and powerful country, nearly eighteen hundred miles in length and eight hundred in breadth. It is a great tract of land suitable for grazing and agriculture, having stores of coal and other minerals as well as petroleum. The government of the Argentine Republic is one of the most enlightened in the southern continent. It has a good standing army and a navy with its iron-clads and torpedo boats. It enjoys the confidence of European financiers, and is, therefore, upon a solid basis.

The desire of the government seems to be to fill this great region of the La Plata valley with settlers as rapidly as possible. Immigration is not only encouraged but even sought. It has been decided to build a number of enormous hotels in the suburbs of Buenos Ayres, where thousands of immigrants can be supported until they are furnished with work or located on claims. A system of colonization

has been introduced whereby land is given to colonists and advances of money are also made them. As the result of all this encouragement and aid, more than a hundred thousand immigrants were received into the republic in 1886, making the entire population nearly four millions.

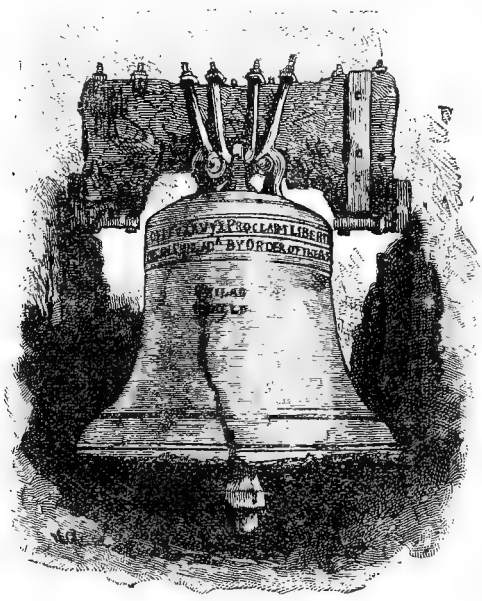
During the year mentioned, about three and a-half million dollars were expended on schools, in which nearly two hundred thousand pupils were taught. New industries are encouraged on an extensive scale. Not only grants of land, but large sums of money and immunity from taxation for a term of years are freely offered large corporations for the planting of important industries. Sugar refineries have been established, and the annual produce of refined cane sugar has reached forty thousand tons. The manufacture of cloth is also encouraged, and the culture of the vine. The grazing advantages may be imagined from the following facts—one firm with a capital of two million dollars has been organized to ship live cattle to Europe. In 1886, over three hundred and sixty thousand carcasses of sheep were shipped to Europe in refrigerator steamers.[1]

Taking all these facts into consideration, we can but perceive the wonderful resources still to be developed in the South American continent. We see there a number of republics, that are bent upon pushing forward as rapidly as possible the development of this wild territory. They start out with free and representative governments, and they offer liberty, encouragement, and assistance to just the class of immigrants that is helping develop our own free land. Therefore, we can hope for a great future in the culture history of our sister continent.

But for all that can be said for these other republics, the height of western culture is to be found only in our

1 "Annual Cyclopædia," 1887.

own country, the United States. About a century and a decade ago, we became a free and independent country, so that our culture history may be said to begin with the Declaration of Independence on that memorable Fourth of July, 1776. Still it is fitting for us to examine the foundations upon which this vast structure of culture and enlightenment has been erected. This may lead us to glance into the century and a-half preceding our independence, and view the material with which our country has had to build, and the shaping of that material into the symmetrical form of the nation of '76.



Old Liberty Bell.

As we have seen in a former chapter, almost every nationality in Western Europe was represented among the early American colonists. In speaking of the hardships that these colonists, in common with all pioneers, had to undergo after reaching this country, the historian is apt to leave upon the mind of his readers the erroneous impression that the pioneers in American history were gathered exclusively from the poorer and lowlier classes of European society. It is true that the Virginian colony was sometimes recruited with convicts and other unpromising immigrants. But the manly descendants of the early settlers upon the Atlantic shores, prove that, on the

whole, they were extracted from no mean parentage.

This becomes evident when we view the lives of some of the characters in our early history. We find among them men of rank and influence as well as the sturdy yeoman. Few, if any, especially of the New England colonists, were of mean origin. But even in Virginia, we notice that more than half of the first settlers at Jamestown bore the title of "gentlemen,"[1] while noblemen and some of the younger sons of noblemen arrived there within a few years. To New England, a different class of settlers was attracted. It is a matter of common history that our Puritan fathers first wandered to Holland, where religious liberty was guaranteed to all mankind. It is in our province to inquire into the standing of these people socially.

The Puritans were English Separatists or Dissenters from the established church. Among the earliest organized communities of these separatists, was the church at Gainsborough. John Smyth, a Cambridge graduate, was the pastor in charge. There was another congregation at Scrooby. They met in the old manor-house of William Brewster, who, also, had been educated at Cambridge, had served at court under "William Davidson, Elizabeth's upright and Puritan secretary of state." From this congregation, Richard Clyfton and John Robinson led a colony into Holland, where they were assured of greater freedom. Now John Robinson had been educated at Cambridge; and, by his skill in the Calvinist controversy, afterward became a member of the Leyden University. The church at Leyden alone came to number three hundred communicants.

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[1] "Narrative and Critical History of the United States," Vol. III. p. 128.

Edward Winslow was of higher social position than many others who emigrated to Leyden. He afterward became governor of the Plymouth colony. The colonists had been in this country only about twenty years before nearly all the towns were furnished with educated clergymen, some of whom were Cambridge graduates.[1] Men

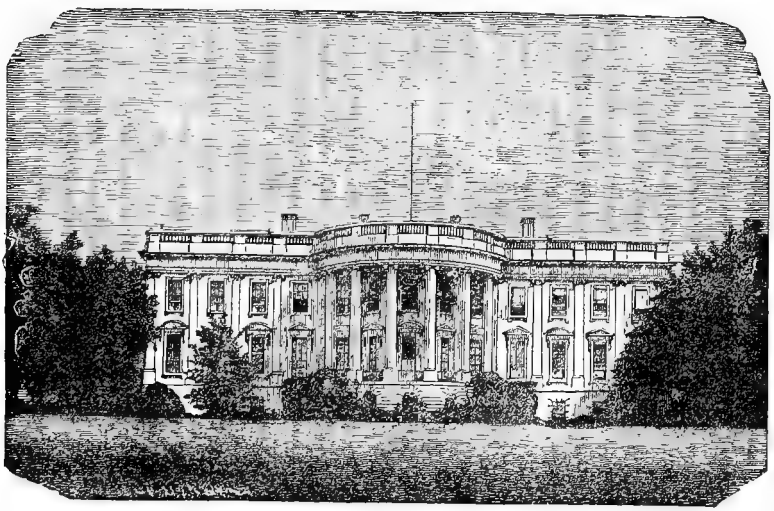
Mayflower Relics.

who were able to draw such leaders, men who had the determination and the means to seek freedom, first on the continent and next in a New World, were the men who planted the germs of our New England colonies.

The Puritan colonists that came over with John Winthrop were not "broken men, adventurers, bankrupts, criminals, or simple poor men and artisans. . . They were

[1] "Narrative and Critical History," Vol. III. p. 280.

in great part men of the professional and middle classes; some of them men of large landed estate, some of them zealous clergymen like Cotton, Hooker, and Roger Williams; some shrewd London lawyers or young scholars from Oxford."[1] It is even claimed that John Hampden and Oliver Cromwell were, before the Civil War, upon the point of embarking for America when they were forbidden by a proclamation from the king.[2]



The White House.

We must note then that this early Puritan stock was not selected from a poor, oppressed, insignificant body of religious enthusiasts, but were members of a sect of dissenters from the established churchs, or reformers; and this was at a time when religious reformation was spreading rapidly over the European continent. We must remember that less than thirty years from the date of the landing of the Pilgrims, these reformers had overthrown the government of England, and had put Charles I. to death. It is not an un-

[1] Greene: "Short History of the English People," pp. 508-9.
[2] Guizot: "History of England," Vol. II. p. 421.

reasonable conclusion, then, to suppose that among this early Puritan stock, there were many educated and some wealthy families.

So, too, the sturdy followers of William Penn included many worthy citizens of England. Penn himself had a European reputation as well as an American one. So had Lord Baltimore, who founded the Roman Catholic colony of Maryland, and whose brother and son were, at different times, resident governors of the colony. The Dutch settlers along the Hudson had been attracted there by the fur trade of that region; and it is only reasonable to suppose that they consisted of many reliable and skilled traders who were willing to risk capital in this enterprise. So we are to picture the very first colonists in America as a mixture of the educated and the yeoman, the rich and the poor, the noble and the lowly—just the element of which all flourishing communities of the Old World were composed, except that there was more energy in a colony than in almost any home community, for the colonists were dependent upon their own resources, and the exercise of all their faculties was demanded.

In other words, the average American colonist would compare more than favorably with the average European resident, for there was as yet lacking in America the shiftless and indolent element so common in the old countries. But as to enlightenment, we can not reasonably expect to find the colonists much ahead of the mother-countries, except as they severally represented more strongly the advanced ideas that were stirring the social structure of Europe to its foundation. Every colony seems to have been the champion of some feature of individual freedom, but the spirit of universal toleration was at that time nowhere understood. The colonists, though the representa-

tives of Old World advanced thought, were not, as a whole, the the champions of universal toleration. The Puritan government, therefore, was as intolerant as the home government, so we find it persecuting those who chanced to differ from it in belief just as most of the sister colonies were doing.

Cotton Mather.

But there were one or two notable exceptions; Roger Williams proclaimed religious freedom to all who might settle within the jurisdiction of his colony at Providence; and, later, the Catholic colony of Maryland passed the "toleration act," guaranteeing religious freedom to settlers

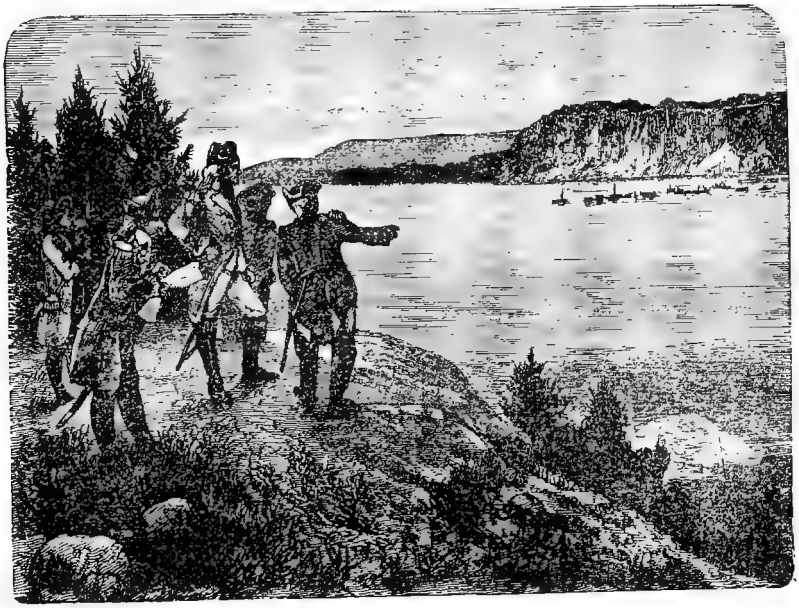
within her borders. Here, then, were planted the germs of modern freedom and toleration. As soon as this idea was accepted as a wise and correct principle of government, America was found to be uncommonly fertile soil for fostering the growth of true freedom; for, as we have said, almost every colony, from Plymouth to Georgia, was the champion of some feature of freedom. Moreover, in addition to the cravings for religious freedom among the colonists, there was the desire for political freedom, since each colony, being left much to itself, was often forced to supply its own form of government. In this way, independent and representative governments were rising in popularity, and they soon became a colonial necessity as well as convenience. Virginia, as well as New England, longed for a purely representative government. Such was the material out of which our American republic was constructed. The colonial wars drew different colonies together, and taught them to forget their minor differences in the interest of their common welfare.

Now, if we can gain an idea of the social condition of the colonies at the time of their rebellion against England, we will be better able to study the progress of our country from its birth to the present time. First we must remember that the settled portion of this country in 1776 comprised a strip of territory along the Atlantic coast little more than two hundred miles in breadth. Large portions of this territory were still a wilderness.[1] There were only a few towns in Maine. New York was a frontier state, and Schenectady a frontier town open to the attacks of savages. Although the persecutions of the French king had driven thousands of the industrious inhabitants of the Palatinate to settle in Eastern Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh was still only

[1] Lawrence in "First Century of the Republic," New York, 1876, p. 18.

a military post on the frontier. Nearly all the population of Pennsylvania was gathered around Philadelphia.

"Woods, mountains, and morasses filled up that fair region where now the immense wealth of coal and iron has produced the Birmingham of America." Virginia and the Carolinas were the most populous and the most influential of the American colonies. Pioneers from these colonies had even penetrated to Kentucky and Tennessee.



Washington On The Hudson.

But Virginia was really, in many places, a wilderness, and all beyond was called the "Wilderness." It was customary then as now for energetic people to build up large estates by purchasing thousands of acres of wild land. We often hear of Jefferson's immense plantation. His wife is said to have brought him forty thousand acres of land. Washington, at his death, owned seventy thousand acres of wild land located in the various states and territories.[1] But

[1] Adams: "Johns Hopkins University Studies," Vol. III. p. 74.

before the Revolution, Lord Fairfax, Washington's early patron, possessed an estate in Virginia of over five million acres. Upon this estate, were two fine mansions—one, Belvoir, upon the Potomac, and the other, Greenway Court, upon the Shenandoah. The loyalty of the old nobleman to his king, however, resulted in this estate being confiscated and divided into smaller plantations.[1]

We see, then, that the colonists had not yet conquered the wilderness even in the old thirteen colonial districts; but, similar to our newer states of to-day, there was a great store of energy, culture, and enlightenment concentrated there for the development of the resources of the Atlantic region. The Southern colonies were regarded as the most fortunate regions in colonial times. Here were the large plantations worked by slave labor.[2] Here the English merchant and manufacturer came for his cargoes of tobacco, rice, and cotton. Here were the wealth and luxuries of Old England, and much greater freedom. The wealthy planter boasted of his hospitality. He knew not how to labor. His numerous slaves were earning for him wealth and luxury. He need have no care, he lived in ease and spent the fruits of the labor of his slaves in entertaining friends and strangers. To such an extent was this mode of life carried, that President Jefferson died in the midst of financial ruin brought about by his hospitality.[3]

But there is another side to this picture. Of course, all the white inhabitants of Virginia could not own large and flourishing plantations. There were only a few small planters, the remainder were very poor. In early colonial

[1] Lawrence, Op. cit. p. 21.

[2] The lady who became Jefferson's wife owned one hundred and thirty-five slaves.—American Cyclopædia.

[3] Morse: "Thomas Jefferson," Boston, 1884, pp. 331-2.

times, some of them were even slaves, for England had early made the borders of Virginia a convict colony. Virginia was not the mother of colleges as she was of presidents. The wealthy planter could either employ his own teacher to educate his children, or send them abroad. The poor were left basely ignorant. Sixty-five years after the founding of Jamestown, Governor Berkely boasted that they had neither printing-presses, colleges, nor schools, and prayed that there might be none for at least a hundred years.[1] However, in less than one-third of that time, William and Mary College was chartered by the sovereigns of England. But, through all this time, ignorance and vice were the reigning features of social life among the poor in Virginia. And it clung to them, until, in the days of our Civil War, to belong to the "poor white trash" was far more degrading than to be a slave.

Then further, as every planter had his gang of slave-laborers, he could see little or no need for improved tools or for machinery of any kind. In fact, they had to import all manufactured articles, for they had no skilled mechanics. Instead of a tool that would perform the work of many men, the planter preferred to own many slaves to do the same work. One slave could pick the seed out of a pound of cotton in a day's time. The planter bought more slaves as the demand for cotton increased. It was a New England genius that invented a machine able to do the work of hundreds of slaves every day. The planter was enriched accordingly. But down to the close of slavery days, the Southern planters were content to plod along with antiquated machinery and antiquated ideas.

The case was fortunately different with the Northern Colonies. Slave-labor was really unprofitable in the more

[1] Lawrence, Op. cit. p. 20.

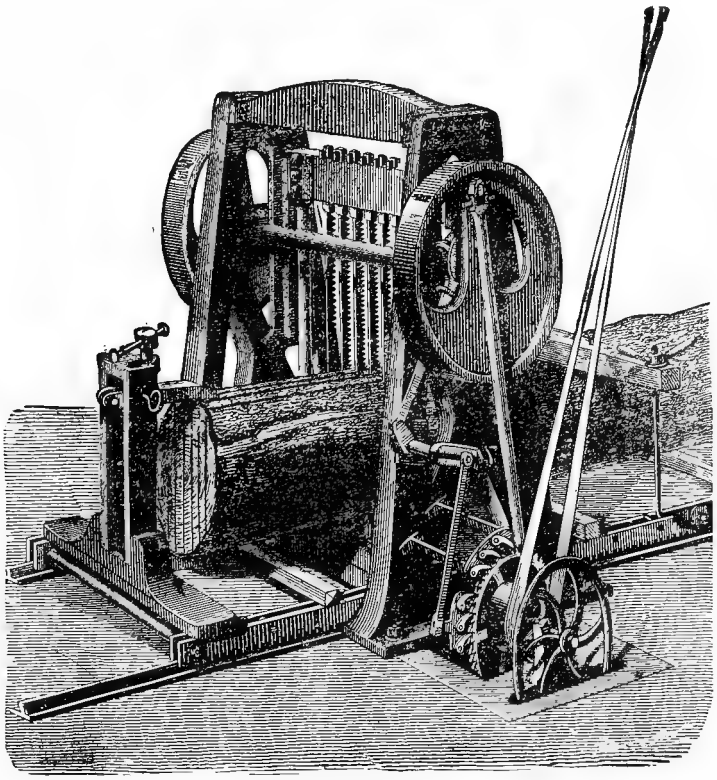
northern regions. They had no products like tobacco, rice, or cotton, which were in demand in all European markets. Then further, they believed that every man should have employment. We find them, from the first, industrious above all things else. Nearly every home in New England is said to have had its carding machine and hand-loom. The Continental soldiers, even, were dressed principally in hunting-shirts and home-spun clothes. But from the first it became necessary for the colonists in New England to manufacture more than enough articles for their own consumption. There were necessary imports that they were obliged to have, and these could be purchased only from the mother-country.

Only a few seasons had passed after the landing of the Pilgrims, before they became alarmed at their loneliness and the possibility that no more ships might return to them from England with supplies. It was, therefore, deemed expedient for the colonies to own their ships. Thus, the occupation of ship-building sprang up. This was preceded, however, by the manufacture of lumber, not only for the building of ships, but for exportation as well. To such an extent had the occupation of ship-building grown, that surveyors were appointed to inspect vessels in 1676, one hundred years before the Revolution. Boston alone had built five hundred and fifty vessels. In 1731, Massachusetts employed six hundred vessels for her commerce,[1] "in addition to over one thousand sail, and from five thousand to six thousand men employed in the fisheries."

Efforts were early made to force the Virginians to turn their attention to manufacturing rather than to agriculture, but with no success. The slight encouragement

[1] Wells in "First Century, etc.," pp. 151-2.

that the home government gave the New Englander was sufficient to induce him to turn his whole energies in that direction. Within twenty years of the landing of the first colonists, saw-mills were busily converting the forests of what is now New Hampshire into lumber. Water-mills were in common use, and grist-mills had been introduced. The printing-press was even then supplying the readers of Massachusetts with a portion of their literature.



The Gang Saw.

One industry after another was added to the occupations of the New Englanders. Connecticut encouraged the manufacture of cotton-woolen cloth. The manufacture of paper was introduced; and, just before Revolutionary

times, there were forty paper mills in the northern provinces. The smelting of iron-ore for the English market was one of the first colonial industries, and this led, also, to the manufacture of "engines for mills to go by water." Still the manufacture of cotton-woolen, linen, and silken fabrics long continued a household industry. Enough, however, was made to establish quite a trade with the West Indies.

Now England had encouraged her colonies, at first, to engage in manufacturing. But, early in the eighteenth century, manufacturing in America became so general that English merchants became alarmed at the falling off of colonial imports. The latter now had their own vessels, made many articles for their own use, and had quite a trade with the West Indies. Alarming reports were frequently reaching the English board of trade. One reported that the colonists were making two-thirds of the articles of their own consumption, especially the coarse sorts of linens and woolens. Another complained of "the very considerable manufacture of kerseys, linsey-woolseys, flannels, buttons, etc., by which the importations of these provinces have been decreased fifty thousand pounds per annum."[1]

This was enough to alarm the British, who regarded the colonies in the light of an investment, and valued them in accordance with the returns. Then came the "Navigation Act," that restricted colonial commerce and ruined American ship-building. One act after another followed, forbidding the manufacture of the most profitable lines of goods. The exportation of hats and felts was prohibited; the colonists were forbidden to erect slitting-mills. To such an extent was this restriction carried that the

[1] Wells, Op. cit. p. 165.

colonists complained that they had to import the very nails with which they shod their horses. Then, too, colonial governors were expected to report from time to time the condition of American manufactures. And upon such reports, new restrictions were enacted. It was not by one or two oppressive acts that the colonists were forced into rebellion, but it was a long series of measures, tending to reduce them to literal serfdom, that led to the rebellion.

A board of trade was appointed to control colonial manufactures. The exportation of manufactured articles to foreign markets was prohibited. But the British government was unable to accomplish its ends. In one way or another, the colonies circumvented them. The governor of Puritan New Hampshire reported no manufactures. Some governors refused to make reports, others made long reports, evading the essential point of the extent of manufactures. Shipping, though under the ban of the law, was continued. John Hancock, the great patriot, thus became a contraband trader; "and, with John Adams as counsel, was on trial before the admiralty court in Boston, at the exact hour of the shedding of blood at Lexington, to answer half a million dollars' penalties alleged to have been by him incurred as a smuggler."[1] The colonists had become a nation of lawbreakers, but we, with our modern ideas of individual freedom, cannot censure them for thus claiming the natural rights of mankind.

Even under all these embarrassments, it is refreshing to view the picture of these industrious colonists. The cultured New England clergymen and lawyers from the halls of Oxford and Cambridge could not sit quietly and allow new generations to grow up in ignorance. Schools and colleges were among the first institutions established.

[1] Wells, in "First Century, etc.," p. 158.

The establishment of a college was proposed within six years of the first settlement of Boston. This school eventually grew into Harvard College. Every father of a family in Massachusetts and Connecticut was obliged to see that his children were taught to read and write. And it is even intimated "that the people in New England, in the seventeenth century, were better educated than those of any European nation."[1] Nor was this spirit permitted to lag in the next three-quarters of a century; for our country produced Franklin, who astonished the European world as a scientist and a diplomat of the rarest ability; such was his renown that "Voltaire from his Swiss retreat, or in the assemblies of Paris, rejoiced over 'Franklin's republic.'" Jonathan Edwards, who died twenty years before we became a nation, was one of the brightest intellects that the world had seen. Of the generation of revolutionists, educated in this country, Washington, Hamilton, Jay, Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Hancock, and a host of others had a world-wide reputation, not merely as rebels, but as men of ability and learning, fearless in time of great trial.

In the Northern Colonies, the humbler classes were not despised as in the South. Large estates were the exceptions in the North.[2] Agriculture was the employment of the many. Small farms were well cultivated. Corn and wheat were grown in abundance. "Pennsylvania was the granary of the nation." "Long Island was the garden of America." Abundant harvests filled the barns with grain. Every family, among the Dutch and Huguenot settlers of the Hudson valley, was busy from morn till night—the male portion with the out-door labor,

[1] Lawrence, Op. cit. p. 280.

[2] Except, perhaps, in New York.

JOHN TRUMBULL

THE SIGNING OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

the female with the card and loom. Industry and economy brought thrift and, in a measure, opulence.

"On Sunday, labor ceased, the church-bell tolled in

Thomas Jefferson.

the distance, a happy calm settled upon the rural region, and the farmer and his family, in their neatest dress, rode or walked to the village church. The farming class,

usually intelligent and rational, formed in the Northern Colonies the sure reliance of freedom; and when the invasion came, the Hessians were driven out of New Jersey and Burgoyne was captured by the resolution of the people rather than by the timid generalship of Gates."[1] All honor to our English forefathers, but we must bear in mind that Americans, in Revolutionary times, as in our own days, were a happy mixture of the best blood and sinew of many nationalities, in which the Teutonic element has kept the ascendency, and furnished the language. Yet it is significant to note that John Jay, Laurens, Boudinot (presidents of the Continental Congress), Faneuil, Marion, and many others were of Huguenot descent.[2]

Of course, the Revolutionary War put an end, for the time being, to all prosperity. The colonists were thrown upon their own resources, after their commerce and manufactures had been greatly impaired or literally destroyed. But the restricting hand of the oppressor had been removed, and the energy of the new nation was free to expand in every direction. That inventive genius, for which the Americans have a world-wide reputation, began at once to manifest itself. Within a decade of years after peace was established, there were cotton mills erected; the Arkwright system of spinning was introduced; and, in 1793, Eli Whitney invented his cotton-gin. The new system of spinning had created a demand for cheaper cotton. The cotton-gin had rendered the growing of cotton a profitable occupation, and gave the manufacturer a cheap raw material. The planters of the South found a market for all the cotton that they could raise, and prosperity returned to the land.

Just as we found in our study of European culture that every great achievement was the result of many steps

[1] Lawrence, Op. cit. p 23. [2] Hurst, in "First Century, etc.," p. 474.

in progress, so we shall find that our nation, beginning life at the close of the eighteenth century, began to build its structure in every branch of culture upon the foundation of the Old World. Therefore, to start with, we find enterprising spirits, in the very infancy of the new nation, importing the most improved styles of machinery, and learning from immigrants the most recent methods of manufacturing. American invention always took a practical turn. After Whitney's gin, the first steps seem to have been in the direction of improving agricultural implements. A cast-iron plow with a mold board, land-slide, and point all in one piece was made in New Jersey, in 1797. Thomas Jefferson, even, studied the problem of attaining the most desirable shape for the mold board.[1]

One hundred years ago, the scythe was the harvesting machine, with which the fields of ripened grain were cut. A reaper, patented by McCormick of Virginia, drew the medal at the world's fair in London. At a competitive trial near Paris, in 1855, the American machine cut an acre of oats in twenty-two minutes, just one-third the length of time that it took an English machine (the nearest competitor) to do the same work. Since then, the harvester has been steadily improved until, by doing its own binding, it has almost done away with mere manual labor. The hand-flail was the only threshing machine when the Treaty of Paris made this country a nation. The modern threshing-machine is a Scotch invention; but American genius has greatly improved it, and the American thresher in many respects excels the foreign machine. The steam thresher of our western grain fields is only one of the labor-saving machines that make the lot of the farmer much more easy than heretofore. One need only compare the old wooden

1 Knight, in "First Century," p. 45.

plow with the modern steam plow; the old sickle with the modern self-binder; the old hand-flail with the modern steam thresher, in order to realize the difference between the colonial farmer and the modern agriculturist. In harvesting and threshing alone, the labor of one man is equivalent to that of many in former times,[1] and great allowance must be made for the saving of seed-grain by the improved methods of planting.

As soon as possible after American independence, the Watt engine was introduced into the manufacturing districts of our country. At that time, a number of persons in various parts of the world were busy experimenting with steam as a motive power in propelling vessels. The experiments continued during the twenty years remaining of the eighteenth century. In 1807, our countryman, Robert Fulton, launched upon the Hudson River, the first really successful steamboat. His boat was named "The Clermont." It was of one hundred and sixty tons burden, and made regular trips during the season from New York to Albany. In 1818, Watt engines were made in New York. Steamboats with home-made engines were then running upon the Mississippi and the Great Lakes. The next year, "The Savannah," the first steamboat to cross the Atlantic, made a voyage from America to a number of European ports. Thus American enterprise opened a new era in ocean navigation, and the distance between the two continents has eventually been reduced from a three weeks' to less than a seven-days' journey.

It would be impossible for us to give a concise history of American inventive genius. That our countrymen are famous for their skill in this line is illustrated by the fact, that over twenty-four thousand patents were issued in

[1] Towle: "Nation in a Nutshell," p. 115.

1887, only about fifteen hundred of which were foreign.[1] Still it is in our province to note that Americans claim credit, in addition to those already mentioned, for "the carding condenser, the improved ax and ax helve, the cut-nail, pin, type-casting, reaping and sewing machines, the electric telegraph, vulcanized rubber, the friction-match, the steam fire-engine, revolving fire-arms, and the street railway." Of the greatest mechanical inventions and discoveries, America can boast "more than all continental Europe."[2] Going slightly more into detail, it is interesting to review a few of the achievements of our countrymen in the mechanical line. The first mill that combined all the processes for converting raw cotton into cloth was erected at Waltham, Massachusetts, in 1813. To Hall of Massachusetts belongs the credit of making the first breech-loading fire-arm, while Colt improved upon this and also introduced the method of making the various parts alike in all dimensions, so that they will fit any individual gun. The Gatling and Taylor guns, the former of which can discharge four hundred shots per minute, are both American inventions, far superior to those of any other country. The United States are now the fire-arm manufacturers for many foreign countries.

The principle of "assembling" has also been applied to the manufacture of watches, sewing-machines, and machinery of all kinds. But in the manufacture of watches, the plan of gathering all the operations under one roof is decidedly an American system.[3] The parts are all made by machinery, and their number reduced more than four-fifths. The Waltham works alone can turn out

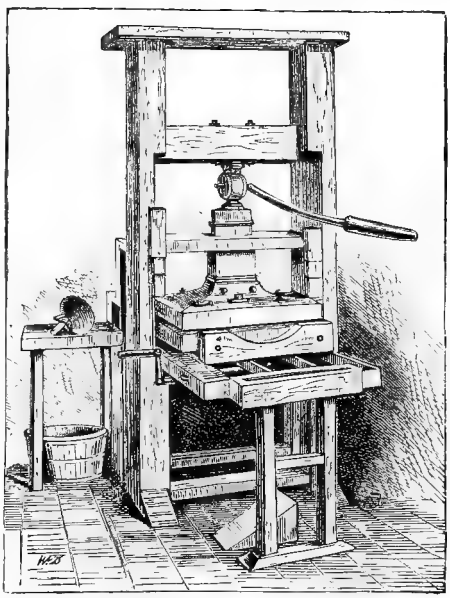
1 American Almanac, 1888.
2 Hittell: "Brief History of Culture," pp. 306-7.
3 Knight: "First Century," pp. 77-8.

eighty thousand watches per annum. The steam fire-engine, as a success, comes from Cincinnati, where the first successful ones were manufactured. Now, nearly all the large cities of the world have them. So, too the fire-alarm telegraph is an American system. The first one was put up in Boston, in 1852.

Ericsson.

The Westinghouse air-brake is another happy application of American inventive genius to practical use. Any person, now thirty-five years of age, can remember when the railway train was stopped by the tedious process of

applying the hand-brake to the car wheel. The brakeman was then a necessity with every car. By the use of compressed air, the Westinghouse brake has been known to stop a train, running at the rate of thirty miles per hour, upon a grade of ninety-six feet per mile, within a distance of four hundred and twenty feet.[1] Another invention of great importance in facilitating commerce is the platform balance, invented by Fairbanks of Vermont. The manufacture of this brand of scales alone reaches fifty thousand annually, and they are shipped to all portions of the globe.



Franklin's Printing Machine.

Not only is the present process of type-casting an American invention, but so is that of electrotyping from wood-cuts. In the manufacture of printing-presses, the Americans have done their share. The Hoe Machine was for a number of years the fastest printer in use. It is an improvement of the Hoe, known as the Walter press, that prints both the London and the New York Times. It has reached the astonishing rapidity of thirty thousand complete papers per hour.[2] Of much greater ingenuity is Paige's type-setting machine, that "receives a column of

[1] Op. cit. p. 166.

[2] Vide Wilson: "Typographic Printing Machines and Machine Printing,' p. 154; also "Annual Cyclopædia, 1881, p. 548.

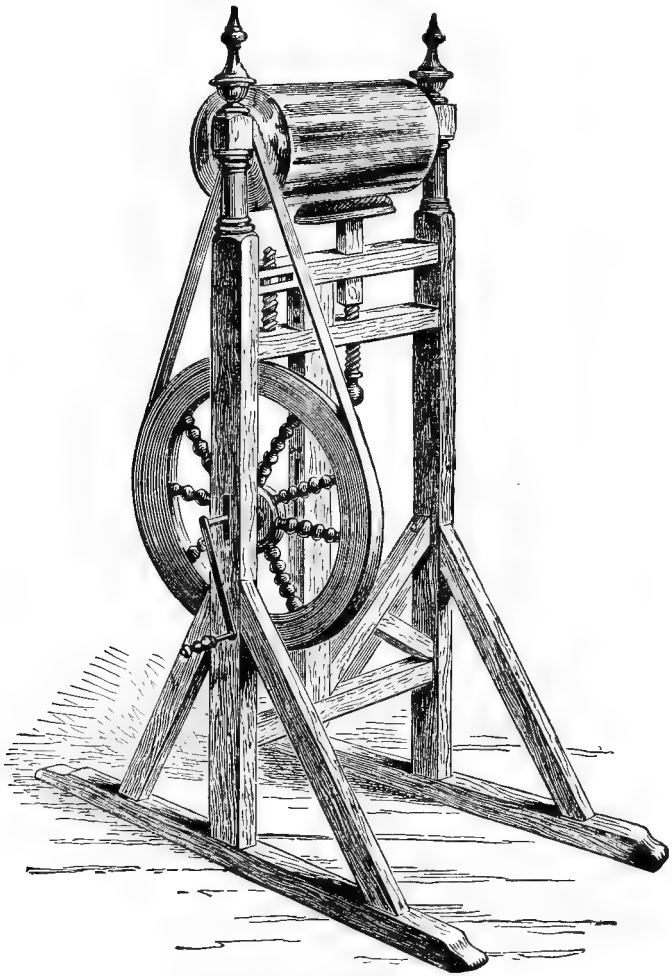
'dead matter' from the press, distributes it automatically, and sets it up anew at the rate of three thousand five hundred ems per hour, including setting, justifying, and distributing, which is five times the work of the unaided hand." The automaton throws out every defective and turned type.

That Americans are not deficient in the skill and nicety of their workmanship is shown by a single example, that is the manufacture of telescopes. Alvin Clark, recently of Cambridge, Massachusetts, has had few rivals and no superiors in this field. His objectives were eagerly sought in Europe, and the height of perfection was supposed to have been reached when he completed for the Russian government a telescope with a thirty-inch objective. This instrument possessed a magnifying power of two thousand diameters, and is capable of increasing the surface of the object viewed two and a-half million times its natural size.[1] Still, since his death,[2] his sons have completed a thirty-six-inch objective for the Lick Observatory, California. In delicacy of construction, however, nothing has yet excelled the mechanism of Rutherford's instrument for measuring the positions and distances of heavenly bodies in making photographic maps of different groups of stars. Finally, he reached a "delicacy which leaves nothing to be desired."[3]

In the field of electricity, we can boast of some of the greatest geniuses that the world has seen since Franklin drew the lightning from the clouds. We have already mentioned the electric fire-alarm system as an American one. Of course, to claim for our countrymen the honor of inventing the telegraph, would be the height of presumption; but to claim that the Morse system of telegraphy is

[1] "Annual Cyclopædia," 1887. [2] August 19th, 1887.
[3] Barnard, in "First Century, etc.," pp. 302-3.

more practical than any competing system that has yet been devised, is our privilege. Still, people were not satisfied with the telegraph even then. If a way could be devised for sending two or more messages over the same line,



Franklin's Electrical Machine.

at the same time, in the same or opposite directions, it was believed that the busy, hungry world would settle down contented with the extent of human attainment in the

rapid transmission of messages to distant parts. And this was at last accomplished by one of our countrymen, a Mr. Stearns, whose duplex system was even introduced into England. This system has been further perfected, until several messages can now be sent over the same line at the same time.

But, having reached this point, the human mind was not satisfied, and other inventions have been added to those already rendering such practical service. By an invention of Mr. W. E. Sawyer, a method of telegraphy has been introduced by which a fac-simile reproduction of a letter written at one end of a line may be obtained at the other. The letter appears traced in blue dotted lines upon white paper. The United States Postal Telegraph uses this system; so, also, does the Signal Service to transmit by telegraph its weather maps.[1] And only within the last few months,[2] we have heard of the formation of the Telautograph Company, which proposes to introduce a system of telegraphy, in which a person writing at one end of the line has his message instantaneously reproduced in fac-simile at the other end. Mr. Thomas A. Edison, whose name occurs again and again in connection with the study of electricity in this country, has, seemingly, reached the height of the telegrapher's art, for he has proved the practicability of transmitting and receiving messages from a railway train moving at the rate of sixty miles per hour.[3]

Americans can also claim the invention of the telephone, for which about equal credit is due both Gray of Chicago and Bell of Massachusetts.[4] Edison's name, also,

[1] "American Cyclopædia." [2] July, 1888.

[3] Vide "Whittaker's Almanack," 1888; also "Scientific American," February 20th, 1886; October 15th, 1887. [4] La Cour, of Copenhagen, was, about the same time, experimenting in the same line.

is connected with the perfection of the telephone, and especially during the past few months. Under his direction, experiments are making in hopes of constructing a sea-telephone, and some degree of success has rewarded his labors. "If he succeeds in finding a practical and reliable means of transmitting any kind of intelligible signal through the water between two vessels several miles apart, a principal cause of disaster on the ocean will have been removed. . . . Vessels would keep their telephone warning going as well as their whistles, and, while the latter only sounded a general alarm, the telephone would give the exact compass course of the direction whence each ship was advancing, and this, too, in time to prevent a meeting."[1] Thus we see the tendency of invention is to benefit mankind by saving life as well as producing wealth, ease, and comfort.

Thomas Edison.

Mr. Edison has recently almost perfected another of his great inventions, which he calls the phonograph. In fact, the success of this invention is almost assured. The phonograph is a machine intended to transmit to a waxen cylinder the impressions of the sound-waves of the human voice. One of these instruments, placed in a lecture-room, may thus record the mechanical impress of the speech of an orator upon this cylinder, holding

[1] "Scientific American," March 26th, 1887.

the words, tones, and modulations of the voice within its inanimate folds, perhaps to travel thousands of miles, and repeat its good tidings to many another audience on its way; for a phonogram, it is said, "will last indefinitely, and may be repeated a thousand times if necessary."[1] It is only necessary to reverse the cylinder and set the clockwork going, when the speech will be repeated, word for word. It is claimed that the whole of Nicholas Nickleby might be recorded upon four cylinders, eight inches long and four inches in diameter.[2] What a blessing it would be to the blind and the sick, who might listen to the soothing voice of a reader, perhaps far away. In practical use, the phonograph promises to supply the place of the amanuensis and of the stenographer, entering into every field of work.

Electricity is coming into use as a motor-power, and our large cities are showing their appreciation of a good invention by adopting it at once. The cable-car is an American invention, first used upon the street railroads of San Francisco.[3] But the electric railway is rapidly succeeding even it. Though coming to us from a foreign land, it has received many suggestions from American genius. Electric welding, however, is the invention of Professor Elihu Thompson, of Lynn, Massachusetts.[4] By this process, iron, brass, steel, and copper, are quickly, safely, and cheaply welded, without the accompanying noise, dirt, and cinders of the forge. The practical incan-

[1] "Whittaker's Almanack," 1888, p. 538.

[2] Scientific American, December 31st, 1887.

[3] We must, of course, be understood to mean the cable railway as a practical success, for like everything else it is but a growth from ruder and more impracticable inventions.

[4] The same process is announced almost simultaneously by Russian scientists; vide "Scientific American," November 26th, 1887; also December 17th, 1887.

descent electric-light is the result of Mr. Edison's experimenting, and it is rapidly supplanting other modes of lighting. In connection with the manufacture of electricity for lighting purposes, a new industry has sprung up in America that promises to greatly benefit the smaller manufacturers. The machinery used for furnishing light at night is employed as a motive power during the day. Small motors of one or more horse-powers are either owned or rented in various parts of a city and are furnished with electricity from the central manufactory. Some companies own as many as two thousand small motors, and sell from twenty-five hundred to four thousand horse-powers of electricity per day. One horse-power costs the consumer about one hundred dollars per year. Thus small printing-offices and small manufactories are furnished with motive power that will enable them to compete with larger companies.[1]

S. F. B. Morse.

Nor are our countrymen behind in the vaster enterprises in mechanics and engineering. Could Cheops, who built the Great Pyramid, visit New York harbor, and note the ease with which a huge floating derrick grapples and lifts a block of stone weighing one hundred tons, and watch it glide over the water carrying its great burden as

[1] "Scientific American," August 27th, 1887.

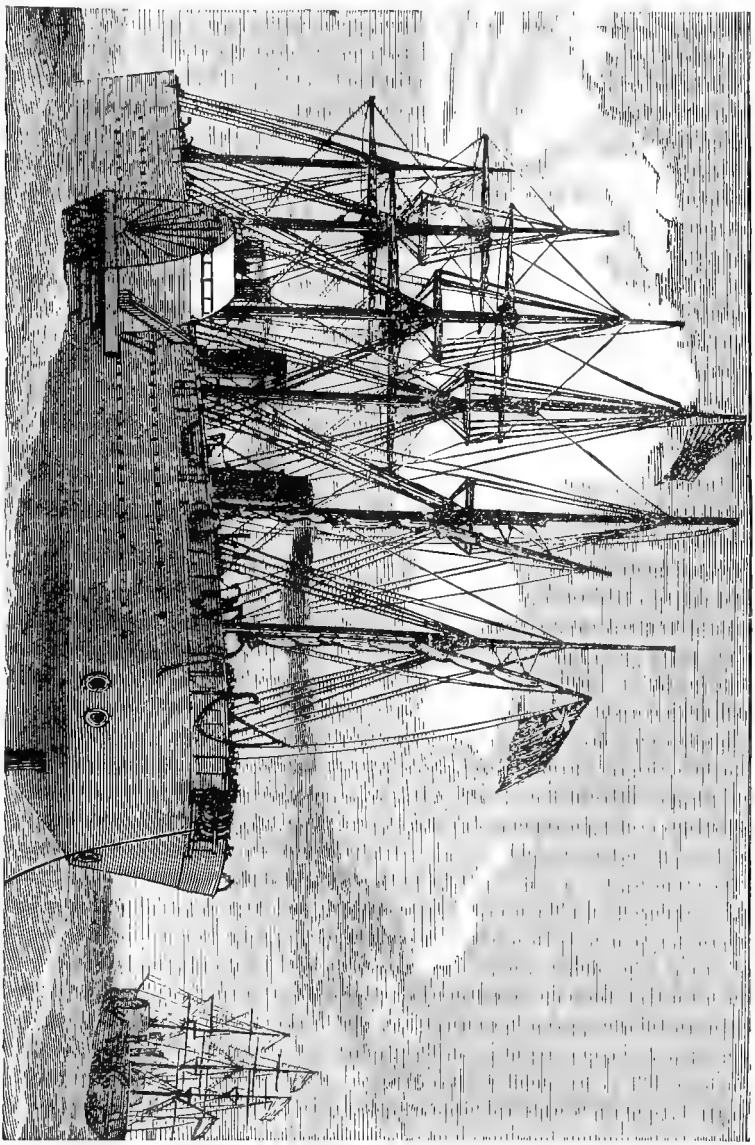
easily as a child might a pebble, lowering it to its position in the river wall, he might naturally bewail the twenty years' time and the brute force of thousands of his subjects required in his day to erect his imposing monument. Such a work as that would be an ordinary undertaking to the modern engineer. Nowadays, when our great engineer, Captain Eads,[1] undertakes to extend the mouth of the Mississippi out into the Gulf, he builds his wall with massive blocks of concrete stone weighing two hundred and sixty-five tons, which stand like adamant before the encroaching waves of the sea. The building of a pyramid would be as child's play in comparison to such work as this.[2]

Captain Eads was the engineer who erected the great steel arch bridge at St. Louis across the Mississippi. But, in bridges, the Brooklyn suspension bridge is a greater feat of engineering skill. Its enormous piers and immense span are the astonishment of the world. When the enterprise was first proposed, the Old World mocked the credulity of those who believed that the work could be done. The length of the bridge is about a mile and one-eighth. The suspended structure is nearly thirty-five hundred feet long, and weighs about six thousand, five hundred tons. The cantilever bridge across the Niagara is a model of engineering skill by which a new principle in mechanics has been utilized. Although the principle was condemned by foreign engineers, the success of the bridge at Niagara has led to the adoption of this method in the construction of the Forth railway bridge at Queen's Ferry, in Scotland Thus we see how American engineers are beginning to lead the world in the practice of their profession.

1 Died March 8th, 1887.

2 "Annual Cyclopædia," 1887, p. 229.

We do not claim for America the invention of the cable telegraph, for there were a number of short lines in



Laying the Atlantic Cable.

operation in Europe before any were laid in this country. But it was the daring business enterprise of Cyrus W.

Field that first projected and then constructed the Atlantic cable. It was a number of years, even then, before any other country dared lay a competing line. Now there are several lines across the Atlantic, and lines in various directions across the Pacific. And to-day the earth is girded and bound together by the electric telegraph wire. In comparison with other countries, the United States have more than three-fourths as many miles of railroad as all the rest of the world combined. In telegraph lines, our country has one hundred and seventy thousand miles, nearly twice as many as Russia, and four and a-half times as many as Great Britain. In 1887, there were seventy million messages sent over United States lines; forty millions, over British lines; and ten millions, over Russian lines.

After this brief survey of the inventive genius of our countrymen, we can justly claim that, during the period that we have been a nation among nations, we have had only one competitor in this field, and that is Great Britain. If, finally, we were to point out three mechanical contrivances upon which the most extraordinary versatility of invention has been expended, we would instance the harvester, the breech-loading fire-arm, and the sewing-machine; each of these has thousands of patents, and each is a growth of the last fifty years.[1] We must now turn to view the progress in manufacturing in our country since the Revolution.

Almost as soon as the smoke of the Revolutionary cannon had raised from over our land and floated off into space, opening to the sunshine of peace a new and independent country, a rich growth of manufactures sprang up. Our forefathers did not make the mistake of medieval times in refusing all outside aid, but sought at once to

[1] Knight: "First Century," pp. 99.

introduce the latest methods of manufacture together with the most recent models in machinery. England did not propose to give up her experience of ages, and, therefore, forbade emigrants to America taking with them models of any of her machinery. But in 1789, a young Englishman, Samuel Slater, arrived in this country with models and plans of the Arkwright series of machines for the manufacture of cotton and woolen cloth. He did not run the risk of drafting his plans upon paper, but carried them in his mind. As soon as he reached Providence, he set to work and made the machinery with his own hands. In a few years, mills with this improved machinery were springing up all over the Northern Colonies. While the South could raise the cotton, the North were pre-eminently the manufacturers.

Then followed Whitney's invention of the cotton-gin. Cotton was rendered the cheapest of raw materials for cloth manufacture, and the increase in its production and consumption has been most startling. The cotton crop in 1791 was estimated at two million pounds for the United States; in 1887 it was more than fourteen hundred times as great. Of the last enormous growth, over two hundred million dollars' worth of raw cotton and fifteen million dollars' worth of cotton manufactures were exported. More than two hundred and thirty thousand looms, and nearly eleven million spindles are continually run by one hundred and eighty thousand employes in our own country. Massachusetts alone does about three-sevenths of this work. In 1790, the total manufactures of this country were estimated at twenty million dollars. Comparing this with the amount of the cotton product alone during the last year as given above, we can realize the progress that has been made.

We cannot stop to go into detail in regard to the manufacturing interests of our country, for it would lead us at once into statistics that might be wearying to our readers. It would need a volume to enumerate the various branches of American manufacturing industry. The census of 1880 shows that the greatest amount of capital is employed in our iron and steel manufacturing.[1] Then follow cotton,[2] lumber,[3] flouring and grist-mill products,[4] and the manufacture of machinery.[5] Numerous other enterprises employ each their millions of capital, and show a growth during the past century corresponding to that of cotton manufacture.

In science, the United States have kept pace with the world. Readiest of all people to adopt new and daring ideas, the scientists of our land have developed theories that, though discovered and ignored by Old World scientists, have been found of the utmost value to mankind. This we shall find to be especially the case in medicine and surgery. In the first place, the interest in science is national. This is manifested in the number of scientific enterprises that our government has from time to time assisted. Among these, we may mention the Wilkes expedition, sent out[6] upon a four years' voyage to explore the Southern Seas. Then there was the Lynch Dead Sea expedition that, under the sanction of our government, surveyed the Jordan and vicinity in 1848.

The expedition of the "Polaris" and the later Greely expedition belong to the more recent annals of American science. The United States Coast and Lake Surveys are really great scientific expeditions, adding volume after volume to our scientific libraries. So, too, are the various

[1] 250.9 millions of dollars. [2] 219.5 millions. [3] 181.1 millions.
[4] 177.7 millions. [5] 154.5 millions. [6] In 1838.

geological surveys under the state and general governments. Reports of these surveys contain such valuable charts and descriptions of the animal, mineral, and vegetable kingdoms as to render them almost priceless. Although the government is very generous in publishing a reasonably large edition of these reports, it often happens that they become so rare as to bring almost fabulous prices in our markets.

Of all the institutions of our country, the Smithsonian Institution is the one most literally devoted to science. Its founder was an Englishman who had never visited America. Still, the Institution is managed largely by a Senate committee. The income from its endowment fund is expended in the encouragement and advancement of original research. In this field, there has been produced a series of valuable publications under the title of "Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge." These are eagerly sought by those who are interested in the branches of science of which they treat. Then, too, this Institution has its agents and correspondents scattered over the entire civilized world. By this means, a system of exchanges has been introduced whereby scientific specimens may be rapidly and safely exchanged with all countries.

In the scientific line, Harvard College distinguished itself by calling from the mountain-bound lakes of Switzerland the naturalist, Agassiz, whose fame is world-wide. It was here that he spent the maturer years of his life, and it was in American waters that he sought the specimens to illustrate his Harvard lectures. In private enterprise, tending toward the advancement of science and discovery, the world can furnish none more praiseworthy than that of our Mr. Bennett in sending Stanley to search for the lost Livingstone. As Stanley was also an

American, his success is gratifying to his countrymen.

In mathematics, Nathaniel Bowditch was the first among Americans to attract attention abroad. His great work was a commentary upon Laplace's "Mecanique Celeste." Professor Pierce, of Harvard University, ranks next. Then we have numerous other names of which we may well be proud. Such are Strong, Fisher, Olney, and others; but to mention their particular specialties would render our present work far too technical. Astronomy is intimately connected with mathematics, or dependent upon it, so that a prominent astronomer is often as well known in the field of mathematics. Not to go into detail, however, we can claim the most powerful telescope that has yet been made. It has already been mentioned as the work of Alvin Clark's Sons.

In discoveries, the Messrs. Bond, of Cambridge, first saw the eighth satellite of Saturn. Next, Mr. Alvin G. Clark won the Lalande medal of the Academy of Sciences, France, by making known to the world that the star, Sirius is a double star. The world acknowledges its debt to a number of our astronomers for the discovery of comets and asteroids. Of the latter, Watson has the credit for finding sixteen, and Peters, twenty-two. The honor of discovering the satellites of Mars belongs to Professor Asaph Hall, of the United States Naval Observatory, who first saw them in August, 1877. There are two of these satellites, called Phobos and Deimos, the diameters of which are estimated at seven and six miles respectively. In practical astronomy, "the automatic registration of time observations by means of electro-magnetism" is an improvement due to the ingenuity of Professor Locke of Cincinnati. A printing chronograph, which records to the hundredths of a second, is the invention of Professor

Hough of Dudley Observatory. The electro-magnetic method of recording transits has been introduced into the observatories of the Old World from the United States, and is known as the American system.

Benjamin Franklin.

Rutherford's photographic system for the study of astronomy and his delicate instruments have already been mentioned. Dr. Henry Draper, however, ranks without

a superior in the construction of instruments and in his skill in their use. He enlarged and greatly improved the specula for reflecting telescopes. His largest telescope is of twenty-eight inches aperture. In the literature of astronomy, the same names occur over and over again, connected with all the vital questions of that science. The annals of no country can show a brighter array of astronomers than ours. A history of astronomy would be incomplete without the names of Walker, Newcomb, Stockwell, Pierce, Alexander, W. C. and G. P. Bond, Loomis, Hunt, Langley, Draper, Watson, and many other American devotees to that branch of science.

The electric telegraph has rendered the study of meteorology of great practical value in the United States. Dr. Franklin had been one of the first observers of atmospheric changes, but the system of calculating the courses of storms and various atmospheric phenomena, and thereby foretelling the condition of the weather all over our land, originated with Professor Abbe, of Cincinnati, in 1869.[1] The practical value of the weather maps from the Signal Office is illustrated in the care with which the signals are observed by our most enterprising business men. The farmer can save his crops by watching the weather maps at harvest time. The vessels upon our lakes are warned of approaching storms, and the weaker ones can seek safety in the nearest harbors. This in itself is of great value to lake commerce, especially during the early and late parts of the season.

The experiments of Professor Henry in acoustics, as well as in other branches of science, have been of great aid to the mariner in the introduction of an improved system of fog-signals. He also gave the effect of the condition of

[1] Barnard, in "First Century, etc.," p. 316.

the atmosphere upon the steam-whistle a scientific study, deducing principles that have been of great use in navigation. In light, the work of Mr. J. W. Draper needs more than a passing notice, for it is claimed that he gave a full discussion and a correct explanation of the dark lines in the solar spectrum some fourteen years before the German, Kirchoff, who has received all the credit for this discovery, notwithstanding the great publicity that had been given Draper's discoveries.[1]

So, too, in the natural sciences, the names of Americans rank side by side with those of inhabitants of the old countries of Europe. Associations were formed to encourage the study of the natural sciences in the very infancy of our country, and they have kept rank with the institutions of other lands. In botany, Professor Asa Gray stands foremost. In zoology, Agassiz, Baird, Audubon; in paleontology, Marsh; in geology, Dana,—all stand at the head of their departments, but we can not go into details regarding their work.

The progress of medical science is very gratifying, and bespeaks the presence in our country of the genuine American characteristic of grasping everything that is new, if it seems practicable. Still, in all this application of new ideas in the practice of medicine and surgery, American physicians have exercised an originality that has insured a much greater degree of success. The department of medical literature shows a steady advance since colonial times. The colonists boasted of about twenty-eight home publications. Since then medical journals have been introduced, and have rapidly multiplied; some of them have become standards of literature. Although medical authors, like all other authors, have had to com-

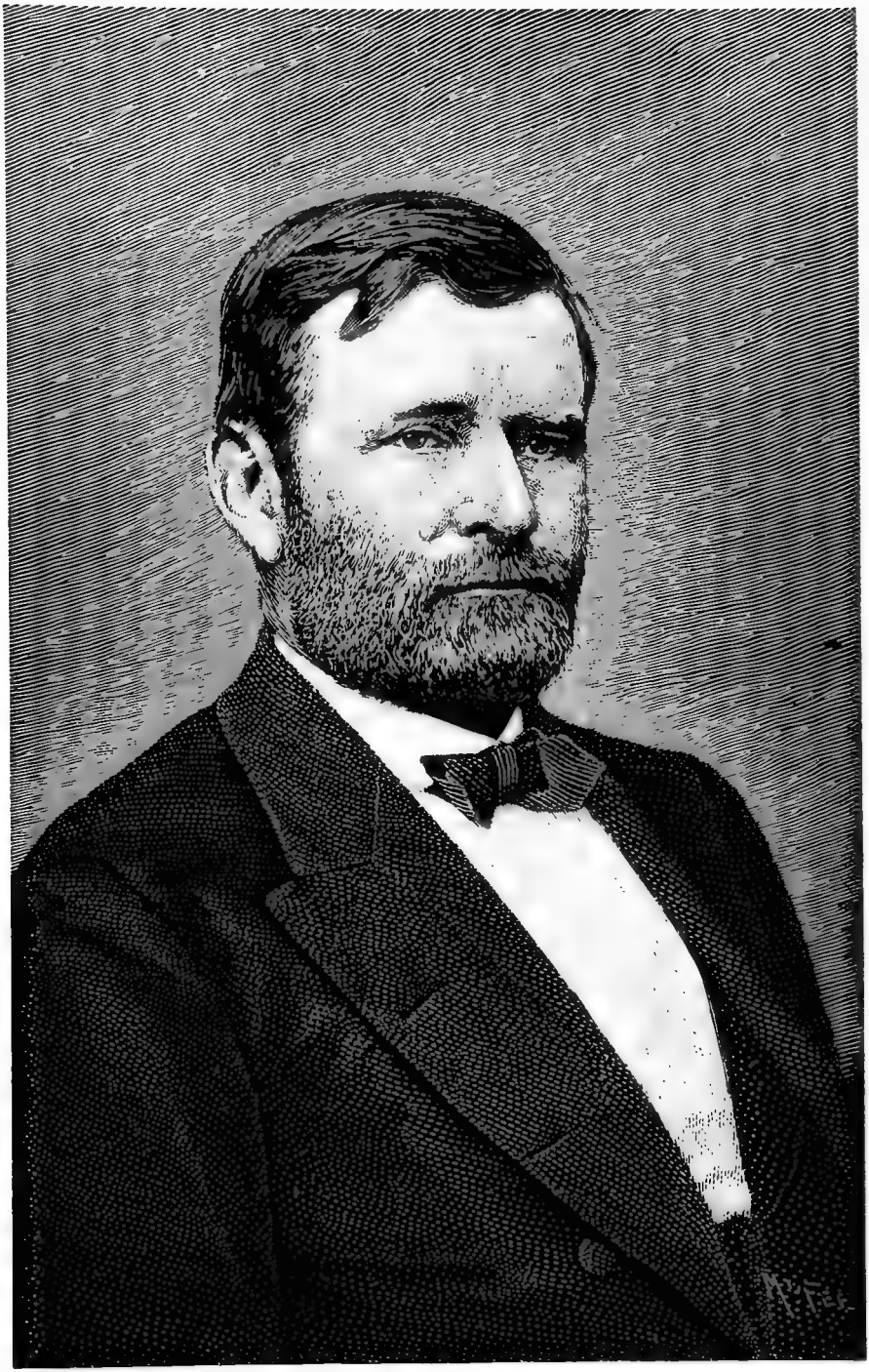
[1] Barnard, Op. cit. pp. 319-320.

pete with cheaply manufactured reproductions of English works, it is gratifying to note that "the majority of the works, recognized by medical schools and the profession as text books in the different departments of medical education, are by American authors."[1]

The importance of sanitary knowledge and science is fully recognized. Every community has its board of health, and it is now believed that proper care in this line, will ward off the fatal effects of nearly every epidemic disease. When Jenner made his discovery of vaccination, the Royal Society of London refused to publish his paper for fear that such a startling and improbable theory would injure his reputation as a scientist. The next year,[2] while English physicians were fighting this method of preventing disease, Professor Waterhouse, of Boston, sent for some of this virus, and used it in his own family. Three years later, an institution was established in New York City for the purpose of vaccinating the poor gratuitously. In order to appreciate the importance of this preventive to disease, it has been estimated that there are half a million fewer deaths every year from small-pox, the world over, than would have occurred ninety years ago among the same number of inhabitants.[3]

Two other examples of the readiness of American physicians to adopt foreign discoveries may be given; viz., auscultation and the use of the thermometer. The former of these is the process of detecting a diseased condition of certain organs, say the lungs and the heart, by listening at the chest. It is a French discovery, but it met with ridicule in both France and England. This process was, however, quickly introduced into the American system of

1 Flint, in "First Century, etc." p. 418.
2 In 1799. 3 Flint, Op. cit. p. 426.



ULYSSES S. GRANT.

practice. So, too, in the case of the thermometer. It was at once introduced, and is now employed as a delicate instrument for determining the nature of many diseases.

Ovariotomy was performed for the first time by Dr. McDowell, of Kentucky, and is therefore an example of the daring skill of the American surgeon. When the first cases were reported in England, one of the leading English medical journals not only expressed its doubt that the operation had been performed, but expressed a belief that it never would be. About a year later, the editor of the same journal says: "A back settlement of America —Kentucky—has beaten the mother country, nay, Europe itself, with all the boasted surgeons thereof, in the fearful and formidable operation of gastrotomy with extraction of diseased ovaries. . . There were circumstances in the narratives of some of the first three cases, that raised misgivings in our minds, for which uncharitableness we ask pardon of God and of Dr. McDowell, of Danville."[1] Several hundred cases are now reported annually, and a majority of them are successful.

The ligature of the larger arteries in treating aneurism and hemorrhages was first practiced in America by Dr. John Hunter, and this "opened up a new field in practical surgery, rendering possible operations and cures that were formerly considered impracticable." The "crowning event in the history of American medical and sanitary progress," during the past half-century, was the application of anæsthetics in surgery. There are many persons living who can remember when long and painful surgical operations were performed without the use of either chloroform or ether. It was a season of continued pain for the patient, often for hours. It was often necessary to bind the sufferer

[1] "Medico-Chirurgical Review," London, Oct., 1826, p. 620.

to a table in order to keep him from cringing under the surgeon's lancet, and thus endangering life. The use of ether was introduced in Boston in 1846, and twelve thousand cases had been operated upon before any serious accident occurred.[1] Since then the application of anæsthetics in surgery has quenched the pain of many a soldier while his

Harvard College.

shattered limbs were being removed; and, by removing from woman's unfortunate lot the sharp and deadening pangs, it has lightened with the sunshine of painless joy the appearance of new life in our homes. Surely mankind is doubly grateful for such wonderful blessings as these.

1 Barnard, Op. cit. pp. 319-320.

Though American physicians and surgeons have taken many minor steps in advance that ought to be recorded in a history of medicine, we must hasten to other fields of culture more appropriate to our present chapter. In the general plan of education, there has been an almost steady progress since the close of the Revolution. At the present time, New York expends upon her public schools more money annually than any state in the Union, but the admirable system of education that that state enjoys has been a slow and steady growth. As we have seen, the colonial settlers along the Hudson brought over, with their industrial habits, their school-masters and their churches. Still, education in New York was confined to the village school until long after our independence. As early as 1795, however, Governor Clinton began to agitate the question of reform in education. In fact, he is represented as the real founder of our present common school system of education. Under his advice, fifty thousand dollars were appropriated by the New York legislature for the establishment of schools in the towns and counties of the state.

As a result of Governor Clinton's work, more than thirteen hundred schools were established within three years. But the burden of taxation was too great for the state, and the schools were not given the support necessary to make them flourish. Soon, however, Jedediah Peck of Otsego and Adam Comstock of Saratoga became interested in educational matters. In the course of a decade or so at the commencement of this century, these men threw their combined energy in favor of the school system for the education of the poorer classes of people. In 1813, Gideon Hawley became superintendent of the schools of New York, and under his guidance and care, the system grew and

prospered. Nine years later, the secretary of state was given control of the schools. There were then more than seven thousand common schools in the state.

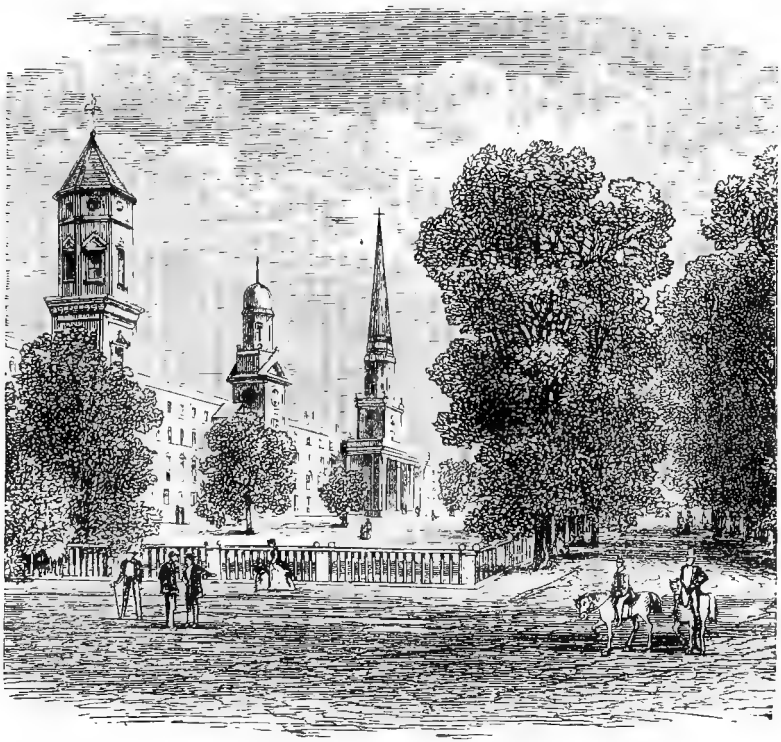
But another step in advance was soon to follow. The idea of "free and public education for all classes of people" began to be openly advocated, and it is this idea that has come to be acknowledged as the true object of our educational system. It has been proved that in proportion to the care that has been taken to educate all classes in our country, anarchy, lawlessness, and crime have diminished. DeWitt Clinton was a great champion of this popular education. "He urged the founding of schools for teachers, the extension of the course of study, the creation of school libraries, the increase of teachers' salaries, careful inspection, the higher education of women. None of those improvements that have since been adopted seem to have escaped his notice."[1] These ideas have ever since gone forward and they constitute the basis of our present educational system and the safeguard of our popular, representative government. In addition to her common schools, New York now has twenty-two collegiate institutions.

We may take New York as a fair instance of the course of progress in educational matters in all of the Northern Colonies outside of New England. Progress did not follow step by step in the exact line, but similar ends have been attained. New England, as we have seen, had her colleges and renowned educators even in colonial times. There has been no retrogression, but as other states have moved constantly forward, the New England states have moved onward at the crest of the great wave of progress. Harvard and Yale colleges are among the best that our land can boast in its present prosperous state. The South,

[1] Lawrence in "First Century," p. 284.

as we have seen, did not encourage education, and there ignorance and slavery reigned until blotted out by the Civil War.

Among the most earnest and effective workers for popular education, was Horace Mann[1] of Massachusetts, who is entitled to more credit for his native state's suprem-



Yale College.

acy in educational matters than any other one man. Born in a poor and humble station in life, he gained his early education amidst the most discouraging difficulties. He prepared for college[2] in six months and ever after suffered from the effects of over study. For twelve years,

[1] 1776-1859. [2] Brown University.

he was secretary of the State Board of Education, and during that time, may be said to have created the school system of Massachusetts. In later life, he became president of Antioch College (Ohio) which was at that time poor and in debt. His struggles here for the advancement of higher education were almost superhuman, but in the end they were successful.[1] The life of Horace Mann has been repeated in the lives of innumerable other educators who have made our country what it is. Nearly every college in our land has passed through its season of poverty, and only such men as Horace Mann, J. M. Gregory, and a host of other pioneers in education really know the sacrifices necessary to establish a new college.

The school system established in New England and New York has spread to every corner of the United States. It is even permeating the South, since the Civil War, and is doing its share to help build up that portion of our country that was but recently the battlefield of a divided nation. But if we glance for a moment over the newer portions of our country, we will find them dotted over with veritable "cottages and palaces" of education. The school house is usually found among the finest buildings in every little town; surrounded by a neatly trimmed lawn, shaded by the shapely maple and the symmetrical pine, supplied with maps, charts, and laboratories to illustrate every course of study. The modern school-house is the one building in every community, in which every citizen has an interest. And finest among all of these, as if to form a beautiful dome to the great educational structure of the whole land, is the magnificant school building, near the summit of the "Rockies," at Denver City.

When we turn to American literature, we find that

[1] Underwood: "American Authors," p. 172.

our writers, past and present, during the century of American independence, have produced a literature that will compare favorably with that of any other English-speaking people during a like period of time. Though we have had no Shakespeare (and what other nation than his own has?) what period in English literature can boast a group of

George Peabody.

poets more rare than those who stirred the world with their songs when the cause of humanity demanded noble champions? The poetry of Bryant, Longfellow, Whittier, Holland, and other American poets of that school, appears unmarred by any of the indecencies with which the older

English authors abound. In fact, for purity of thought and language, there can not be found a cluster of writers more eminent or more worthy of praise than the American authors of the century just past.

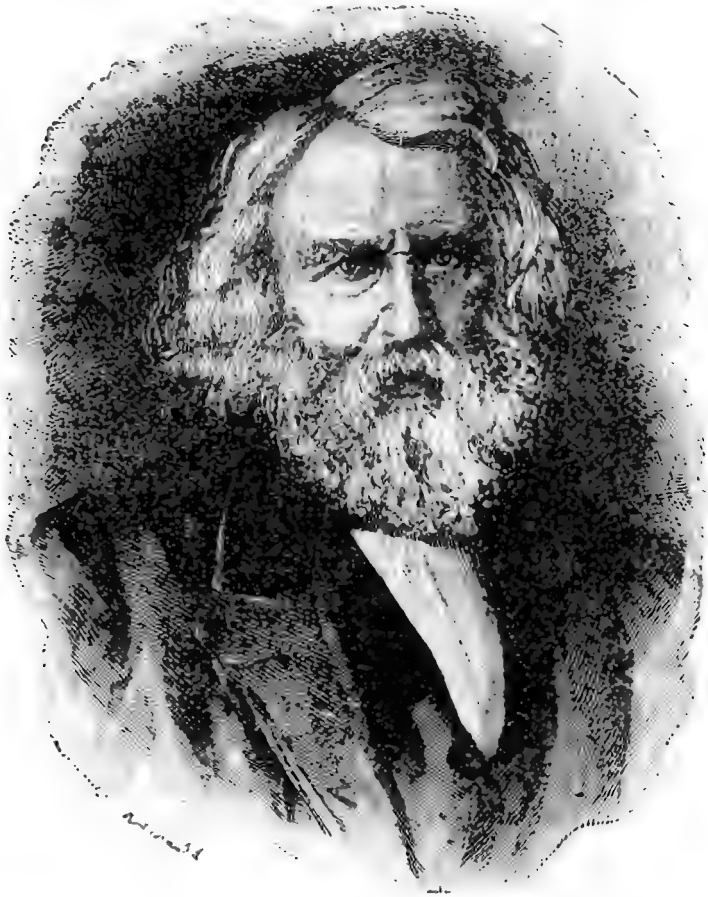
As in other fields of life, during those stirring times, so, in the field of literature, do we find the name of Benjamin Franklin among the first of our countrymen to gain renown. Franklin was born in Boston,[1] and so is an American in every sense of the word. His was a romantic life when he was working his way up as a poor printer. In his "Autobiography," he tells us, in language beautiful for its simplicity and purity, of his first arrival in Philadelphia, and his walk up the street with a roll of bread under each arm and eating a third. This was his first meal in that city. Since then the "Sayings of Poor Richard" have found their way over the whole world.

Jonathan Edwards was the great divine of the colonial period, and he has a world-wide reputation as a theologian. But we are more interested in the literary men of post-Revolutionary times. Among these, Thomas Jefferson was the great letter writer. A letter, in those days, was much more than the hurried sentence or two in these days of postal-cards, fast mails, and cheap postage. The receipt of a letter was an event to be remembered in most family circles. Jefferson was for years at the head of a great political party, and he maintained his authority by his skill in writing letters. He is said to have never made a "set speech."[2] In opposition to Jefferson, there were associated three names—Hamilton, Madison, and Jay. They were the authors of "the political classic of the United States," the "Federalist." Hamilton wrote nearly three-fourths of all the articles published in the

1 1706. 2 Underwood, Op. cit. p. 15.

Federalist, and has left a literary reputation second only to that of Franklin.

The Revolutionary period of American history was not without its singers, the most prominent of whom were John Trumbull and Joel Barlow. The former's poem,



H. W. Longfellow.

"McFingal," is modeled after the style of Butler's "Hudibras," and, in fact, the two are so near alike that passages from one are often attributed to the other. The humor and "grotesque rhymes" of McFingal did their

share to cheer the patriots of '76 in their discouraging struggle with England. Joel Barlow was a chaplain during the war, and afterwards spent some years in Europe. His greatest poem is entitled "The Columbiad."

We cannot give space to many of theforemostmen of those early times. Such were John Adams, Timothy Dwight, Fisher Ames, J. Q. Adams, Josiah Quincy, William Wirt, and others. They all played prominent parts and have left enviable reputations among the writers of their day. But we must pass on to a later generation, who, born about the time of our independence, took up the burdens of life as the Revolutionary heroes were about to lay them down. The names of Clay, Webster, Calhoun, Channing, and Story, follow in the course of a history of literature. Clay was born in Virginia, Webster in New Hampshire, and Calhoun in South Carolina. All three were in the prime of life when the great questions, that finally resulted in a great war, were before the American people for discussion. For many years the halls of Congress resounded with the fiery eloquence of these three men, and the English language can furnish no passages that will surpass the living thoughts and expressions of these great orators. Calhoun was the advocate of "State Rights;" Webster raised his voice for "Liberty and Union;" while Clay pleaded for "Compromise."

Channing was distinguished rather as a pulpit orator, and was the founder of the Unitarian Church. While his greatest efforts were made from the pulpit, he has left a number of critiques on Napoleon, Milton, etc., whose appearance is said to have "marked a new era in American letters." About this time, William Allston wrote his "Sylphs of the Seasons," and other poems that show the natural refinement of one of America's most talented

artists. At last, we come to one name great among our purely literary characters.

Washington Irving was born in New York, in 1783. That city did not then cover its present area, and it contained only a few thousand inhabitants,[1] so that Irving had not far to go in search of adventures. As opportunity offered, he visited the Dutch settlers along the Hudson, and thus became intimately acquainted with the superstitions and legends of those simple people. All this is embodied in his "Knickerbocker's History of New York" and other stories of this region. His short stories are remarkable for their simple beauty of style. In biography, he leads American authors. His Lives of Columbus and of Washington have furnished the facts for a score of works on the same topics. But none of the copyists can equal the original articles. Irving is bound to live as an author until early American literature becomes antiquated

Washington Irving.

[1] 20,000 in 1790.

and hard to read. Even then it will be sought by the real student of literature for its beauty and merit.

James Fenimore Cooper was born five years after Irving. He created a new field of American literature—that of fiction. Before his time, the only novelist of note was Brown, who is never read in our day. After two or three uneventful years at Yale, Cooper entered the navy as a common sailor, but in time rose to the position of lieutenant. Thus we see the origin of his first novels—"The Pilot" and "The Red Rover." His best novel is "The Spy." Cooper is known to every school-boy in America, and his novels have had a wide foreign circulation. His fame, however, is marred by the troubles of his later life, and these may be learned from any biographical sketch.

Passing rapidly over many brilliant writers, we come to a generation with whom we are all acquainted, because they have scarcely yet passed off the stage of active life. William Cullen Bryant appears first among these writers, and few of Nature's poets have equalled his beautiful and earnest songs. "Thanatopsis" appeared first and the world at once recognized the fact that America had a poet of no mean genius. His songs of nature breathe out the secret communion of his soul with the world around him, and Bryant's world was covered by an American sky and surrounded by a pure American atmosphere. Foreign laurels came to him unsought.

It was not many years after the appearance of Bryant, that Longfellow, Whittier, and Holmes came before the world as literary lights of the highest order. Longfellow has, perhaps, written more poetry than any other American. Of his writings it may truly be said, that they are "linked sweetness long drawn out." As compared with his Eng-

lish contemporaries, we may safely affirm that wherever there is found a copy of Tennyson's poetry, we need not look in vain for a copy of Longfellow. The latter's poetry, however, is founded upon American life and history. His "Hiawatha," "Evangeline," and "Miles Standish" illustrate the loyalty of the poet to his native country; while his poems on slavery show his love for humanity.

Of Whittier, we can not speak too highly. What simplicity! What purity! What love for down-trodden humanity! Then, when we read his "Barefoot Boy," and his "Snow Bound," those simple rural pictures rise before our vision as if painted upon canvas by the most gifted artist. And when he took up the cause of the oppressed and down-trodden, his pen proved far weightier than the sword, and millions almost worship the man who spent his best days in order to deliver them from bondage.

Holmes was different from any author of his time. He was decidedly original,[1] and manifested his originality in all of his works. In poetry, he did not manifest the depth of Bryant nor the beauty of Longfellow, but his patriotic poems, such as "Union and Liberty" and "Old Ironsides" are known by heart from one end of the land to the other. The Autocrat, Professor, and Poet at the Breakfast Table are three series of very strong essays, and have made a name for Holmes as a writer of prose.

The poets just mentioned were followed by two others of nearly equal renown. These were Lowell and Holland. James Russell Lowell was born in Massachusetts in 1819. He bears the distinction of having been "doubly doctored by the English universities of Oxford and Cambridge."[2] He may be ranked among our most eminent satirical writers.

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1 Underwood: "American Authors," p. 314.

2 Whipple, in "First Century," p. 375.

His satire is embodied in a series of articles called "The Bigelow Papers," and clothed in the Yankee dialect. But he is also eminent as a critic, an essayist, and a poet. Holland never reached such distinction as did Lowell. He has, however, written more that may be found in the homes of the mass of the American people. His poems, "Bitter Sweet" and "Katrina" are read with interest by all. His didactic essays, such as "Titcomb Letters," "Lessons in Life," "Plain Talk on Familiar Subjects," etc., have done much to educate the American people. His novels, and especially "Arthur Bonnicastle," are very popular.

There are many minor poets whom we can not mention here, but we must say a few words about one or two more of our orators. Rufus Choate came into prominence as an orator. He succeeded Daniel Webster in the United States Senate. While Choate had a gifted mind and great power as an orator, he used such long and complicated sentences that they are unwieldly in the hands of the ordinary reader. Thus were his orations marred in the eyes of critics. We must not forget to mention the name of Charles Sumner who, at a later date, was our greatest political orator. It has been said that his speeches, taken in order, might almost form a history of the anti-slavery movement in its connection with national politics.[1] His oratory never failed to move his audience, although it is hard work to read some of his speeches.

As a pulpit orator of the greatest distinction, Henry Ward Beecher rises far above his contemporaries. He was the educated son of educated parents. His eloquence called him to one of the best pulpits of our land, and people flocked to his church to hear his wonderful words. When foreign powers were upon the point of turning

[1] Underwood, Op. cit. p. 361.

against our government, it was the eloquence of Beecher that kept them from siding with a lost cause. Beecher never lost control over his congregation at Brooklyn; and, whenever he appeared in any part of the land, he was greeted by a larger audience than any other man could draw.

Let us glance at later American fiction. Our chapter would be incomplete without the names of Hawthorne, Wallace, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Louise M. Alcott, and Howells. Still these writers are too well known to need much mention. Hawthorne's works are standing the test of time and should be read by all. Mrs. Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin" is a classic among English classics. In addition to its vast influence in our own country, we may say that, translated into the language of Brazil, it proved a powerful agent in bringing about the recent abolition of slavery there. Miss Alcott is our most popular writer for young readers. Howells has his patrons and they are numerous. But, of all recent works in American fiction, "Ben Hur," by Wallace, has been received with the greatest amount of popular favor. Its sale has been enormous, and its merits seem to assure it a living place in American literature.

In the field of history, we can mention a number of great writers whose works need cause no blush of shame when compared with the historical works of our English cousins. Prescott will always have a reputation, based upon the literary merits of his works; but in the delineation of early American culture, it is now conceded that he drew his information from very unreliable sources.[1] George Bancroft is, perhaps, the greatest of American historians. His "History of the United States" is an

[1] See This Series, Vol. I. p. 676.

authority upon the subject. Motley's "Dutch Republic" won him a place by the side of the best English historians. Hildreth and a number others rank, perhaps, lower than those already mentioned. But it is in J. W. Draper that

Horace Greeley.

we find the philosophical historian of our country. His "Intellectual Development of Europe" will rank side by side with any work of that character that has yet appeared in the English language.

We have thus far confined ourselves to America as it

was less than half a century ago. Forty years ago even, the world at large knew nothing of our country west of the Alleghany Mountains. It is said that Sir Robert Peel, in 1846, predicted in Parliament that two towns in the interior of America would in time "rival Odessa and Dantzic in the grain market of the world, and he mentioned Chicago and Milwaukee." Some one inquiring what he called them, was told that that they were "some Indian places." Ten years earlier, even the good people of Hartford, Connecticut, thought of Chicago only as a western town situated "in a great swamp back of Lake Michigan." In 1838, that city exported forty-four sacks of wheat, in 1880, more than thirty-five and a half million bushels.[1]

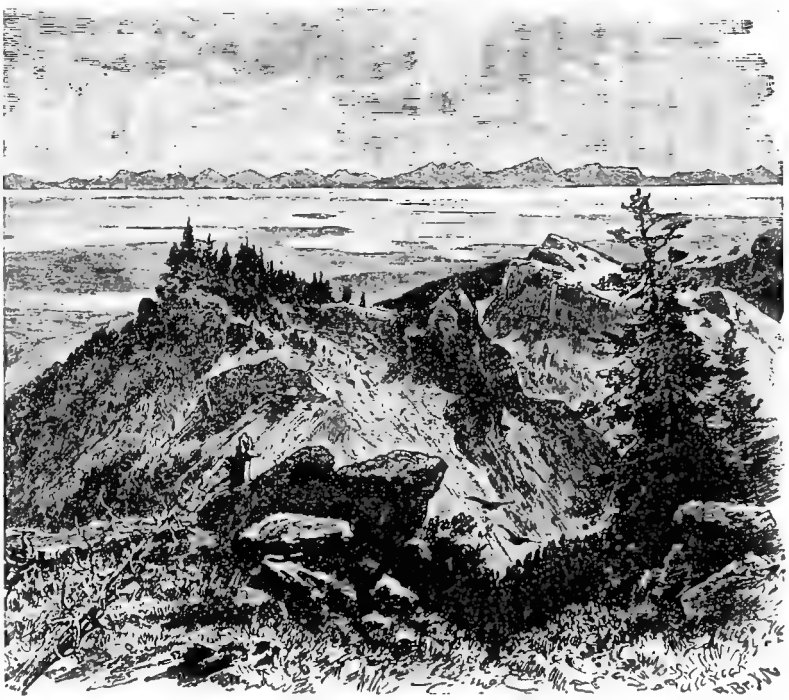
Six years after the close of the Revolution, the first settlers began to penetrate the Ohio Valley, and settle along the Ohio river. Soon after the beginning of this century, Ohio, having a population of sixty thousand, became a state. At the last census, the center of population of the United States was within a few miles of Cincinnati. Forty-five years ago, upon the Iowa side of the Mississippi, there was a line of settlements, perhaps fifteen miles wide. These settlements included about eighty towns. Now Iowa has about seventeen hundred post-offices. So that we can readily see that the greater portion of our land has been developed within the past half-century.

Were we to ask what the great civilizer of America has been, the answer would be the railroad. The first railway train reached Chicago in 1853, and the number of farms in Illinois have increased from about forty-six thousand to more than a quarter of a million. There really was no inducement to draw the immense harvest from the rich, prairie soil of Illinois until the yield could be mar-

[1] Barrows: "United States of Yesterday and of To-morrow," pp. 87-8.

keted at a fair profit to the producer. This could be done only when the railway penetrated the West to gather up this produce. Then land suddenly increased in value threefold, and grain and grazing produce more than doubled in price. Thus were settlers brought into the Mississippi region.

Thirty years ago, it took wagons from thirty-five to sixty days to move freight from the Missouri to Denver.



Scene in the Rocky Mountains.

Great trains of wagons with their tired beasts and sunburned drivers lined the route across the plains, often falling by the way, in their endeavor to reach the summit of the "Rockies." But all that has changed. Now the wagon route has given place to the railway line, and all along these lines are planted beautiful villages. Thriving

farmers and graziers are located in the vicinity of these towns, and the rich soil is made to yield its quota of produce for the world at large.

When the Union Pacific railroad was run across the country; California had already become filled with a population gathered from every quarter of the globe. Now it never had occurred to our Revolutionary statesmen that our government at Washington could hold possessions on the far Pacific coast. The distance was too great in those days. It was like Rome trying to rule Britain and other far away provinces; she had finally to let them fall away. But the Pacific railways, with their accompanying telegraphs, have changed all this. Distance has thus been shortened, so that San Francisco is now not more days journey distant from Washington, than was Boston formerly and communication is instantaneous.

It is well, perhaps, for us to fully understand the extent of the region thus opened up to civilization and joined by bands of iron with the East. Now this "West is characterized by largeness. Mountains, rivers, railways, ranches, herds, crops, business transactions, ideas; even men's virtues and vices are cyclopean".[1] California, if on the Atlantic coast, would cover a strip of land two hundred and eighty miles wide and extending from Boston to Charleston, South Carolina. "Of the twenty-two states and territories west of the Mississippi only three are as small as all New England."[2] Montana would stretch from New York City to Cincinnati. Dakota might be placed so as to extend from Chicago to Chattanooga or from Cincinnati to Washington City. So we might continue to compare and every new comparison would tend to belittle the original colonies as compared with the present extent of

[1] Strong: "Our Country," p. 15. [2] Ibid. p. 16.

our country. We will give only one more comparison and then proceed to other features of our subject.

Daniel Webster confessed before the Senate in 1838 that he knew but little of the Southwest[1] It is only

Daniel Webster.

a few years since the first railroad was run from the Mississippi to the vast plains and pasture lands of Texas, but

1 Barrows; "U. S. of Yesterday," etc. p. 348.

what an immense territory that opened up. Take the "Lone Star State" and place it upon the face of Europe, with its head resting on the mountains of Norway, one palm would stretch far to the east and cover Warsaw, the other would shade London, while the state "would stretch itself down across the kingdom of Denmark, across the empires of Germany and Austria, across Northern Italy, and lave its feet in the Mediterranean."[1] Or if the head of Texas were placed at Chicago, the foot would penetrate the waters of the Gulf of Mexico, and the outstretched arms would extend from the longitude of Washington to that of St Louis. Still Texas in only a small part of this Great West.

All that portion of the United States east of the Rocky Mountains is now covered by a net-work of railroads, so that the produce of any section may be marketed in the shortest possible time. Distance has been so lessened that even the fruit and vegetable farmer may raise his produce in Iowa and market it in Boston, and California fruit commands a better price in the New York market than the native fruits. The railroad furnishes good markets for all the produce of the country. Hence it draws nearly two billion bushels of corn from the soil every year. Of wheat, we furnish nearly half a billion bushels annually. Of live-stock, our farmers own more than fifteen hundred million dollars' worth.

Then the railroads make the natural products of the land of great value. For, those portions that are only fit for mining or for quarrying are opened up to the workman. The vast beds of coal in the most mountainous portions of the country are so connected with our markets as to make their working valuable. And our supply of coal is almost

1 Strong, Op. cit. p. 16.

inexhaustible. "Excepting Minnesota, coal has been found in every state and territory west of the Mississippi." "Iron-ore is to-day mined in twenty-three of our states." Lead is found in all the western states and territories, except three. Sulphur is abundant throughout the country. The supply of salt and timber can barely be estimated. "Nevada has borax enough to supply mankind." Texas has gypsum "enough to supply the universe for centuries." Some portions of the West contain enormous quantities of tin.[1]

Then, again, the railroad was the great agent in bringing a population into the Great West. In 1846, the Mormons could reach the "Promised Land" only by the weary journey over the mountains with wagon and beast of burden. Twenty-three years later, the Union Pacific railroad was completed. In 1840, Chicago had less than five thousand population, and San Francisco about five hundred. Now, the former has more than half a million and the latter nearly a quarter of a million. Denver, to-day, is as large as Brooklyn was in 1840; Omaha is larger than Boston in 1830; Santa Fe is larger than Jersey City in 1850; Kansas City is larger than Albany in 1850. The number of inhabitants to the square mile in Illinois, in 1880, was greater than that in any of the original thirteen states except Rhode Island, in 1790. That of Texas, comparing the same respective dates, is greater than that of Georgia or Maine.[2]

Now, we must inquire where this population came from, and the state of culture in this vast region. This we can only do by glancing at here and there an indication of the present state of affairs. If we will examine the tables

1 As authority for these statistics, see Strong: "Our Country."

2 Vide "American Almanac," 1888.

of statistics, we will ascertain that nearly half a million immigrants from foreign countries are coming to our shores every year. Still, this has not always been the case, for, during the past sixty-seven years, there have not fourteen million immigrants reached our country. Twelve millions of these are of European origin. This will, however, explain the wonderful increase of our population from census year to census year. These people are, many of them, seeking homes, and go at once to those sections where they can buy cheap land. This is especially true with the Teutonic element; but the Celtic, true to their racial characteristics, cling tenaciously to city life, and form a great share of the laboring population of the great cities. Two generations completely Americanize this foreign element, and its increase, added to that of the population already here, is furnishing us with this vast annual increase of population. It is this increase that is filling up the West. But we need not be alarmed, for there are still public lands open to settlement in nineteen states and eight territories.

Now, while the quiet, steady, and inoffensive portion of this population has been content to settle in the East where there are more luxuries and where the ebb and flow in the tide in every man's life are more quiet, the energetic, daring, venturesome spirits have pushed forward to conquer the newer portions of our land, and bring them under the control of civilization. The more ambitious offspring of the eastern resident longs to seek fortune and fame in the New West. So that we might say that it is the concentrated energy of the whole world that is developing our land, for it is a true indication of energy in an immigrant that he can leave friends and fatherland to find a home there.

These same pioneers have taken with them a taste for

literature, science, and art. The spirit of freedom and education seems to be inborn in the case of the sons of America. The land is filled with our best periodicals,

Henry Clay.

especially the monthlies. When we consider that New York alone circulates throughout the land nearly three million copies of these magazines every month, we realize how generally the inhabitants are educated to the standard

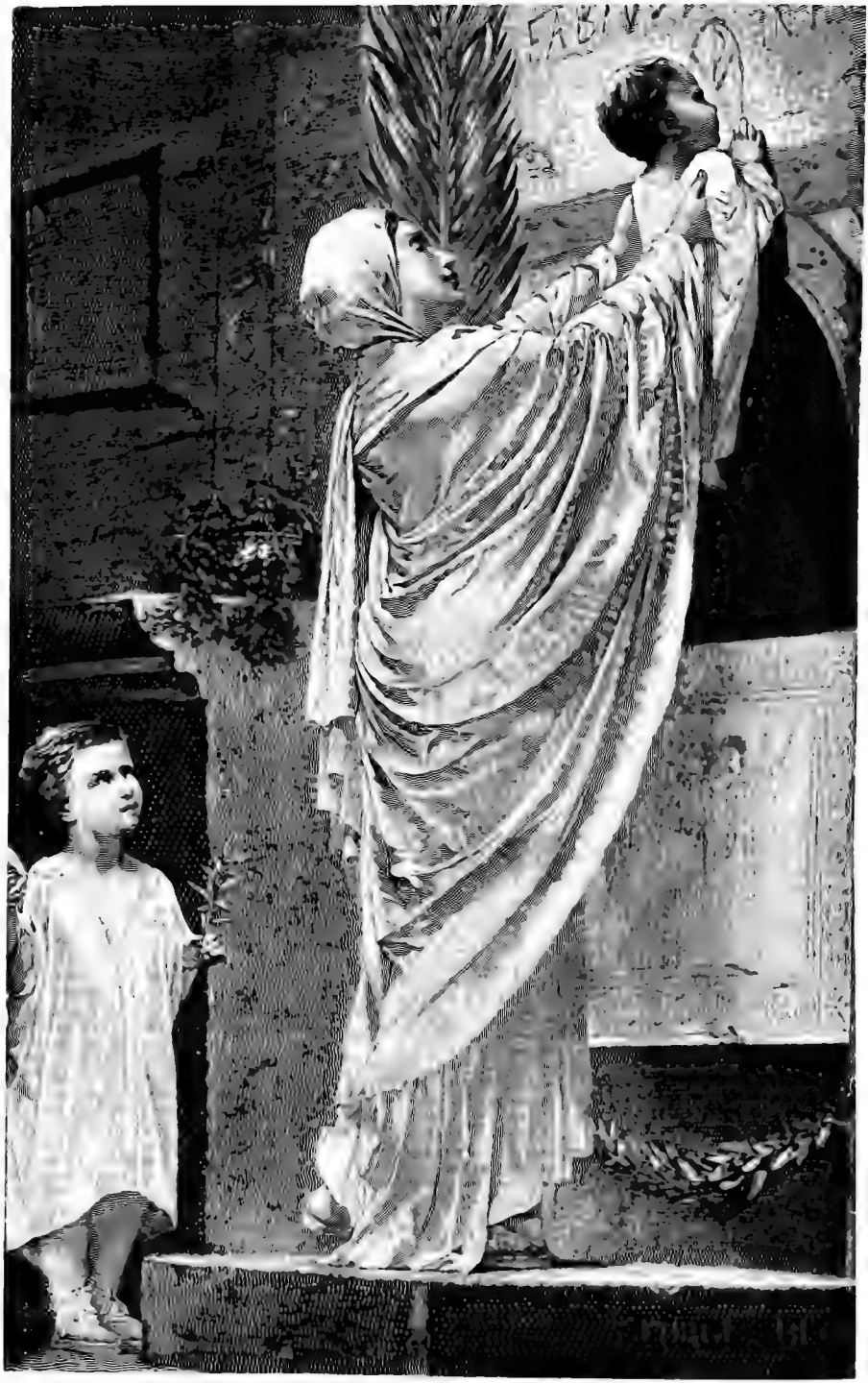
of, and have the ability to choose, good literature. It is not at all uncommon to find the latest numbers of our best periodicals upon the rough tables of the pioneer.

This, again, is manifested in the numbers of well-equipped libraries, that are already established in the western region. Ohio has nineteen public libraries, each containing more than ten thousand volumes, while the Cincinnati public library alone contains more than one hundred and forty thousand volumes. California has sixteen libraries which average more than thirty-four thousand volumes each. Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, Nevada, and other western states have each a number of well-equipped libraries of more than ten thousand volumes each. In science, California takes such an interest that she owns the largest telescope in the world. Then, in art, every portion of the country west of the Alleghany mountains is interested. Cincinnati is the center of culture in music and the other fine arts of this entire new region, while nearly every institution of learning, as well as the public schools, have each their special courses in these lines of culture.

If, then, we view the American population as a whole, we see a peculiar people arising on this Western Continent. Here, as nowhere else, are the various branches of the Aryan race mingling. There are but few external elements. Still, there seems to be a new race type forming here. A peculiar ethnical mixture assisted by a new environment, just the conditions to evolve a new race type, are producing a people of new and marked features, different from any one of the European branches of the Aryan stock. The American people are, further, different in temperament, more energetic, more ingenious, and more volatile in disposition than the parent stocks.

Then, too, our literature is filled with Americanisms, and that indicates the formation of a new dialect. The English language proper is continually changing, and American authors have endeavored to court English laurels by trying to model their writing after English style and language. The time for this seems to be fast passing away. Americanisms seem to be finding their way into our literature as American idioms, and we seem to be fast approaching a time when we shall be acknowledged not only as a peculiar race of people, but our literature and culture will be peculiarly American also, and different from that of any other Teutonic speaking people.

King Philip's Arms.



SCENE IN THE CATACOMBS.

# CHAPTER VII.

## PRE-CHRISTIAN RELIGIOUS CULTURE.

INTRODUCTION—Alexander' Expedition—Rise of Alexandria—Serapis and Isis Worship—The Persian Supremacy—Literature of the Persian Period—Nature of the Messianic Hope—The Jewish Kabbalah—Dispersion of the Jews—Moral State of the World—Worship of Mithras—Hellenism—The Septuagint—The Grecian Period—The Grecian Party—The Hassidem Party—Literature of this Period—The Maccabean Period—Development in Belief Outside of Palestine—Alexandrian Philosophy—Philo and His Writings—Logos Doctrine—The Sadducees—The Pharisees—The Essenes—Literature of this Period—The Book of Enoch—Jewish Kabbalah—The Targums—State of the World—Birth of Jesus—John the Baptist—The Apostles—Possible Connection with Essenism—Peculiarity of the Teachings of Jesus—The Crucifixion—Conclusion.

IS the growing religion of the world. Its spread is co-extensive with that of Aryan civilization. If, then, we would understand the civilization of to-day, we must make a study of this religion. There are not wanting those who insist that modern culture is a product of Christianity. This statement is probably too strong. In fact, those who make it, on a second thought, are ready to admit that it is so, for Christianity is but one of the religions of the world, and further, religion is but one of the many factors, the product of which is civilization. Still the importance of our present inquiry is evident at a glance. A foundation for

this study has already been laid.[1] Yet a most difficult and delicate task is before us.

The astronomer in his most delicate calculations makes an allowance for "personal equations," that is an allowance for errors which he might have made. It would be well if this habit could be extended. We are all of us more or less swayed by prejudice, and even where we intend to be strictly impartial, we are often influenced by this "personal equation." It is almost impossible for a people of one nationality to form a just estimate of another people. The case is similar in almost every department of life. The standpoint from which we view an action or an article of belief or a custom makes a great difference in our judgment. We may well believe that this is the case in the field of religion as well.

The Christian world is not at all willing to accept the opinion of Mohammedan writers concerning Christianity. We are sure they cannot give an impartial judgment. Are we equally sure that Christian writers can give a fair and impartial account of Mohammedanism? Many such illustrations could be given, all tending to show the general fact, that the writer who sets forth to weigh and compare the various religions of the world, must be unusually careful, lest he be influenced by personal prejudice, even though he mean to be perfectly fair. In no other department of culture is it more necessary for a writer to weigh well his statements than when treating of religious culture.

It is a great thing to know the difficulties in our way. We have candidly stated the most formidable one, and now we propose to learn what we can of the origin of Christianity. We understand by Christianity that system of religious philosophy founded on the New Testament,

1 This Series, Vol. II. ch. v.; Vol. III. ch. ix.

taken in connection with the Old. The Apostle Paul tells us that Christ appeared "when the fullness of time was come." We are justified, then, in concluding that the important movements of the first century, towards the end of which we detect the emergence of Christianity as a digested system of ritual and belief, were preceded by a long train of causes. Our present inquiry is what were these causes?

Inasmuch as we cannot separate the study of Christianity from religious culture in general, we must take our stand at some point of time preceding the first century, and watch the ever-advancing movement of religious culture, taking belief out of the mere territorial or tribal stage, freeing it from many superstitions, making it world-wide in its aims, until this fullness of time, mentioned by the apostle, had arrived. In following our statements, we will ask the reader to remember, that no two minds view things in quite the same light, that the duty of the historian is to state facts as he finds them, and leave to the theologian the task of building up theories.

When Alexander ascended the throne of Macedon, there commenced the public career of a man who was destined to exert a great influence on civilization for all time. At the head of thirty-five thousand Greek soldiers, he set out for the conquest of Asia. All are aware of his remarkable success. It may not be so well known that the great philosopher, Aristotle, was the tutor and friend of Alexander, and that the conqueror of the world was himself interested in scientific pursuits. It has been remarked of his expedition, that it was as much a scientific as a military one.[1] Under his directions, collections of plants and animals were sent to Aristotle for study. From Babylon, astronomical records running back many centuries

[1] Draper: "Intellectual Development of Europe." p. 128.

were thus forwarded. The voyages of Nearchus down the Indus and in the Indian Ocean had other objects than a merely political one.

At the present day, we can scarcely overestimate the importance of this expedition in furthering the intellectual development of Greece, and, consequently, of all Europe. The Greek intellect was aroused to a high pitch. In this connection, it is evident, of course, that Greek philosophy, coming in contact with the philosophy of India, could not fail to be influenced by the same. We need not dilate further on the importance of this conquest. It is only necessary to remark that these results followed irrespective of the further fact that Alexander, in many respects, was a heartless despot given over to drunken debauches.

The death of Alexander occurred in the year 323 B.C. Then followed twenty years of confusion, wars, intrigues, and counter-intrigues, before any lasting peace. Interest now centers in the Greek empire in Egypt. This venerable country with its pyramids and sculptured relics of fully five thousand years, its mythical philosophy, its many trinities, passed under Greek control before the battle of Arbella decided the fate of the Persian Empire. In the division of Alexander's empire, it fell to the portion of Ptolemy, to which was added, at the close of the period in question (302 B.C.), Western Asia, excluding Asia Minor, but including Palestine.

The capital of this new empire was Alexandria. The site of the city had been selected by Alexander himself, who intended it for a great commercial city, to take the place of Tyre, which he had but recently destroyed with fire and sword. Here sprang up a most luxuriant city, and here were nurtured the sciences and philosophy that to this day continue to largely sway the intellectual world.

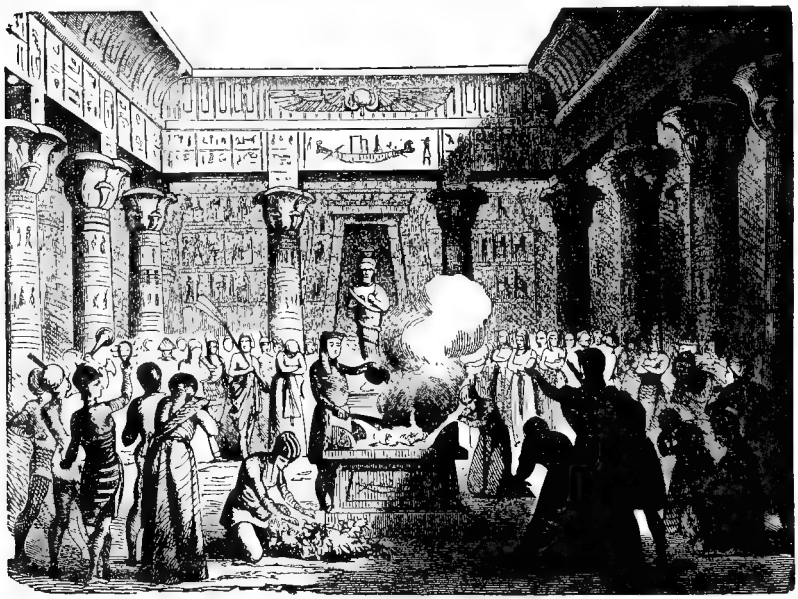
Let us first notice some of the ethnical elements in the population. There was, first of all, the inquisitive Greeks. For centuries, in their contracted home, they had been theorizing and philosophizing. For some years, all the resources of the Orient had been thrown open to them, and a sudden expansion of their intellectual horizon had taken place. In matters of faith, as pointed out in a previous chapter, the educated class were, at heart, pantheists, giving their teachings in veiled mysteries, secretly despising the mythology of the masses, and paving the way to its downfall by a good-natured tolerance of all forms of faith, holding all gods to be "equally fictitious and equally valueless."

A large element of the population were, of course, native Egyptians, and these constituted the bulk of the citizens of the Egyptian part of the empire. The Egyptians were a thoroughly superstitious people, implicitly believing in witchcraft, magic—in short, not above the stage of savage philosophy in general. The priests held to a rich and varied mythology, in which we see the beginning of a philosophical system, since every important district in the country had cast their gods into a triad, representative of the masculine and femine elements and their offspring—father, mother, and son. For forty centuries or more, the Egyptians had been familiar with the conceptions of a divine triad. There was hardly a city of any note without its particular trinity. "Here it was Amun, Maut, and Khonso; there Osiris, Isis, and Horus."[1]

Not mentioning for the present the Jews, let us notice the ritual of worship at Alexandria. The Ptolemies, as if making an effort to fuse Egyptian religion with their philosophical skepticism, introduced the worship of an

[1] Draper: "Intellectual Development of Europe," p. 142.

Oriental god into Alexandria. This was the god Serapis. His statue and his cult are said to have been brought from Sinope, on the south of the Black Sea. This, however, was not his place of origin. He was none other than the Indian god, Yama, the god of death.[1] But the Ptolemies, in introducing him to his new home, gave expression to their pantheistic philosophy by making his image of plates of all metals skillfully joined together. He also represented the sun,[2] in other words, the masculine element in nature, quite in accordance with old Egyptian ideas.[3]



Worship of Serapis at Rome.

Alongside of the worship of the god, there was also worship of the goddess, Isis, the female principle in nature —the earthly.[4] She was the immaculate virgin-mother, and with her infant child, Horus, completed the trinity

1 "Bible Folk-Lore," p. 321; King: "Gnostics," p. 165.
2 King: "Gnostic Remains," p. 160.
3 This Series, Vol. II. p. 523.
4 Higgins: "Anacalypsis," p. 438.

worshiped at Alexandria.[1] There were no less than five grades of priests who conducted the public worship. Especially dear to Egyptians was the worship of Isis, the virgin-mother. There were gorgeous processions of beardless and tonsured priests, wearing a kind of alb, and in her ritual there were baptisms, confessions, bloody penances, prayers, hymns, incense and exortation. Her female devotees, pledged to a life of chastity, were styled *Nuns*, a Coptic word, which has been adopted by another cult. Worshipers in her temple were sprinkled with holy-water from the Nile. The statues of this virgin-mother with her child, Horus, in her arms, were held in great veneration.[2] Nor was the dead and risen Osiris of an earlier cult forgotten. Libations of wine, poured in a sacred receiving cup were in some way considered significant of this event.[3]

By way of digression, let us remark on the wide diffusion of this Alexandrian (Greek-Oriental-Egyptian) worship. When Egypt passed under the power of Rome, the worship of Serapis and Isis, but especially of the latter, the goddess virgin-mother and child, found a home and a friendly reception in Italy, and thence spread extensively throughout the Roman Empire. The lively Gauls embraced the new faith (which yet was old) with enthusiasm. And even one German chieftain was named Serapion.[4] Roman artists found a source of income in painting pictures of Isis, and sculpturers made statues of mother and child, which statues were afterwards adopted by the church as

1 Here notice how true it is that the laws of thought are everywhere the same. People, in the same stage of advance, come to the same conclusion. What is this triad but father-heaven, mother-earth, and their offspring, divine man?—the identical conclusion of the Hindoos and Oriental people generally.

2 "Bible Folk-Lore," pp. 322-3.

3 Ibid. p 353. 4 King: "Gnostics," p. 164.

representatives of Christ and his virgin-mother.[1] In fact, so extensive was this diffusion that Origen, writing in the second century, held that all nations had borrowed religious rites and ceremonies from Egypt.

Alexandrian Library.

We must now notice the great intellectual activity in Alexandria. A state institution, afterwards known as the Museum, was founded. Philosophers from all parts of the world were urged to make Alexandria their home, where

[1] Higgins: "Anacalypsis," p. 430 *et seq.*

they were supported by the munificence of the king. Here was gathered together a famous library. It became the boast of antiquity. It is said to have contained over seven hundred thousand volumes. The knowledge sought was not simply theoretical. Botanical and zoological gardens admitted of study from nature. In the anatomical school, arrangements were made for the study of dissection. Every scientific instrument known to the ancient world was to be found in connection with this museum. Here was the birth-place of modern sciences.[1] Such was Alexandria in her palmy days; when she was the commercial, intellectual, and religious center of the world. We will now turn to consider the development of the Hebrew people at the time in question.

In the year 334 B.C., Palestine passed under the control of Alexander. It had been for two centuries under the dominion of Persia. That long period had been, on the whole, a peaceful one. As before remarked, the Jewish captives, who were permitted by Cyrus to return to Jerusalem, constituted an organized church. The church was the state; and the high-priest the executive officer. The fallen walls of Jerusalem were rebuilt, and once more the temple graced the summit of Mount Moriah. The Great Assembly convened by Ezra, known sometimes as the Great Synagogue, constituted the sacred college which jealously guarded all questions of faith, and became the official expounder of their sacred books.[2] We have suggested, that this sacred college was in some measure modelled after the College of the Magi at Babylon, of which Daniel was chief.[3]

1 Draper: "Intellectual Development of Europe," p. 139 *et seq.*

2 On this question, consult Wise: "The Hebrews' Second Commonwealth," p. 11; Kuenen: "Religion of Israel," ch. ix.; Stapfer: "Palestine In the Time of Christ," p. 90. This idea is modified in Ewald: "History of Israel," Vol. V. p. 167.

3 This Series, Vol. III. p. 767.

The natural result of such a college would be the formation of two parties—the conservative and the more progressive. We will return to the point later. One principal duty of this assembly was the authentication of the Law and other sacred books. Whether they felt at liberty to make any changes in the Law we need not here discuss.[1] But as the standard of action became fixed, prophecy itself died away. We are not acquainted with the name of the last prophetical writer. He calls himself the messenger, Malachi.

The literature of the Medo-Persian period is one of great interest, and we detect in it the works of writers of these two schools of thought just mentioned. The chronicler represents the conservative school.[2] He glories in the past history of Israel, and feels the deepest honor for the Law, the priests, and the temples. His compilations are made with these objects in view.[3] He refers with evident approbation to the cruel legislation of Ezra in reference to mixed marriages,[4] because it tended to separate Israel from the surrounding people. He further copies Nehemiah's notes in this same connection.[5] Many such illustrations could be given; but this conclusion is so generally accepted by all scholars that it no longer needs proof.

But the mere fact that Nehemiah found the same difficulty to contend with that Ezra did, shows that there was one party in Israel that did not agree with Ezra in

[1] Cf. Wise, Op. cit. p. 13; and Kuenen, Op. cit. p. 6.

[2] His works are I. and II. Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, all of which are largely compilations. Ewald places the Chronicles at the very close of the Persian period ("History of Israel," Vol. I. p. 172) See also Kuenen, Vol. III. p. 74 *et seq.*

[3] Vide Wise: "The Hebrews' Second Commonwealth," p. 40.

[4] Ezra, ix, x, and xi.

[5] Nehemiah xiii: 23.

this matter. And further, the Book of Ruth, probably dating from this period, was written in praise of a Gentile wife, who was even made one of the ancestors of David.[1] In many ways, this opposition to narrow views comes out. The Books of Jonah[2] and Job,[3] probably written during this period, both teach wider ideas as to God's providence than the Chronicler.

In one more direction, but that a most important one, we want to push this inquiry, that is the nature of the Messianic hope. Some Jewish writers declare that during the Persian period, "no Messiah was expected; no prince of the house of David was wanted."[4] If this statement be true, however, it would make the Jews an exception to almost all people of antiquity. The aborigines of this continent, no less than the inhabitants of the Orient, not only had traditions of some culture-hero in the past, but were hopefully dreaming of his return in the future, when a new age of happiness would begin for his faithful followers.

This belief shows various stages of growth. One is the looked-for return of some national hero. We know that when Cortez landed on the shores of Mexico, he was at first mistaken for their national hero, Quetzalcohuatl. And when Pizarro landed in Peru, they thought it the return of their great Inca. It is almost pathetic to read of the longing watch, still maintained in some of the pueblos of the West, for the return of Montezuma. To what a high stage of culture such a belief survives may be seen

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[1] The Book of Ruth is placed somewhat earlier by Ewald ("History of Israel," Vol. IV. p. 285), but cf. Wise, p. 36.

[2] Placed much earlier by Ewald, Op. cit. 128, cf. Wise, Op. cit. p. 36.

[3] Vide Ewald, IV. p. 199 *et seq.*; but compare This Series, Vol. III. p. 767, and Wise.

[4] Wise, Op. cit. p. 41.

in the yet lingering tradition that the great emperor, Frederick Barbarossa, is but sleeping the time away in some mountain cavern until he shall come forth to save his country.

Or the idea may be, not of the return of some hero of the past, but of the arising of some national hero of the future. However, such popular beliefs, under the influence of religion, are remolded. The hero who is to come, becomes a supernatural person. Such is the Buddhist conconception of the Bodhiwisat. The Hindoos look for the re-appearance, in a human form, of Vishnu, and the Persians were looking for the arrival of Soshyant, the "fiend smiter," he it is, who is to benefit the whole world. A descendant of Zoroaster, yet is he to be born by a miraculous conception from a pure maid.[1] The only question is what was the state of this belief among the Jews.

Some seventy-one passages in the Old Testament have been thought to make reference to a future Messiah. The majority of them seem to admit of a much easier and more simple explanation.[2] Some of these are to be found in the Pentateuch.[3] Some commentators think they can trace the gradual growth of the Messianic hope from the disruption of David's kingdom. It would certainly be but natural that, when in the days of weakness, they thought of the glories of David's reign, of his kingdom which they fondly hoped was to be of everlasting duration,[4] that they would dwell on the idea of a future restoration to that temporal grandeur and glory.

[1] "Bible Folk-Lore," p. 162 and authorities there quoted.

[2] Isaiah vii. 14, is a case in point. Any one taking the whole section in view, can at once see that it is not a prophecy referring to the birth of Christ.

[3] Deut. xviii. 18, cf. Acts viii. 37; Gen. xlix. 10 (cf. Ewald, Vol. IV. p. 19, note); Numbers xxiv. 17.

[4] Cf. II. Sam. vii. 11-15.

One of the earliest conceptions seems to have been that David himself would return and redeem his country.[1] But from a very early time, the idea found expression that some descendant of David would be the one to restore Israel to all its past glories.[2] Whatever shape this hope might have assumed among the masses of the people, we notice the prophets early beginning to insist that the Messiah was to bring, not simply material good, but spiritual blessings as well. In short, the process early began of spiritualizing this concept. In the writings of Isaiah, though he clearly expresses the belief that the promised Messiah[3] was to be one of the descendants of David,[4] the writer eloquently explains that he is to be a perfect king in all his ways.[5] His contemporary, Micah, writing in the same spirit,[6] even restricts the place of birth of the future perfect king to Bethlehem, where David was born.[7]

Thus apparently stood this belief when the captivity occurred, subsequent to which the Jews were brought in direct contact with the Persians, and must inevitably have absorbed some of their traditions from Babylon proper, and even from distant India. Now we have briefly glanced at the influence of some of these traditions.[8] We need only

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[1] Hosea iii. 5, and later, Jeremiah xxx. 9. This would seem to be the simplest explanation of these words; however, the word, David, here may be simply a general expression. It is well known that the inhabitants of Palestine confidently looked for the return of Elijah (John i 21), in fact, the last book of the Old Testament shows the presence of the same belief (Malachi iv: 5). Elijah even then was a national hero—he was one whom the Jews "delighted in." (Malachi, iii, 1.) Cf. Ewald's note on this point.—"History of Israel," Vol. V. p. 178.

[2] I Kings, xi. 39.

[3] The word "Messiah," simply means the annointed one, hence the king. Cf. I. Sam. xxvi. 11 etc. The high-priest was also annointed.

[4] Isaiah, xi. 1 and ix. 7. [5] Isaiah, xxxii and xi.

[6] Micah, iv. 1-1. [7] Micah, v. 2, cf. I. Sam. xvii. 12.

[8] This Series Vol. III. p.767 *et seq.* Only recently do we begin to catch

just refer to them now. Let us simply observe the clearing up of Jewish thought as to spiritual beings. We have seen them making references, from this time on, to various orders of angels and devils. Now is it not evident that any change in the conception of the Messiah would be in the direction of considering him to be a pre-existing angelic being? This seems to us to be the inevitable course of events. Possibly, in the writings of Ezekiel,[1] we see the trend of the current in that direction, or at a later date in Zechariah.[2] We shall see that, in the Grecian period, belief rapidly spread in this direction; hence we may reasonably look for its beginnings in the Persian period.

But it must have been solely confined to the more advanced and progressive party of thinkers. One more thought must be considered in this connection. We refer to the movement which gave rise, finally, to the Jewish Kabbalah. The Kabbalah may be defined as the esoteric Jewish doctrine. While it is generally stated that its composition is comparatively recent, yet there appear equally as strong evidence for supposing that though it was not placed in writing until about the time of the destruction of the second temple,[3] yet as tradition it had

sight of the true state of affairs in regard to the influence of the Babylonians on the Jews. This will not come out in its true strength until we have learned more of Assyriology. Vide Sayce: "Hibbert Lectures," 1887, p. 40.

[1] Ezek. ix. Notice the six men and the one clothed with linen, etc., who was commanded to mark the faithful. The number seven seems to refer to Ameshospands. The seventh one (the man clothed with linen, is the chief one; cf. x. 2, 6. Observe his important work in marking with a cross or tau the faithful. In Revelations, it will be observed that the sealing of the faithful is connected with the opening of the seals by the "Lamb," the "Lion of the Tribe of Judah," in other words, with the Messiah, Christ.

[2] Cf. the vision of the candle-stick, Zech. iv. with Rev. I. 13; also reflect that in several passages in Zechariah we apparently see traces of the Persian belief in the Ameshosponds. (Zech. iii. 9; iv. 10).

[3] By R. Simeon B. Jochai, vide Ginsbury's Essay on the Kabbalah.

existed for centuries.[1] We would naturally expect that as soon as a priestly body was formed, and clothed with power, such esoteric teachings would be held as secrets of the deepest order.

In a great variety of ways, the Kabbalistic Jews found hidden meaning in the Old Testament. We will give a few examples to make our meaning clear. In Deuteronomy is the prayer known as the *Shema*,[2] beginning "Hear, O Israel." This was and is of very great importance to the Jews.[3] But in the Hebrew spelling of the word "hear" (*shmo*), the terminal letter, o, is of unusual size.[4] Herein is a Kabbalistic meaning. Written in this large size, it has the numerical value of seventy, and shows (say the Kabbalists) that the Law could be interpreted in seventy ways. Also in the spelling of the word, one (*Achad*), in the same verse, the final d is of this enlarged size. Thus written, its numerical value is four, another Kabbalistic secret. In Isaiah occurs another instance.[5] The word translated *increase*, as spelled in Hebrew, (*Lmbrh*), has the letter m, but in this case the form of m is not one generally used in the middle of the word. Its use is said to be Kabbalistic. The numerical value of the word is entirely changed by this mode of writing.[6]

We need not for the present speak further of the Kabbalah, though we will return to it later. Enough has now been said of the state of religion among the Jews, at the close of the Persian period. We want to hold the main

[1] On this point consult King: "Gnostic Remains," p. 23.

[2] Deut. vi. 14.

[3] It was repeated every morning and evening. Vide Stapfer: "Palestine in the Time of Christ," p. 307.

[4] This can be seen in any Hebrew Bible.

[5] Isaiah, ix. 7.

[6] On the Kabbalah, see McGregor Mathers: "Kabbalah Unveiled," London, 1887. For some speculations on the peculiar use of m-final in the verse just quoted, see Higgins: "Anacalypsis," p. 225.

facts in our mind. We hope we have now established the facts that at the close of the period in question there were two schools of thought in Judea. One more progressive than the other, and showing signs of approach towards the general philosophy of the Orient. The other, the conservative element, clinging more tenaciously to the requirements of their ancient religion. Let us now study the course of development during the Grecian period.

When Alexander invaded Asia he found the Jews a widely dispersed people. Only a few had returned from captivity. Almost every important city in Persia had its Jewish settlement, with its synagogue, and, subsequently, arrangement for sending their tribute to Jerusalem.[1] We are to notice, from this time on, that though the Jews had the utmost affection for Palestine, yet they were very free to emigrate, and colonies of them were to be found in all parts of the civilized world. Their egotistical ideas in regard to their importance as a people, and the further idea that their religion was the only one containing any elements of truth, Jerusalem the only holy city, and other one-sided ideas, resulted in keeping them, wherever they chanced to settle, a separate people, having little real interest in the welfare of the people among whom they lived.[2]

We are, therefore, not surprised to hear of the presence of a great many Jews in Alexandria. They went thither at the very first founding of the city, and were granted important privileges. In the troublous times succeeding the death of Alexander, their number was greatly increased. According to Philo, two out of the

[1] Kuenen: "Religion of Israel," Vol. III. p. 164. Ewald: "History of Israel," Vol. V. p. 239.

[2] In this respect, they were like the Chinese in modern times. To this trait of character is to be ascribed some of the dislike which is generally, though unjustly, visited upon them.

five districts of the city were settled exclusively by the Jews. Here, as elsewhere, the Jews formed a separate people. They had there own judges, who based their decision on the Jewish national laws. They had their own executive officer, the *Ethnarch* or *Alabarch* assisted by his council or Sanhedrim. As a rule, the Greeks were favorably inclined towards the Jews. Hence, during the three centuries of Greek supremacy in Western Asia, the Jews became a very much dispersed people. In some cities they formed a large element in the population, as for instance, at Antioch, Damascus, and Palmyra.

Thus it is, that during the centuries immediately preceding our era, we find the Jews dispersed from Mesopotamia to Egypt, from Arabia to Asia-Minor, even out upon the Ionian Islands and over into Europe. Wherever they went, they formed a people apart from the general mass. They aimed to keep up religious connections with Jerusalem; transmitting thither their tribute to the temple, often coming up to the feasts, and conducting their worship in their synagogues according to the admonitions of Pharisaical school at Jerusalem.[1]

We must not forget the return wave, carrying Grecian influence into the very heart of Palestine. The important office of high-priest was, of course, filled with tools of the reigning Greek king. As a general rule it went to the party who would pay the most money. Greek cities were built upon the coast such as Cæsarea, and Apollonia. Further south, ancient Gaza was rebuilt as a Greek city. The more fertile province of Galilee was especially liked by the Grecians. Ancient Dan received a new Greek name, Pancas. Greek cities arose on the shores of

[1] Kuenen has a good chapter on the dispersion. Vol. III. ch. xi; also Ewald, V. p. 235.

the Sea of Galilee. The region to the east of the Jordan, known as Perea, contained one confederation of ten cities, known as Decapolis, the cities themselves were quite important. Some of them were new Greek settlements, such as Pella, Dion, and Gerasa; some of them were old Hebrew towns rebuilt, such were Philadelphia, and Areopolis, successors to Rabbath-Amon and Ar-Moab.[1]

We can gather from the scanty historical notices of the times, that the Jewish communities in foreign lands were, on the whole, favored by the rulers. In general they were loyal to the king,[2] and as they possessed considerable wealth, being then as now noted for their commercial pursuits, they were handy to have around when the hard-pressed king wanted to raise money. Other means failing, extortion and force would procure it. But it is equally sure they were disliked by the mass of the people. Even in Alexandria, only with difficulty were they at times protected from the prejudiced fury of the populace.

In truth there was not so very much in common between these two classes. The Jewish colonists tacitly assumed that they were better in all respects than the people among whom they lived. We may smile at this exhibition of national vanity. Unfortunately it has been allowed to influence sober historians, and the state of affairs in the world during the last few centuries preceding the Christian era is often represented as at the very lowest ebb, as far as morals was concerned.

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[1] Ewald: "History of Israel," Vol. V. p. 236. Stapfer: "Palestine In the Time of Christ," p. 41. Other Creek cities were Hippus, Gadara, and Scythopolis.

[2] Antiochus the Great, for instance, transferred two thousand Jews from Mesopotamia to Asia Minor, relying on their example to check the rebellious spirit of his new subjects.

Human nature is, unfortunately much the same at all times and places. And whenever we read about the utter moral depravity of another people, or another time, we may feel sure that there is a mistake somewhere. The Jews were probably fully as superstitious as the people among whom they dwelt. We know they were devout believers in witchcraft, magic, sorcery, and the general superstitions of the times. We have no especial reason to believe that their lives were any more moral than the lives of the general heathen.[1] The simple fact is, the world at that time was making rapid advance in general intelligence. There was, of course, a feeling on the part of the heathen world that the day of credulous belief in their old mythologies was rapidly disappearing. This fact had long been apparent to their scholars. The common people had now about reached the same stage of belief, and were now about ready to adopt some tangible form of the expression of the philosophy, heretofore taught in the form of mysteries.

In proof of this statement, we need only refer to the rapid spread of religions which, in a measure, voiced the teachings of the "mysteries." We have already made mention of the cult of Serapis and Isis, and have seen how it spread from Egypt to Europe. Another example is to be found in the worship of Mithras. We have already seen that in Mazdeism, Mithra, "the lord of wide pastures,"[2] refers to the sun. In time, this deity, who had been but one of the inferior emanations of Ahurza Mazda, grew in importance. Artabanes introduced his worship, as

[1] Josephus writes of the Essenes: "They were afraid of the licentiousness of women, and were convinced that not one of them keeps her vows of fidelity to one man." The Essenes were a Jewish sect. What sort of a commentary is this on Jewish morality ?

[2] Vol. III. p. 749.

a modified form of Mazdeism, into Pontus,[1] from which country, after the conquest by Pompey (in the first half of the first century B.C.), it spread with great rapidity throughout the Roman Empire.

Now the peculiarity of Mithras worship was that he did not represent the first great principle, but the first emanation.

Mithras.

Not the first god, but the demiurge, the creator.[2] He was called the mediator.[3] The sun was his symbol, and the twenty-fifth of December was celebrated as his birthday.[4] Around his cult, gathered all the philosophy of the time.

[1] Wilder, Payne Knight: "Ancient Art and Mythology," p. 53, note 211.

[2] Vide Vol. III. p. 739. [3] Wilder, Op. cit. p. 123.

[4] This Series, Vol. III. p. 802

The initiates into the ranks of his followers were baptized at a holy font, which was supposed to wash away their sins. But before final initiation, the candidates had to overcome twelve tortures. Then they received the baptism of blood, a lamb or bull was slain and the candidate sprinkled. They were then considered to be *re-born*[1] and were known as the sons of Mithra. The initiate was then marked in some part of the body with a secret mark, generally supposed to be on the forehead,[2] and was given a talisman, a small piece of white stone, on which was a name written in signs only understood by the initiates. As a member of the fraternity, he was now entitled to eat of the heavenly bread or manna, a small disk of bread having figures traced on it, and to partake of a consecrated cup.[3]

Such was the world, dispersed in which were the many Jewish communities we have spoken of above. However firm set a people may be in their opinions, it is inevitable that in the course of centuries their belief will slowly change. If no other cause be at work, the general advance of the people in intelligence will suffice. In the case of the Jews, we have already pointed out the existence of two parties even among those living in Palestine. We would naturally expect that movement to continue. The numerous communities of Jews, dispersed in all parts of the civilized world, could not help being influenced by the heathen be-

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1 Re-birth and regeneration, implying a new beginning, were very frequent words and ideas throughout the Orient and Palestine at this time. Cox: "First Century of Christianity," p. 274.

2 Cf. King: "Gnostics," p. 140.

3 On the Mithraic rites and ceremonies, consult King: "Gnostics," p. 115 *et seq.*; "Bible Folk-Lore," p. 326 *et seq.*; Higgins: "Anacalypsis," p. 115; "Isis Unveiled, Vol. II. pp. 351, 356; Wilder, Payne, Knight: "Ancient Art and Mythology," pp. 53, 123, 167. Justin Martyr and Tertullian both speak of their ceremonies.

liefs they were in contact with, and this influence could not help but react, to some extent, on orthodox belief in Jerusalem.

Now that there was such an influence at work is well known. It was called *Hellenism*. As might be expected, it was especially strong at Alexandria. The name itself is slightly misleading, unless we will take it in a general sense and understand it to include Oriental philosophical speculations in general. For the Jews in Babylon were certainly exposed to Persian influence, and we think that Buddhism exerted considerable influence throughout all Western Asia. The problem now lying before us is to consider the nature of this influence, and its course of development during the three centuries preceding the birth of Christ.

The literature of this period will prove a valuable guide in this matter. One of the first and significant signs of the time was the translation of the books of the Old Testament into Greek. This was accomplished at Alexandria. The Jews in Alexandria, formed, as we have seen, a most important body of citizens. Though they were a closely organized Jewish community, and though their isolating habits were probably as strong here as elsewhere, yet, in time, they came more and more under Greek influence. Their language in time became so much Grecianized that they no longer spoke the Hebrew of Palestine; which latter tongue itself, by the way, had now departed quite widely from the Hebrew of the Old Testament.

Tradition has been quite free with accounts of the origin of this Greek translation of the Old Testament. It is scarcely necessary for us to mention the various accounts. It suffices to say that, feeling the need of a

Greek translation of the Old Testament, the Jews of Alexandria set about the work. The Pentateuch was translated as early as 250 B.C. From time to time, subsequently, the remaining books were also placed in Greek. On examining this translation, we notice several important indications of the way the current of thought was setting. Those expressions in the Old Testament about the appearance and actions of Yaveh, which in any way convey an anthropomorphic meaning, are softened down or explained away.

One or two illustrations will explain this matter. In Exodus, we read about Moses and others seeing the God of Israel.[1] In the Septuagent we simply read of their seeing *the place* where he stood. In Isaiah, we read about the "skirts" of Yaveh filling the temple.[2] In the Greek translation, it is the "glory" of Yaveh.[3] In some cases, the Alexandrian translators felt at liberty to make considerable change, and we notice the new arrangement generally expresses an advanced moral truth.[4] Thus generally, there are these slight changes running through the Greek version; so that it was long ago asserted that, as compared with the Hebrew text, it made quite another impression on the reader.[5]

Palestine remained a part of the Greek kingdom of Egypt for one hundred years, and then it was annexed to the Greek kingdom of Syria. In the first half of the second century B. C., occurred that rising, which, after many years of varying fortune, resulted in the formation

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[1] Ex xxiv. 9-11. [2] Isaiah, vi. 1, marginal reading.

[3] Gen. vi. 6; Num. xii. 8; Exodus xix. 9-3; Exodus xxv. 8, are other instances where similar slight alterations were made.

[4] Prov xi 31; I. Peter iv. 18, is the Septuagent version; quite a free rendering.

[5] Vide Prologue to the Wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach.

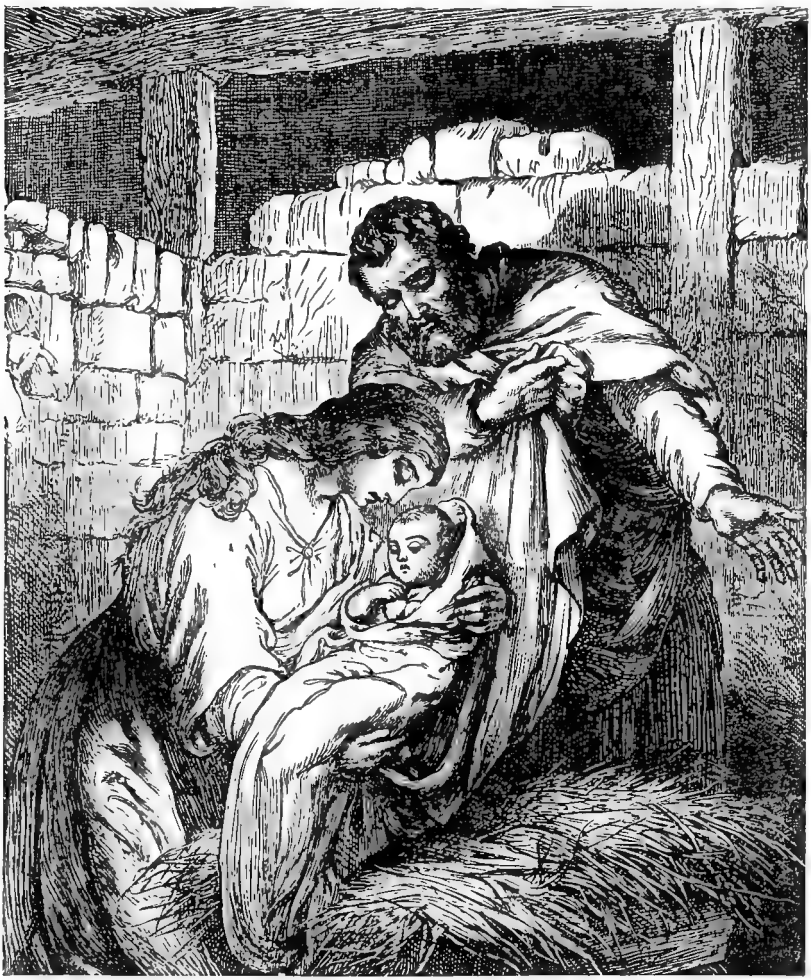
of the Asmonean kingdom, which we will soon describe. During the first century and a quarter of Greek rule,[1] the relations between the subject Jews and the reigning Greeks were, on the whole, peaceful. And during all this time, Greek-Oriental philosophy and Judaism were in friendly contact. The translation of the Old Testament into Greek was only the first step in this matter. We have already pointed out probable traces of Greek thought in this translation.

We cannot fully trace out the development in Alexandria. After the great rising of the Maccabean period, Jewish-Greek literature ceased to be read, and so became lost; but judging from the great activity of the Alexandrian school at a later date, Jewish thought must have been slowly yielding, becoming more and more colored by Greek thought during all this time. Nor are we lacking other evidences of this fact. Jewish orthodoxy in Alexandria, at the close of the period in question, had reached its allegorizing stage. This seems to be a perfectly natural stage of development. When what has passed as religious history begins to loose credence in a more critical age, the effort is to explain away the meaning by allegory. Classical mythology early reached that stage in Greece, and we have seen one Greek philosopher after another giving allegorical explanations of the same.

At this very day, the same process is to be seen in some of the more advanced Mohammedan countries; expressions in the Koran are being explained away. Aristobulus of Alexandria, who lived in the first half of the second century B.C., wrote in explanation of the Mosaic Law. He explains that the "voice of God" does not mean audible words, but divine works. He asserts that

[1] Roundly speaking, more exactly, from 302 to 271 B. C.

we are not to understand literally expressions about the hands, arms, face, and feet of God.[1] We are to observe that this is but a further development of the same line of



Birth of Christ.

thought that influenced the Septuagent translations. But this is not all. The Alexandrian Jews had now become ac-

[1] Kuenen: "Religion of Israel," Vol. III. p. 192; Ewald: "History of Israel," Vol. II. p. 259.

quainted with portions of Greek literature. Imitations of the Greek poets sprang up. A Greek drama was composed on the "March out of Egypt," and epic poems on "Jerusalem" and "Shechem" make their appearance.[1] Writers were early at work, trying to show that the great poets and philosophers of Greece must have been acquainted with the Hebrew religion. It was, no doubt, a surprise to the Alexandrian Jews, who had been trained to believe that all of the good in the world had originated in Palestine, to discover anything worthy of praise in the writings of the Greeks. Hence the naive explanation just given.

The theory just enunciated was strengthened by an artifice in keeping with the literary practices of the time. That is, writing in the name of some eminent writer of antiquity. Accordingly the truths of the Jewish scriptures were expressed in poetry, said to have been written by Orpheus or Phocylides. This was quite a favorite device, not only at Alexandria, but in Palestine as well. Another device, scarcely compatible with our idea of literary honesty, was to quote genuine poetry of old writers, but slightly change it, so as to make it express some new idea. A false quotation from the Odyssey, for instance, serving to show a knowledge of the Sabbath.[2]

Letting this brief outline suffice for the state of culture in Alexandria, let us glance at Palestine. As remarked, the political history of the Jews of Palestine down to the reign of Antiochus Ephiphanes was, on the whole, quiet. The high-priest stood at the head of the Jewish state. He was assisted in his government by a council of elders (Gerusa). Some such a body as this must also have been in existence in the Persian period.[3] This was the pre-

[1] Ewald, Op. cit. p. 260.

[2] Ewald: "History of Israel," Vol. V. p. 262, note 2.

[3] Ezra ii. 2; iv. 2–3; Neh. vii. 7.

curser of the Sanhedrim, perhaps it was organized in substantially the same way.[1] The Pharisaical school continued flourishing.[2] We would, therefore, look for development to proceed in the line already pointed out. That is, the two parties would become more and more clearly defined.

The movement leading to the formation of two different parties in Palestine assumed definite shape early in the Grecian period. There was first the Grecian party. Briefly expressed, we may say that this party included in its ranks all those favorably impressed with Greek culture, and who were willing to drop some of the more rigid claims of Judaism, and coalesce, to some extent, with Greek culture. Merchants, those in places of power, and, in general, those brought in contact with the outside world must have belonged to this party.

The other party was called the *Hassidem* or saints. This party endeavored in all ways to counteract the other party. It wanted as little as possible to do with the Grecian philosophy and culture. This school of thought was the direct outcome of the legislation of Ezra. Information as to this time is, of course, very limited. We gather, however, that events were running their usual course, and that Grecian influence was getting a firm hold even in Palestine. We know that, when Jason was made high-priest in the year 175 B.C., he openly embraced the the cause of the Grecians. He built a gymnasium at Jerusalem, and introduced various Greek contests. He procured the citizenship of Antioch, which carried with it the right to witness the Greek games. He and his partisans attended the heathen games held at Tyre, in honor

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[1] Stapfer: "Palestine in the Time of Christ," p. 90; cf. Ewald, Op. cit. p. 168.

[2] Wise: "The Hebrews' Second Commonwealth," p. 61.

of Hercules, and carried thither a present of money.[1]

This great change in one direction implies advance in the other as well. The party of the Saints probably grew more and more rigid and intolerant, and secret preparations were making to resist by force this Grecianizing tendency.[2] But first let us consider the literature of the period. Solomon's Song (Canticles)[3] is supposed by some[4] to be "an allegory written in behalf of the Hassidem and against the Grecian Hebrews."[5] The book of Esther may have been written with the same object in view.[6] Esther representing the congregation of Israel; Mordecai, the watchful Hassidem, etc. The Book of Ecclesiastes seems to be but another presentation of the same subject.[7] The author calls himself the *Koheleth*, the congregation of the faithful, which in better times was supreme in Israel. He represents King Solomon as calmly arguing the claims of philosophy. He apparently refers to them all, he denies the ability of *gnosis* or wisdom to explain the enigmas of life. He is displeased with the general course of events, all is vanity.[8]

We must refer also to one apocryphal work of this

1 Wise: "The Hebrews' Second Commonwealth," pp. 60-70; Kuenen, Op cit. Vol. III. p. 96; Ewald, Op. cit. Vol. V. pp. 274, 294.

2 Wise, Op. cit. p. 70.

3 This book is considered by Ewald to have been written shortly after Solomon's time, Vol. IV. p. 42.

4 Cf. Wise, Op. cit. p. 80.

5 As is well known, this book was only reluctantly granted a place in the Canon: vide Stapfer: "Palestine in the Time of Christ," p. 364.

6 It is generally agreed that this book belongs to the Greek Age. We are here following Rabbi Wise. The general idea is that Esther was written to account for the introduction of the feast of Purim (Kuenen, Vol. III. p. 80; Ewald, Vol. V. p. 230). It is well known, that there were several versions of this story. The Alexandrian Jews worked it up entirely different.

7 Placed by Ewald at the very close of the Persian supremacy, by Kuenen, at the close of the third century.

8 Wise, Op. cit. p. 84.

period: the Wisdom of Jesus ben Sirach. This work was written about the middle of the third century. Jesus ben Sirach was a practical man, who had evidently thought a good deal on the questions of the day. His general conclusion was that true *gnosis* was to be had only in following the laws of God. One figure of speech or conception of his we want to notice. He personalizes Wisdom.[1] "I came out of the mouth of the most high," says Wisdom. "He created me from the beginning, before the world," she continues.[2] Here we have apparently a reference to a Kabbalistic belief. In their belief, Wisdom was the first emanation, and we shall see afterwards that this Wisdom was the same as the Logos of Philo.[3]

This brings us down to the troublous times of Antiochus Epiphanes. We have seen that the political sky in Judea was rapidly overcasting with clouds. The storm was finally precipitated by the action of the Greek king, Antiochus Ephiphanes. The period, on which we have now entered, is one full of stirring adventures, and consequently of much historical interest. Lack of space, however, compels us to be content with only a most general outline. Affairs had reached such a pitch between the two parties in Jerusalem that civil war was but a question of time. In this matter, Antiochus was directly concerned, since he must in the first place keep order, and in the next place the Grecian party was in many respects the royal party. The king was most anxious to fuse the many people subject to him into one homogeneous whole.

[1] Wisdom, xxiv. [2] Cf. Prov. viii. 22.

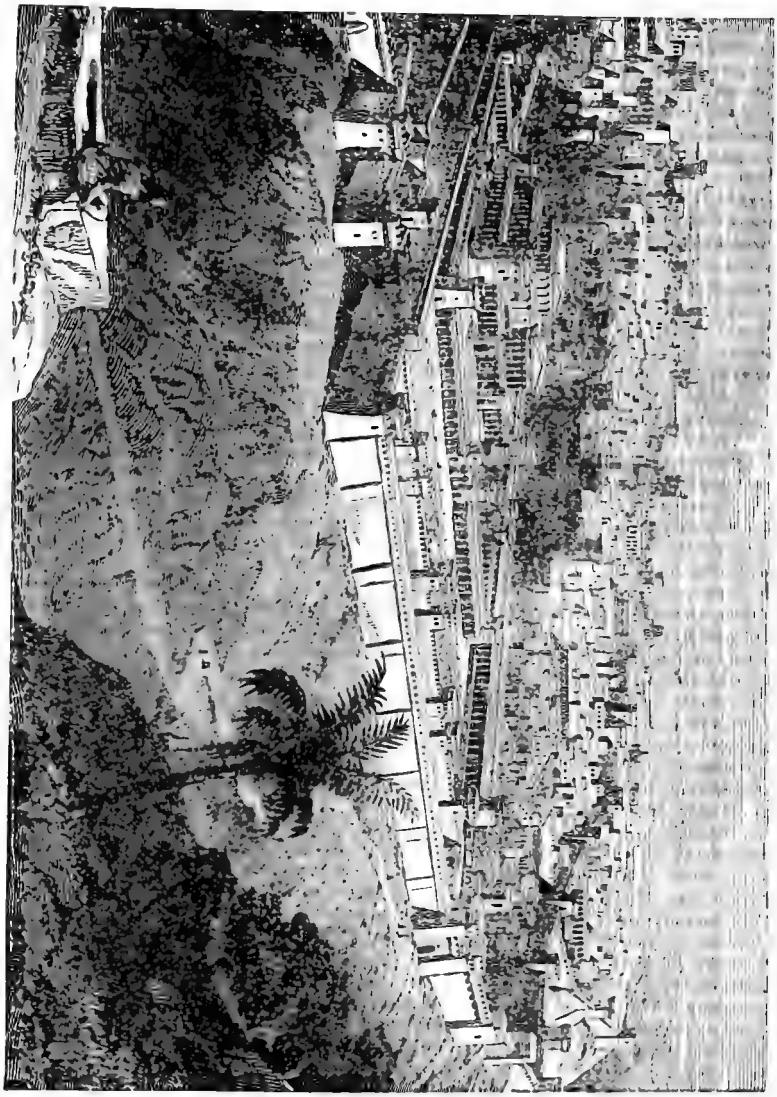
[3] According to the Jerusalem Targums, Maimonides and other ancient authorities, including Origen, Clement of Alexandrina, and St. Augustine, the words of Genesis i., "In the beginning," should be translated, "By Wisdom." The interested student should examine Higgins: "Anacalypsis," p. 73 *et seq.*; "Isis Unveiled," Vol. II. p. 35; Wise: "Hebrews' Second Commonwealth," p. 82.

In the case of Judea, the first and most essential step was to subvert the national religion. Hence began that train of events which, in the year 167 B.C., led to the apparent overthrow of the Hassidem. The temple at Jerusalem was converted into a temple to Zeus Olympus, and pagan rites were celebrated there. And, similarly, throughout Palestine. The sacred books were burned; the observation of the Law prohibited under pain of death; heathen altars were erected in all the principal towns. The overthrow of the Hassidem was in appearance only. Hidden from sight, the flames burned on until the opportune moment arrived, when they suddenly burst forth with unquenchable fury.

The little town of Modin, between Jerusalem and Joppa, was the place where the insurrection broke out. An aged priest, Mattathias, had sought that quiet place where he could worship the God of his fathers. He was the father of five boys, at this time men grown. But the commissioners of Antiochus invaded that retreat, erected their heathen altar, and demanded that sacrifices be offered thereon. Mattathias not only refused to obey, but when one of the inhabitants approached to lay his gift on the altar, he rushed upon him and killed him. Then were the commissioners themselves set upon and killed; and Mattathias, his sons, and adherents betook themselves to the wilderness, where they speedily became the leaders of insurrectionary bands.

We can not give in detail the events that followed. Twenty-five years of intermittent warfare now ensued. We all know that in all warfare where religion is concerned, even though the combatants be bigoted and fanatical, and especially where they have wrongs to redress, the soldiers display most desperate courage, and often win success

against great odds. It was so in this case. The revolt at Modin was that of a fanatical people against the encroach-



Jerusalem in the Time of Christ.

ing civilization of Antioch, though the immediate cause of it was the impatient and contemptuous tyranny of

Epiphanes.[1] This did not, however, prevent the war being carried on with the greatest courage and gallantry by the Hassidem, under the guidance of the sons of Mattathias.

They were eventually successful, and this result was in no little degree dependent on the diplomatic actions of Rome. That country, which knew so well how to extend her influence at the expense of the liberty and power of other people, had long been interfering in the affairs of the Orient. They finally cast their influence on the side of Judea, and in 142 B.C., Judea was acknowledged to be an independent kingdom, with Simon, the last of the sons of Mattathias, high-priest and prince. Two years later, saw Simon made the hereditary ruler of the land. Thus was established the Asmonean dynasty. Then followed sixty years of internal development, during which Palestine was flourishing. But things took their usual course amongst all nations in any way dependent on Rome. Dynastic troubles, which Rome knew so well how to foster, sprang up. The oppressive weight of Rome grew stronger and stronger, the vassalage became more and more a dependent one. Finally, in the year 37 B.C., we see Herod the Great, supported by Roman arms, uniting Judea to several other Roman provinces in Western Asia, and reigning as king, but holding power directly as a tributary king of Rome.[2]

Of necessity, we have had to be extremely brief, since we are not concerned with the political history of the Jews, further than to give understanding to our account of the development of belief among them. The period we have now briefly outlined extends over nearly a century and a

1 "Bible Folk Lore," p. 194.

2 This most interesting period in Jewish history, to which we have only been able to give a page or so, is fully treated in Rabbi Wise: "The Hebrews' Second Commonwealth," Cincinnati, 1880.

half. That is quite a long time in the history of a people. Even in times of profound peace, changes would certainly accompany the passage of that number of years. We may confidently look, then, for a change not only in Western Asia in general, but in Palestine as well. We will first turn our attention to the world outside of Palestine.

We have, as yet, abstained from saying anything about the spread of Buddhist influence in Western Asia. Buddhism started from India to conquer the world. We know that it made rapid progress in all directions except Western Asia. We are not lacking indications of its influence even there.[1] In the West, however, Buddhism could not hope to spread as it did in the East. The philosophy it advanced, in many respects, was not new. The most that it could do was to give added impetus to those trains of thought it held in common with the Western Oriental world of the day. Let us illustrate this point. We know that Buddhism spread rapidly in China. But in China there was nothing but primitive belief to bar its way. In Mesopotamia, where its missionaries must early have appeared, it found a well-developed philosophical system, Mazdeism. The most it could accomplish here was to introduce some of its peculiar ideas. Thus they probably did succeed in introducing among them an austere, ascetic life, contrary to the general doctrines of the Persians.[2]

Now we know that Asoka made treaty arrangements with the Ptolemies, and the Seleucidian kings for the observation of Buddhist doctrines among the citizens of their empires.[3] We have every reason to suppose that

[1] This Series, Vol. III. p. 804. [2] Cf. Bunsen: "Angel Messiah," p. 81.
[3] King: "Gnostics," p. 51; Mansell: "Gnostic Heresies," p. 31.

Buddhist missionaries visited Syria, Palestine, and Egypt within a few generations of Alexander's time. We know that under the name of "Brachman" (Bikishu), they occasionally visited Greece, where they were regarded as almost model philosophers.[1] The movement itself does not seem to have flourished, but still, the facts being as stated, they must have exerted an influence, and must have greatly helped forward all those currents of thought with which they were in sympathy.

In the first place, they must have given added strength to the belief which, as a mystery-doctrine, had been held by the initiates for centuries, in a divine triad.[2] They must have given increased vigor to wide and comprehensive views of God and his providence. Let us remember that Buddhism was the first world-wide, humanitarian religion. It was not bounded by tribe or race. It was not dependent on forms and ceremonies. The Buddhist doctrine of a Tathagatha, who, from time to time, comes into the world, and the consequent worship of the coming Buddha, must have struck the popular chord in the hearts of nearly all people, who dream of a future of joy and happiness. It could not fail to influence, to some extent, the Messianic beliefs of the Jews. Finally their ascetic organization, and austere life generally, would help forward and virtually reorganize that tendency to ascetic life common to all Oriental people.

In Egypt, for instance, and elsewhere, we find traces of the Therapeutic organization, of which Philo is said to have written a full description.[3] The account presents

[1] King, Op. cit. p. 54.

[2] This was a Kabbalistic doctrine. Recall what we have already had to say on the rapid spread of Serapis worship and the worship of Mithras. This result largely depended on the fact that these cults gave tangible expression to this secret doctrine.

[3] "On a Contemplative Life." It is necessary to remark at once that

many points of resemblance between the Therapeutic and Buddhist communities. It is, however, unsafe to use this description as evidence of Buddhist influence in Egypt;[1] though it is manifest that this influence would help forward such ascetic organizations.

Turning now to Alexandria, let us notice the further progress of union between Judaism and Greek-Oriental philosophy. We first refer to the apochryphal book of Wisdom. The date and place of composition is in some dispute, but it was probably written at Alexandria, comparatively late in the period just mentioned.[2] The author was evidently thoroughly acquainted with both Judaism and Greek philosophy. We detect clear traces of Oriental philosophy. He believes in the eternity of matter,[3] in the doctrine of transmigration,[4] and holds that the soul is imprisoned in the body.[5]

The most interesting and significant passages refer to

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it is questioned whether Philo ever wrote this description, or whether there was a sect of this name and character. The discussion of this interesting question will be found in Kuenen: "Religion of Israel," Vol. III. p. 217 *et seq.* In "Hibbert Lectures" for 1882, Professor Kuenen thinks it decided in the negative (p. 202). It remains to be seen whether this confident conclusion will be accepted. In favor of the substantial accuracy of Philo's account, we might quote Ewald: "It rests unmistakably upon an historical basis," (Hist. of Israel, Vol. V. p. 375). Zeller ("Phil. D. Griechen," Dritte Theil Zweite Abth. Dritte Auf. pp. 306-7) concludes that it is not historical. There is probably no doubt that bodies organized substantially as these are said to have been organized did exist in Western Asia, possibly to some extent in Europe.

1 As is done in Mansell: "Gnostic Heresies," p. 31; Lillie: "Buddhism in Christendom," and Bunsen: "Angel Messiah."

2 Wise thinks it was written in Judea, in Hebrew ("Hebrews' Second Commonwealth," p. 88). Most critics decide as above. Ewald, Vol. V. p. 480; Kuenen, Vol. III. p. 189; "Bible Folk-Lore" (anonymous), p. 209. Bunsen inclines to the belief that Philo was the author.—"Angel Messiah," p. 96 *et seq.*

3 xi. 17. 4 viii. 19-20.

5 ix. 15. In face of these quotations, it is difficult to understand Ewald's note, op. cit. p. 480. He thinks the author drew nothing from Oriental sources.

Wisdom and the Logos. We have already seen how Wisdom had been personalized in the earlier work of Jesus ben Sirach, and in a note we called further attention to this matter.[1] In the book of Wisdom, this idea is clearly brought out. Wisdom is a "pure influence flowing from the glory of the Almighty." She is the "worker of all things." She "orders all things." She is "privy to the mysteries of the knowledge of God." According to the author, it was this personalized Wisdom that is to be understood in all those Old Testament passages where Jehovah is mentioned as talking with or appearing to the patriarchs.[2]

Another most interesting circumstance is to be noted. The Oriental world, believing in the efficacy of magical words, had also formed a strange conception of the personality of the voice or word of their god. Possibly, in an earlier age this represented the thunder. We know that the Greeks called thunder "the Word or messenger of Zeus," while the Romans worshiped it as a goddess, Fama.[3] In Mazdeism, the most glorious, holy Word, the soul of Ahurza Mazda, was to be invoked to repulse the demons, and the angel Sraosh is sometimes called "the incarnate Word."[4] These two conceptions are united in the Book of Wisdom. The Logos (Word) was Wisdom which sits by the throne.[5] This conception becomes the "Holy Spirit from above.[6] It is called the "Saviour of all,"[7] and it is explained that the brazen serpent was but a type of this Being.[8] Considering all this, we can but

[1] Mazdeism worshiped, as a personified spirit, Religious Wisdom, the first creation of Mazda.

[2] x. 11, 13.

[3] "Sacred Books of the East," Vol. V. Introduction, p. lxxxviii.

[4] Fargad, xix. Srosh Yast Hadhokht.

[5] ix. 4; cf. xviii. 15-16. [6] ix. 17. [7] xvi. 7. [8] xvi. 12.

see what an influence Oriental philosophy had already exerted on Jewish belief in Alexandria.

Christ Blessing Little Children.

This brings us down to the consideration of Philo and his writings. Philo was a native of Alexandria, and belonged to a distinguished family; the Alabarch, or Jewish

governor, was a near relative.[1] He was born a decade or so before the Christian era.[2] He gave himself to the study of Judaism and Greek philosophy, and appears to have been at home in both. The natural consequence was, that, in his own philosophical scheme, which he supported in his writings, though he starts from a Jewish basis, he incorporates a large number of Greek elements. His writings are highly significant, since they probably show the final stage of pre-Christian, Alexandrian belief.

He was quite a voluminous writer, and, undoubtedly, exerted a great influence on his people. We will here speak of but two points in connection with his writings. The first was his abundant use of allegory. Everything to his mind in the Old Testament is allegorical. Every little circumstance has some hidden meaning. This is the final stage of that allegorical habit that we have noticed steadily growing at Alexandria. In illustration of his method, we might refer to his treatment of the account of the blossoming of Aaron's rod. The statement in the Bible is that it bore nuts (almonds).[3] This is highly significant to Philo, and a long dissertation follows, not on the miracle itself, but on the question why the rod bore almonds and not fruit.

Philo's theology shows us a strange union of Judaism and Greek-Oriental philosophy.[4] Though he conceived of God as a personal being to be worshiped, yet he was a vague, far-away being of whom nothing could really be known. "He is without grief or fear, not subject to evil, unyielding, painless, never wearied, filled with unmixed

[1] Some say his brother (Kuenen), others his nephew (Ewald).

[2] We do not know the exact date. In 41 A.D. he speaks of himself as an old man.

[3] Num. xvii. 8.

[4] Ueberweg: "History of Philosophy," p. 229.

happiness." He believed in the eternal existence of matter, but probably in a Platonic sense, it was more or less an illusion after all.[1] Matter is regarded as polluting in itself; this doctrine is an Indian one.[2] From the foregoing, it follows that God must have performed his work of creation by means of intermediary powers. And here we come at once on traces of the influence of Persian belief, in the doctrine of emanation. We will dwell on only one prominent feature—the Logos doctrine. The personalized Divine Word. We have already traced the steady growth of this idea in Alexandrian belief; but it assumed great prominence in Philo's system.

The Word of Philo is a spiritual creation, man is created in his image,[3] he is God's first-born son,[4] the oldest of his angels, the archangel of many names,[5] he is our advocate or paraclete, he is "continually a suppliant to the immortal God on behalf of the mortal race."[6] The brazen serpent of Moses was simply a representation of him.[7] He is the great high priest of the world, or of our confession;[8] he is the instrument by means of which God created the world; in comparison with all other creations he is a god himself.[9] "He liberates men from corruption and entitles them to immortality;" "He imparts spiritual freedom;" "He is the sure refuge of those who seek him;" "He is the heavenly bread of the soul."[10] According to Philo, wherever in the Old Testament God is spoken of as appearing to, or speaking to, the patriarchs, we are to understand the Divine Word, the Logos.

[1] This Seris, Vol. III. p. 764. [2] Ibid. p. 739.
[3] "Questions and Solutions," 62.
[4] "Confusion of Language," xiv. [5] Ibid. xxviii.
[6] On "Who is Heir," etc. xlii. [7] Ibid.
[8] On "Dreams Sent from God," xxvii., xxxviii.
[9] Zeller: "Phil. D. Griechen," Vol. III. p. 370 *et seq.*
[10] Etheridge: "The Targums," p. 23.

We must now return to Jerusalem and briefly outline the development of thought from Asmonean times down. We have seen the triumph of the Hassidem. When the clouds broke away and the Asmonean kingdom entered on its brief career, it was found that old party lines had shifted about considerably. The Grecian party had disappeared as such, and the Hassidem had split into two divisions. In short, there were three great parties in Palestine.

The Greek party was represented by the *Sadducees*. Various etymologies have been suggested for this word,[1] but it is probably derived from *Tsaddik*, which signifies "rulers, governors, and victors."[2] This certainly describes the party well. We can see how, as independence was gained, the old aristocracy, the warriors, and the leaders would naturally draw together in one party. We can further understand why this party would be little given to religious learning, how their attention would center more on worldly affairs. They must study diplomacy and consider their relations with surrounding people. Hence, in religious matters, they were conservatives. They accepted the reforms of Ezra, and were very religious in observation of all rights and ceremonies laid down in the Torah (Law of Moses), and in regard to the temple and its sacrifices. It is generally stated that they denied the immortality of the soul; the more probable truth is that they denied the resurrection of the body.[3]

Opposed to them were the Pharisees. The name is generally supposed to be derived from a word meaning

[1] Generally supposed to be derived from Zadok, a personal name; Ewald, Vol. V. p. 275, note 6; Kuenen, Vol. III. p. 122; cf Stapfer: "Palestine in the Time of Christ," p. 267, note 1.

[2] Wise: "Hebrews' Second Commonwealth," p. 121, note 3

[3] Vide Stapfer, Op cit. p 18. Fisher: "History of the Christian Church," p. 15, New York, 1888.

separated.[1] This body represented the Hassidem of earlier times. This was the religious party. Their religion was everything in their eyes. Study of the law and their sacred books was the only kind of learning they admired. They wanted as little to do with outside nations as possible. They were ready enough to make all and any sacrifice, even to laying down their lives in defence of their religion, but they cared little for national independence. They were willing to leave that to God, if he wanted Israel to be independent, it would be. This body included, of course, a great number of fanatics.

Still a third party, in some respects the most interesting of all, now demands attention, the Essenes. Here, again, the etymology of the term is in dispute. As indicative of their origin, it may have been derived from Hassidem,[2] or it may be derived from a word meaning bathers, which would be indicative of one of their principal customs.[3] Quite a conflict has raged over the question whether or not this sect was the outcome of Eastern, and especially Buddhist influence. Strong assertions are made on both sides of this question. Here, as elsewhere, it seems to us that the truth lies between two extremes. When we learn the many points of resemblance between the Essenic life, doctrines, and other regulations, and those of various Oriental bodies, and especially the Buddhists, it seems difficult to believe they were of entirely independent origin.[4]

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[1] But cf. This Series, Vol. III. p. 768, note 3; also King: "Gnostics," p. 33, and p. 120 where he favors the derivation from a word meaning Persia.

[2] The Syriac form of which is *Chasya*.

[3] Stapfer: "Palestine in the Time of Christ," p. 455. Ewald, Op. cit. Vol. V. p. 370, note 2. Wise: "Hebrews' Second Commonwealth," p. 122.

[4] Consult Lillie: "Buddhism in Christendom," ch. vii. Bunsen:

But now, that tendency in the human mind, in virtue of which people delight in mystical doctrines and give themselves over to ascetic lives and unite in celibate societies, was present among the Jews as well as other people. The priesthood could have been no sooner formed than would appear the distinction between esoteric and exoteric doctrines. Wherever this distinction is observed, mystical doctrines flourish and mystical societies abound. In fact, we seem to catch clear traces of similar societies in Old Testament times. We refer to what is known as Nazaritism. The duties of a Nazarite are laid down in the Law.[1] We are acquainted with people who were thus set aside for the life of a Nazarite.[2] There is a strong probability that the association of prophets that we find dwelling together in communities were Nazarites.[3] The Rechabites, founded by Jonadab, were unquestionably an ascetic body, withdrawn from the world at large,[4] and here it is necessary to remark that according to Epiphanius the Essenes were sometimes called Nazarines.

With these facts before us, we are not to suppose that the Essenic body was altogether due to outside influence. When we reflect that at the time Essenism made its appearance in Palestine the country had long been subject to Oriental influence coming from Persia, from Alexandria, and even from India, it becomes exceedingly probable that this influence revived the ascetic tendency in Judea, and stamped on the new organization, thence arising many an Oriental peculiarity in organization and belief.[5]

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"Angel Messiah," pp. 119–135. He gives a list of twenty-five "Parallel Doctrines and Rights of Essenes, Parsists, Buddhists and Pythagoreans.

[1] Samuel, Sampson. I. Sam.i.11, 28; Judges xiii. 5. [2] Num. vi.1-22.

[3] I Sam. x. 5, 6, 10; II. Kings ii. 3, 5; iv. 38, cf. Amos ii. 2.

[4] Jer. xxxv.

[5] Neander: "History of Christian Religion," Vol. I. p. 44. Kuenen

Turning to consider the sect itself, we have to pick our way through a confused field of observation. Three ancient writers have left short descriptions of them—Josephus, Philo, and Pliny the Elder.[1] Epiphanius and Hippolytus also speak of them; all modern writers, of course, treat of them. There were two principal divisions of these people, corresponding largely to the two great divisions of the Buddhists—the Monks and the Adherents. The latter class were called Secular Essenes. They did not abandon the society of the world. This class married, lived in towns and cities, and probably took on themselves only a few of the regular obligations. They probably formed a widely-spread, semi-secret society.

The regular Essenes were, strictly speaking, monks, and wore a distinctive dress and girdle. They generally dwelt in monasteries. The Oasis of Engedi was a very favorite place of resort, and the territory to the west of the Dead Sea was also occupied. Discipline in these monasteries was very strict. They supported themselves by manual labor, dressed plainly, lived very frugally, spent much time in meditation and religious exercises, and had all things in common. The ceremonial bath, veritable baptism, which cleansed them from defilement, was an important ceremony with them. It was taken daily before the sacred meal. To this meal only initiates were admitted. The members came clothed in their white robes, as though

insists that Essenism is a purely Jewish development. "The Hibbert Lectures," 1882, p. 199 *et seq*. In this he is supported by Stapfer, Op. cit. p. 255. Zeller, however, contends that Essenism can not be of pure Judean origin, and decides in favor of Neo-Pythagoreanism by way of Alexandria. "Philosophie Der Griechen," Band III. s. 308 *et seq*. It seems very clear that Essenism is but the Jewish side of an extremely general phenomenon.

[1] "Antiquities of the Jews," x. 5, 9; xv. 10, 4; xviii. 1, 5. "Wars of the Jews," ii. 8, 2-13. "Fragments of Lost Works," ch. viii. "On the Virtuous being also Free," "Natural History, v. 17.

going to a temple. This meal can be compared to the

Christ and the Penitent Woman.

Paschal meal among the Jews generally, or to the Agapæ

of the Pharisees, or better, perhaps, to the sacred meal, which, for want of a better name, we may call the eucharistic meal, which was so generally celebrated in all religious bodies of the Orient.[1] There were several grades of these monks. The initiations from grade to grade were very solemn affairs.

Though the basis of their faith was Judaism, we catch sight of many Oriental items of belief, and in some respects, they departed from Judaism. They ceased to visit the temple at Jerusalem, they condemned all bloody sacrifices, though they sent other offerings to the temple. It is certain that they gave an allegorical significance to Scripture. They adopted Oriental ideas as to soul and matter, believed the soul to have lived before birth, that this life was in the nature of an imprisonment for the soul in impure matter They held to a number of esoteric doctrines which were never divulged except to the initiates. Part of their secret doctrine had reference to angels, this was especially guarded. Of their Messianic doctrines, we know almost nothing. Yet if they were at all influenced by Oriental belief, they must have looked for the coming of some supernatural being to set up the "kingdom of heaven," which they believed to be near at hand. This doctrine was probably one of their closely kept secrets.[2]

It is evident that this society, with its disciplined monks and its numerous adherents, with its secret beliefs and mystical doctrines, scattered somewhat generally throughout Judea, must have exerted no little influence on Jewish thought. It is easy to see, too, that their allegorizing attitude in regard to the Old Testament, their opposi-

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1 This subject will be traced later.

2 Bunsen: "Angel Messiah," pp. 111-119; Stapfer: "Palestine in the Time of Christ," ch. xiv.

tion to the bloody sacrifices of the temple, their belief that the kingdom of heaven was near at hand, their custom in regard to baptism, which was a formal ceremonial affair, must have been slowly undermining Jewish orthodoxy. We may say, generally, that "all those who shared in the deep and general tendency of the religious spirit to leave what was outward, and concentrate itself upon the inward, were touched more or less by the Essenic spirit."[1]

The Essenes, of course, took no part in the political life of the times. But the Pharisees and the Sadducees were fierce contestants, and more than once blood flowed like water in the streets of Jerusalem because of their quarrels. During the first years of independence, the Pharisees formed the principal party. But, in the reign of John Hyrcanus,[2] the Sadducees came into power. From this time until the accession of Herod the Great (37 B.C.), the Sadducees were in general the ruling sect; though there were intervals of time when the Pharisees were in power. But the larger part of the people of Israel, their most learned men, were Pharisees.

It may help us to understand the relation of affairs in this period, to remember that, though the Sadducees were the conservative party in religion, yet, as being the ruling party, the high-priest was generally a Sadducee, and, as a consequence, the priesthood generally belonged to the same party. The official religion of the land being thus in their hands, it was fast drifting towards mere formalism. The great centers of Pharisaical influence, outside of their philosophical schools, were the synagogues. We must recall that the great aim of the Pharisaical movement was

[1] Bauer: "Church History of First Three Centuries," Vol. I. p. 22.
[2] 134-107 B.C.

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the interpretation and enforcement of the Law laid down by Moses. Thus, in their system, the scribes and doctors of the law became of more importance than the priest. We are also aware of two schools of thought in the ranks of the Pharisees. The one school was more narrow-minded in their views than the other.

The literature of this period survives in the shape of apochryphal books, with one possible exception of which we will soon speak. Somewhat singularly, this literature seems to emanate from without the Pharisaical ranks. Of course the Sadducees would not busy themselves in this matter. The Pharisees themselves were too busy in the study of the Law and their puerile disputes to leave behind them any writings of great value. We can say of most of the books to which we shall refer, that their writers were no doubt influenced by the same influence that gave vitality to the Essenian movement. What we are to notice, is the subject generally treated of and the changing nature of the Messianic hope.

The Book of Daniel is, by some scholars of acknowledged ability, referred to this period, and is supposed to have been written, or, at least, put in its present shape, about 175 B.C.[1] This, it will be remembered, was a time of great trouble; just when the Jews were entering on their great struggle with Antiochus Epiphanes. Now a part of the Book of Daniel is what is called an apocalypse —that is to say, a series of revelations. The writer, in visions, learns of heavenly mysteries, which are explained to him by angelic beings. As is well known, the Book of Revelations, in the New Testament, is an excellent example

[1] We can not enter into the discussion on this point. Vide Kuenen: "Religion of Israel," Vol. III. p. 106; Ewald: "History of Israel," Vol. IV. p. 302; Wise, Op. cit. p. 122.

of this kind of writing, but several similar passages occur in the Old Testament.[1] It was probably written outside of Jerusalem[2]—perhaps, in Babylon; the writer certainly shows familiarity with Persian writings and with Chaldean superstitions.[3]

A point of great moment must now be noted, that is the conception of the Messiah contained in the Book of Daniel. In explaining the king's dream[4] and in the interpretation of his own vision,[5] we are told of the celestial kingdom of the Messiah, and we are especially to notice the angelic character of this being.[6] It is seen at once that this conception is different from the popular Jewish conception of a victorious prince of the house of David. Now we have pointed out that the tendency of Oriental belief would be to effect just such a change as this, we have seen it brought about in Jewish belief in Alexandria, and have seen reason to conclude that this was an Essenic doctrine also. It is, therefore, very interesting to meet this same conception in one of the books of the Old Testament, probably written at Babylon, and possibly as late as the time of the formation of the Essenic order. It throws no uncertain light on the gradual infiltration of Oriental and essentially Aryan ideas.[7]

Turning to apochryphal literature, a wide and interesting field is before us. But many of the productions of

[1] Isaiah vi.; Ezekiel viii. 10, etc.

[2] Ewald, Vol. V. p. 303.

[3] Consult Bunsen: "Angel Messiah," pp. 283-295; Lenormant: "Chaldean Magic."

[4] Dan. ii. 44-45. [5] Dan. vii. [6] Dan. vii. 13-14.

[7] This argument is not directly concerned with the date of the Book of Daniel. Should we decide that it was written some centuries earlier, it will simply show that this influence early exerted itself. We should recall the old Chaldean conception of Mirri-Dugga, son of Hea, and mediator between God and man (Vol. II. p. 696-7); of the Buddhist conception of the Tathagatha and worship of the future Buddha (Ibid. Vol. III. p. 798); and, finally, the Persian belief in Soshyant.

this period, we may pass over as not of very great importance for the purpose of our inquiry.[1] We now come to a book of great importance, the "Book of Enoch." This book was written by a Jew, but not in Palestine. He must have lived in the vicinity of the Caspian Sea. He wrote under the name of Enoch, and must have been a very devout man, but influenced to considerable extent by the Oriental ideas which we have just discussed. He is supposed to have written in the first century preceding the Christian Era. His book became a great favorite in Palestine.[2] Especially does this remark apply to the mystically inclined classes among the Jews. Kabbalistical writers refer to it as a book of authority.[3] For this reason it must have been a favorite with all Essenically inclined Jews.[4]

This book exerted a very great influence in apostolic times. It is well known that Jude makes a direct quotation from it,[5] but numerous passages occur throughout the New Testament where the same language, used in the same sense, is to be found as in the Book of Enoch. Doubtless, much of this similarity is to be explained by the fact that the Book of Enoch was so extensively read in the first century of our era. And especially strong is this similarity in the Book of Revelations.[6] In later times, we find

[1] In this list, we include Tobit, Baruch, Judith, Susanna, and various additions to the Book of Daniel. Consult Wise, Op. cit. p. 125. Ewald places the first two in this list at an earlier date.

[2] Stapfer: "Palestine in the Time of Christ," p. 361.

[3] Lawrence: "The Book of Enoch the Prophet," p. ix. The great text book of the Gnostics, "Pistis Sophia," makes frequent mention of the Book of Enoch. King: "Gnostics," p. 18.

[4] As was also the Book of Daniel. It is supposed, by some, that the author of the Book of Daniel was himself an Essene (Wise, Op. cit.) They have been called a "school of apocalyptic speculators" (Stapfer, Op. cit. p. 467).

[5] Jude: 14, 15; quoted from Enoch ii. and a part of Enoch xxvi. 2.

[6] Professor Stuart would explain this similarity on the theory that

Iranæus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian citing the Book of Enoch as an inspired production. Origen would

Christ and Nicodemus.

assign it to about the same scale of authority as the

the author of Enoch deliberately copied from Revelations. Almost all scholars now admit that Enoch was written earlier than Revelations.

Psalms. Yet, although it thus colored all the literature of the times, and passed rank for a while as an inspired work, it was gradually lost sight of, and only of late years was it discovered in the wilds of Abyssinia.[1]

Turning to the Book of Enoch itself, we find it to consist of a series of visions. The coming of the Messiah is foretold,[2] and the doom of the wicked and the joys of the elect are mentioned.[3] Then follows a long account of the descent of fallen angels to earth,[4] and consequent introduction of evil. But the writer foresees a time when all sin shall be driven from the world.[5] Nineteen chapters then follow, telling us of the journeys of Enoch in company with angels when he has revealed to him all manner of heavenly secrets. The next twenty-five chapters[6] are probably the most interesting part of the book. Three parables, or series of visions, are contained in this section. They are all concerned with the Millenium or Judgment. They treat of the happiness of the "elect" and the eternal punishment of the condemned. Aside from most interesting coincidence of language in which the joys and sorrows are painted, our attention is demanded for the consideration of two points.

The first one seems to be the setting forth of a trinity, but on this point it may be well to suspend judgment until a more complete study can be made. However, reference is made to the "Ancient of Days," to the "Lord of Spirits," and to the "Messiah." It may be that the first two expressions refer to the same spiritual being. But we judge not, because they are often used where they seem to

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1 The edition we have had to examine is an anonymous one from the translation of Bishop Lawrence: "The Book of Enoch the Prophet," London, 1883.

2 Enoch ii. 3 vi.

4 vii.—xvi. 5 x. 27. 6 xxxvii.—lxxi.

refer to two spiritual beings.[1] The description of the Messiah is, of course, the most interesting one. He is the "son of man," the "elect one," he existed from the beginning in secret,[2] he was invoked before the Lord of Spirits, "before the sun and the signs were created, before the the stars of heaven were formed."[3] "He shall be the hope of those whose hearts are troubled. All who dwell on earth shall fall down and worship him."[4] He it is who reveals to the saints the "wisdom of the Lord of Spirits," and, "in his name," shall the saints be preserved.[5] In the great day of judgment, seated on the "throne of his glory"[6] with the Ancient of Days,[7] he shall exercise all judgment,[8] separate the righteous from the wicked—sending the latter to everlasting punishment,[9] but the saints, clothed "with the garment of life,"[10] shall dwell with him, "eat, lie down, and rise up for ever."[11]

There is another kind of knowledge that was undoubtedly widely spread throughout Palestine to which we must now refer. We have but briefly glanced at it—the Kabbalah. It must be borne in mind, however, that there is a dispute as to the age of the Kabbalah. However, as secret oral doctrines, there is probably no question that the Kabbalah is extremely ancient. This knowledge flourished in the Oriental world; from Egypt to India, from Greece to Palestine. We must remember that this knowledge was a secret of the deepest order. Only after

[1] Enoch xlviii., lxx. relate that when Enoch ascended into heaven he saw the Lord of Spirits; but when he ascended into the heaven of heavens, he saw the Ancient of Days. In general it is the Lord of Spirits who commands and punishes (lxv. 3, lxii. 16, lviii. 14), and the one to whom praise shall be given (lxii. 2). In general, also, the Ancient of Days is surrounded with more of solemn awe (xlvi. 1, xlvii. 3 and lxx. 12). But in liv. it seems as if the Ancient of Days and the Lord of Spirits were the same being.

[2] lxi. 10. [3] xlviii. 3. [4] Ibid 4. [5] Ibid. 6, 7. [6] lx. 10.
[7] xlvi. 1. [8] lxv. 11. [9] lx. 14 [10] Ibid. 18, [11] Ibid. 17.

many trials of courage and endurance were candidates made acquainted with it. Each people probably gave a local coloring to the great secrets, which were but slightly varying forms of Oriental philosophy.

The Jewish Kabbalah, then, was but a branch of the Oriental Kabbalah, colored by local Jewish beliefs, but teaching once more Oriental conceptions in regard to God. Undoubtedly the mystically inclined Jews, especially the Essenes, must have felt an interest in this study. Though this whole movement was a secret one, still it forms one important factor to be considered among the factors gradually working a change in Jewish orthodoxy.[1] We have shown some of the Kabbalistic meanings drawn from the Bible. It is simply impossible to convey a clear statement of the teachings of the Kabbalah in the limited space at our command. We can, however, affirm that it taught an allegorical interpretation of the Bible. It further taught that the infinite God of all was inconceivable. The language used is as difficult and hard to be understood as the Hindoo description of Brahma. It teaches the doctrine of emanation. From the inconceivable God, emanate ten *Sephiroth*, which are the personalized attributes of God.[2] It teaches a doctrine of the trinity, or rather a succession of triads, for the sephiroth are masculine and feminine, and are grouped together in sets of three. Of these triads, one—the crown, the king and the queen, which in a sense includes all the other triads —presents many analogies to the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.[3] The reader will not fail to see that the teachings

[1] For a discussion of the age of the Kabbalah, see Lillie: "Buddhism in Christendom," ch. viii. [2] Cf. This Series, Vol. III. p. 749.

[3] We should remember that in many of the Gnostic circles the Holy Spirit was feminine. The word, spirit, was feminine in Hebrew (MacGregor Mather, Op. cit. p. 22). In the Apochryphal Gospel "According

of any such system must have had a tendency to break in on Jewish orthodoxy.

And now to show how all the foregoing had exerted an influence in Judaism, we need only refer to the Targums. Once more, however, we are confronted with the question of age. The Targums are interpretations of the Scripture, made from classical Hebrew into the Aramaic Hebrew of Palestine, sometimes accompanied with explanatory notes. It is undoubted that a collection of such writings existed before the Christian Era. It is disputed, however, whether those we now have go back further than the fourth century or not; some putting them as far back as Philo's time. But, it being admitted that there were pre-Christian Targums, it is not probable that they differed very materially from those we now have.[1]

Examining the Targums themselves, we are at once struck with the fact that they also speak of the Divine Word; and sometimes, at least, they mean thereby a personalized being, just as much as Philo does in his writings. In general, all appearances of God to men, mentioned in the Old Testament, are, in the Targums, understood to be of the Word. It was the Word that appeared to Adam and Eve in the Garden, to Abraham at Mamre, etc. Yet passages occur showing a distinction between the Word and God himself, thus "These things said the Lord. . . . Look unto my Word and be ye saved."[2] The Targums make frequent mention of the Messiah, but it may be doubtful whether they expected an angelic being. Some expressions, however, would seem to indicate that the

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to the Hebrews," the Holy Spirit is spoken of as the mother of Christ.

1 Vide Etheridge: "Introduction to The Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan ben Uzziel," p. 5.

2 Targum Jon. Isaiah xlv. 18-22.

Messiah was none other than this Divine Word.[1] But other passages seem to imply a distinction between the two.[2]

Let us pause a moment and review the ground, over which we have now come. Briefly speaking, the history of Jewish thought from the day of the captivity down to the commencement of the Christian Era shows us a slow but persistent and gradual change, impelled thereto by the constant pressure of Oriental ideas. This change, begun in the Persian period, went forward with equal pace in the time of Grecian supremacy. It shows its influence in the apochryphal books, in the Kabbalah, in explanatory Targums, and in the great party divisions of the Jews. The most significant feature of this change was the nature of the Messianic hope. The expectation of the return of David, or a warlike prince of his house, had been exchanged by a large section of the Jewish people for the belief in the coming of a pre-existing angelic being, and instead of a political kingdom, there was to be set up the heavenly kingdom of the Messiah. It is necessary to keep in mind that, though owing to the spread of the Essenic spirit, and the influence of the widely read Book of Enoch, this new conception was widely extended, still it was probably combatted by the ruling Sadducees and the influential Pharisees.

Looking to the world at large, we find it to be a time of very general peace. The all-powerful arm of Rome was everywhere triumphant. Peace, even though some liberties be crushed, has its accompanying blessings. Gen-

[1] Targum Jonathan on Malachi iii. makes the coming one to be the Divine Word. Targ. Jon. on Isaiah xvi. 1, makes the Messiah to be the one who was with the Israelites in the wilderness, which in other passages is identified as the Word.

[2] Vide Bunsen: "Angel Messiah," p. 101.

eral intelligence and science had been making very great strides. Rome had entered on its intellectual development. Trade and commerce must have been flourishing. In religion, we have seen the very general giving up of the old mythologies, and the consequent rapid spread of semi-mystical religions, such as Serapis and Isis worship and Mithraicism. Nor was the influence of Buddhism wholly lost on the Western World. Religion could no longer be a tribal or local affair. It must now be world-wide in its aim. It could no longer be a ceremonial affair, it must enunciate the virtues of morality. Ascetic societies had been founded, the missionary was not unknown, and the infinite pity and love of the Infinite Father could now be understood by the various nations of the world. As far as moral life was concerned, undoubtedly the world was much the same as at present. Those writers who are so fond of representing the world as in the very lowest depths of moral life are drawing on their imagination.

When we consider all the foregoing, it would seem as if the "fullness of time" mentioned by the Apostle was now at hand, consequently, looking once more to Palestine, we see a star shining in the East. In short, the Divine founder of Christianity was now born, and we are now to see how all these various streams that we have been tracing converge to form one whole, that has since rolled on in a volume of ever-increasing force.

In a work of this character, it is not expected that we should give with any fullness of detail the life of Jesus[1] of Nazareth. We ask all to remember that we are writing solely from an historical stand-point. We are more con-

[1] The word translated Jesus is simply the Greek form of Joshua, which was a common name in Palestine. See Giles: "Apostolic Records, London, 1886, p. 161.

cerned with the interpretation put upon his teachings by his countrymen, and the gradual spread and possible modification of the same which eventuated in Christianity. Neither are we called on to discuss the date and authenticity of the Gospel memoirs of the life and teachings of Jesus. It is well-known that there is a great dispute on these questions.[1]

We shall content ourselves with simply showing a few of the more salient points of his life, such as every historian is bound to notice, leaving to others the more pleasing task of portraying his life at large. We do not know the year of his birth. Our scholars vary in their opinion from seven to two years B.C.[2] Still more uncertain are we as to his birthday. The usually accepted day, Christmas, was chosen by Pope Julius I., in the fourth century, probably in deference to popular superstition, the reason of which we have already given.[3]

We know but little about his reputed parents. His mother, Mary, seems to have been a member of the tribe of Levi; while Joseph was a member of that of Judah, and a descendant of David.[4] We know virtually nothing of the first years of his life. His home was in Nazareth

[1] Amongst the host of authorities, we will mention but one on each side. Westcott: "On the Canon of the New Testament," London, 1881, 5th edition. This writer supports the more general view as to the early age and authenticity of the Gospels. On the other side, the latest and most exhaustive treatise seems to be that of an anonymous writer (evidently a German) "Supernatural Religion," in three volumes, London, 1884.

[2] It is not necessary to explain this strange sounding statement. Vide Zumpf: "Das Geburtsjahr Christ;" Stapfer: "Palestine in the Time of Christ," p. 475; Ewald: "History of Israel," Vol. VI. p. 149; Clinton in his late exhaustive treatise: "Fasti Romani," concludes on 5 B.C.

[3] Vol. III. p. 802. It could not well have been Christmas, because at that time of the year shepherds were not watching their flocks by night in Judea. Vide Stapfer, Op. cit. p. 225.

[4] On this point see Ewald, Vol. VI. p. 183.

of Galilee.[1] His reputed father, Joseph, was a carpenter. The family was large. In addition to Jesus, Mary was the mother of four sons and several daughters.[2] Joseph is supposed, from very slight foundations however, to have died when Jesus was comparatively young, after which Mary probabably removed to Cana, and, later still, to Capernaum, on the shores of Lake Galilee. Here, as the oldest son of a widowed mother, Jesus was probably recognized as the head of the family, spoken of especially as the "son of Mary."[3] The family probably belonged to the middle walks of life, neither rich nor poor. Zebedee, a well-to-do fisherman of Bethsaida, on the same lake, had married Salome, the sister of Mary.[4]

Galilee has been called the "New England of Palestine." It was a fertile upland country. Josephus praises its climate, its soil, and the beautiful scenery. It was thickly settled, and the inhabitants were as interesting as the country. The Galileans were not of pure Hebrew blood, indeed they were very much mixed. According to Dr. Stapfer, "In Galilee new faiths found ready acceptance . . . the people were simple, thoughtful, fond of new and daring ideas. . . . They were an active, hardy race; they were no dreamers, . . . they showed independence of mind and true freedom of spirit."[5] This result was probably owing to their distance from the narrow in-

[1] It is necessary to remark that all references to Nazareth in the New Testament may, possibly, have quite another meaning than the one usually given. We have not space, nor is it necessary, to discuss that point. Vide Lillie: "Buddhism in Christendom," p, 101.

[2] It is now not necessary to argue this point. The early church fathers sought to deny it, but it is so generally admitted that nothing need be said. [3] Mark vi. 3.

[4] Ewald, Vol. VI. p. 181. As to Salome being the sister of Mary and aunt of Jesus, cf. John xix. 25, Matthew xxvii. 56, Mark xv. 40. "His mother's sister," "Salome," "mother of Zebedee's children."

[5] "Palestine in the Time of Christ," p. 118.

fluence of the schools at Jerusalem and the large foreign population in their midst. It was in the midst of such surroundings that Jesus passed his childhood and years of early manhood.

Another figure of great historic interest now demands attention. He was a relative of the same family, his mother being connected with Mary and Salome.[1] This introduces us to John the Baptist.[2] Of his early years nothing is known of certainty. As his parents were both aged at the time of his birth, they probably died while he was young. The description given of him in the pages of the New Testament, when he had commenced his great work, are very interesting. That he regarded himself as one of the Nazarites of old, there is no doubt.[3] But we have suggested that the Essenian movement included in its ranks the ancient Nazarites. It becomes probable, then, that John the Baptist was an Essene, though, as there are numerous sects of Essenes, there is nothing to forbid the further supposition that the movement he started was in many respects peculiar, and had features not usually held by the Essenes.

We must now consider the locality where he worked. It was the wilderness, to the south and east of Jerusalem, the very home of the Essenian movement. We must further consider his peculiar dress[4] and austere life, his plainness of speech,[5] his maxims,[6] the doctrine he preached, and the symbolic rite he adopted.[7] This was all Essenic,

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[1] Luke i. 26.

[2] The word translated "Baptist" may possibly stand in very close relation to the word usually translated "Essene." Vide Bunsen: "Angel Messiah," pp. 114, 144.

[3] Luke i. 15. [4] Mark i. 6. [5] Luke iii. 7. [6] Ibid. v. 15.

[7] Baptism was a very common feature in the Orient, to mark a new beginning, literally a new birth. It held a place in Buddha worship, in the Eleusinian mysteries; and proselytes to Judaism were first im-

though, as just stated, his movement may also have been, and probably was, possessed of distinguishing features. It may be, that the sect of the Nazarenes, which claimed him as their founder, have an historic right to this claim, but in this case we may also assume that they did not preserve his doctrines in their pristine purity.[1]

The movement thus inaugurated by John produced a great effect, and seems to have moved all classes of Jewish society.[2] It was the custom of the times for any Jewish rabbi, who was a recognized teacher, to gather around him a band of disciples, and the relations existing between the rabbi and his disciples were somewhat akin to those between the Hindoo guru and his followers. The rabbi was to be preferred in honor before his parents.[3] Probably in a similar manner, John gathered about him his disciples, taught them his doctrines, and gave them prayers to recite.[4]

Let us now return to Galilee. According to Luke, Jesus began his public work when he "was about thirty years of age."[5] According to what we have already pointed out, this was in all probability between the two dates, 23 and 28 A.D. Though from this time on, we have more details of his life, every one knows our sources of information are extremely scanty. We know that he also gathered about him a band of disciples. Twelve of them stood in especial relation to him, and have been known in history as his apostles. With one possible exception, Judas

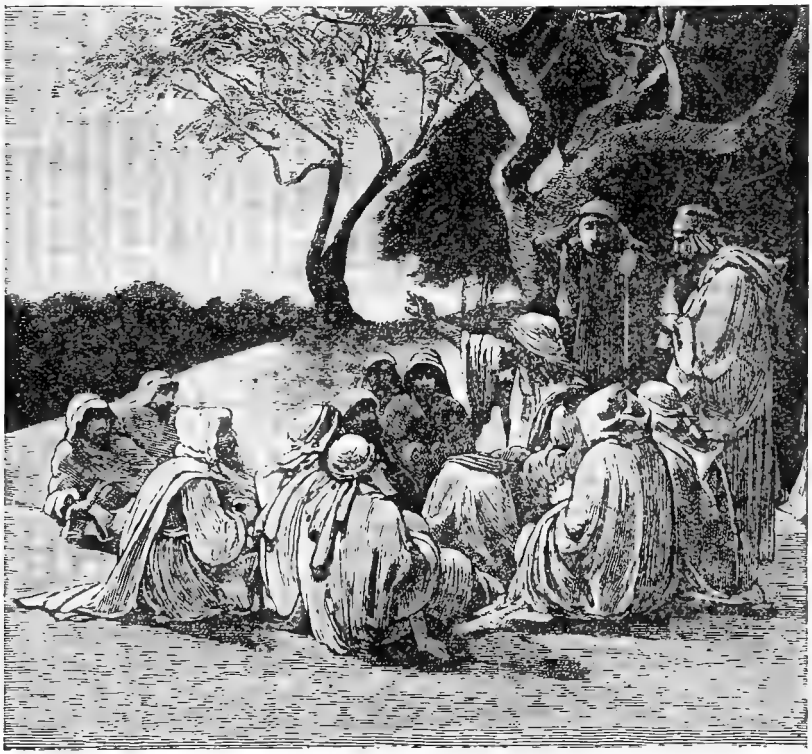
mersed. The Essenes made a great deal of this rite. Vide Hommersham Cox: "First Century of Christianity," p. 266 *et seq.*

[1] This interesting point need not be further discussed, Vide Lillie: "Buddhism in Christendom," p. 100 *et seq.*; Bunsen: "Angel Messiah," p. 113 *et seq.* and 144 *et seq.*; "Isis Unveiled," Vol. II. p. 289 *et seq.* See also, Ewald, Vol. VI. p. 160, note 1.

[2] Luke iii. 7-15. [3] Stapfer, Op. cit. p. 305. [4] Luke xi. 1.

[5] Luke iii. 23.

Iscariot,[1] all were from Galilee. The composition of this little band is interesting. Possibly one, and with a less degree of probability, two of them, James and Jude, were brothers of Jesus.[2] Two of them were probably his



Christ and His Apostles.

cousins, James and John, the sons of Zebedee. Three

[1] Judas of Karioth. There were two places of this name, one in Judea and one in Galilee. Josh. xv. 25, xxi. 34; Vide Ewald, Vol. VI. p. 303, note 8.

[2] This is one of the most difficult points to decide. Cf. Gal. i. 19 and Jude i. 1. James' name appears in all the lists of the apostles (Math. x. 2-5, Mark iii. 15-19, Luke v. 13-17, Acts i. 13-15) spoken of as the son of Alphæus. Jude only appears in Luke and Acts. As he is there the "son of James," perhaps this is a different Jude from the author of the Book of Jude. It would seem, however, from a number of indications, that the brothers of Jesus did not, at first, believe on him (Math. xiv. 55-56,

others (Peter, Andrew, and Philip) were from the same little town as these two, Bethsaida on Lake Galilee;[1] one other, Nathanael (or Bartholomew),[2] was from Cana of Galilee,[3] and had thus probably not only known Jesus in his youth, but was known to the Bethsaida disciples.[4] Of the other three—Matthew, Thomas, and Simon—nothing very definite is known. Thomas seems, also, to have been from Bethsaida.[5]

As far as external appearances went, the relation between Jesus and this select band was doubtless like that of many another band in the Holy Land. His disciples called him Rabbi or Master,[6] and doubtless paid to him the deference that disciples were expected to pay their master. On his part, Jesus took pains to explain to them the doctrines he taught,[7] and prepared them to spread abroad his teachings.[8] According to Ewald, "The chief quarters of the society were fixed at Capernaum, where, probably, the house of Jesus and that of Peter also, always stood open to its members. If the society rose, in order to journey to another place, and to stay there for a time, messengers were dispatched from it to arrange before-hand for lodging. The expenses of the sustenance of the community were borne partly by the more wealthy members, and came partly from the voluntary gifts of such as took a deep interest in the work."[9] In short, we have been considering

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Mark vi. 3-4, Luke xviii. 20-21, John vii. 3-7). This question will probably never be satisfactorily settled.

[1] John i. 43-44. [2] Ewald VI. p. 249. [3] John xxi. 2.

[4] John i. 45.

[5] Ibid. Matthew and Mark have Thaddeus in the place of Jude. It is surprising how little is known with certainty about the twelve apostles; cf. Giles: "Apostolic Records."

[6] John iv. 31. [7] Matth. xiii. 11, etc. [8] Matth. x. 5 *et seq.*

[9] Vol. VI. p. 305.

the preliminary organization, the first beginnings of that movement destined to revolutionize the world.

A point of great historical interest now lies before us. Since Jesus made use of the ordinary customs of his time, in organizing his disciples and spreading his doctrines, what, if any, elements did he see fit to adopt from the earlier movement of John the Baptist and from the Essenic movement? The preaching of John seems to have affected Galilee. He was probably well known to the inhabitants of the lake towns, since he was related not only to Mary, the mother of Jesus, but to Salome, the wife of Zebedee, as well. Humanly speaking, he was cousin to Jesus as well as to James and John. John and Andrew, Peter's brothers, were his disciples before they were Jesus'. When Jesus was about to commence his public work, he saw fit to be baptized by John. There were present on that occasion, or in the immediate neighborhood, Peter, Philip, Nathaniel, and probably James, the brother of John. This shows that they were interested in this movement enough to come some distance from Galilee. We shall probably not err if we conclude that they were disciples of John, and consequently members of an Essenian sect.

We are also reasonably sure that Jesus adopted some of the Essenic precepts and customs. The communistic plan of life adopted with his disciples was Essenic. The councils he gave his apostles when sending them forth were Essenic. The words, "Blessed are ye poor, for yours is the kingdom of God," "It is hard for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven," "Ye cannot serve God and man," "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you," are all sayings of an Essene. So, also, are his commands to the rich young man, his precept in regard to oaths, his utterances

about marriage.[1] Nevertheless, further investigation shows that in many respects the teachings of Jesus were directly opposed to those of Essenism, and if we are to call his movement (as to its external appearance) an Essenic one, it is only by the further understanding that it widely differed from Essenism proper.

As Dr. Stapfer says: "The root-idea of Essenism, purification before God to be obtained by outward observances, was strongly combatted by Jesus. He always protested against it. He sat down to the table without having plunged in water to the great scandal of the Pharisees and Essenes who observed him; and when he said: 'Not that which entereth into the mouth defileth a man, but that which proceedeth out of the mouth,' he condemned the very principle of Essenism."[2] Perhaps we have said all that is necessary on this difficult point. If, now, we conclude that the outward arrangement, the external form, the working machinery was largely Essenic; but the teachings were independent from, even in some respects opposed to, Essenism, we believe that few will take exception to the statement.[3] If it is necessary from a human historical stand-point to characterize this movement at all, we may say that it partook, to some extent, of the eclecticism of the age;[4] the new principle introduced was

1 Matth. xix. 11, 12. Stapfer, Op. cit. p. 468.

2 "Palestine in the Time of Christ," p. 469; Dr. Lightfoot in "Epistles to the Galatians," and "Epistle to the Colossians," presents many arguments against the supposed Essenic traits in the teachings of Jesus, but cf. Lillie: "Buddhism in Christendom," ch. xx.

3 According to the description of James, brother of Jesus, and head of the church at Jerusalem, given by Hegesippus, and preserved by Eusebius (History ii. 23), he was an Essene. This evidence, as will be shown later, must be accepted with caution, and further it tells us nothing of the doctrines taught. As James was the head of the church, he must fairly represent it. This is a strong confirmation of the statement just made.

4 Fisher: "History of the Christian Church," p. 12.

that it made the *heart*, the *intention*, the *will* of the person the standard by which to estimate the morality of actions. It condemned all formalism, even Essenic formalism. It set up no new code of morals. It proscribed no minute rules of conduct. It enunciated no creeds or dogmas. Using a well-known figure of speech, it declared that men must be re-born, must commence a new life, determined to love their neighbors as themselves, to guard well the heart (the intention or will), for out of it proceeded the issues of life and death, that is to say, there was the standard by which their actions were to be weighed.[1]

We shall give no especial outline of the teachings of Jesus; but pass at once to the tragedy of his death. We do not know the year of his death with certainty. Eminent authorities vary in date from the year 29 to 33 A.D.;[2] we have some slight evidence for the year 36 A.D.[3] His movement was, of course, opposed by the Sadducees and Pharisees at Jerusalem. They dreaded greatly the development of anything that bore any resemblance to Essenism. The devout were expected to pray every day, "Send thy curse, O God, upon the Nazarines."[4] The ruling classes had especially to fear any movement that would lead to popular tumults, and give the ever-watchful Romans a chance to exercise their cruel power. The en-

[1] Cf. Vol. III. pp. 786-7.

[2] Giles: "Apostolic Records;" Stapfer: "Palestine in the Time of Christ," p. 474; Ewald: "History," Vol. VI. p. 152. See, also, table in Vol. VIII. p. 366.

[3] The evidence is as follows: The Emperor Tiberius died in the spring of 37 A.D. Pilate had been ordered to appear before him on account of the massacre of the Galileans at Tirathaba; but Tiberius died before Pilate reached Rome (Josephus: "Antiquities," xvii. 4). Pilate, therefore, must have left Judea not earlier than the fall of 36. As this massacre was one of his latest acts, it could not have happened earlier than the fall of 35 or the beginning of 36. It is barely possible that this massacre was the one of which Jesus was informed. Luke xiii. 1.

[4] Jerome, quoted by Lillie.

thusiastic multitude in Galilee wished, on one occasion, to make Jesus king.

When Jesus went up to Jerusalem to the passover feast at which he was crucified, he entered the city amid the plaudits of the multitude who cried "Blessed be the king who cometh in the name of the Lord." The Roman

The Stone at the Sepulchre.

pro-consul had come to Jerusalem also, as was his custom at this important feast. We may be well assured that when the report of this matter was brought to him, that it presented itself to his mind as a case of incipient revolt against Roman power, one of which he must take judicial notice and punish accordingly. In carrying out this plan, he would, of course, make use of the same insulting cruelty

that he knew so well how to employ—cruelty to the hapless victim, insults to the Jewish nation at large. We may be sure his spies watched every movement of Jesus from this time. The blow had been already decided upon, he was only waiting a fitting time.

For this purpose no better day could be selected than the first day of the feast, when Jerusalem was crowded with strangers. Then, indeed, was an appropriate time to make an exhibition of Roman power, to insult a hapless nation, and quench a possible revolt. The high-priest, ruling Sadducees, and influential men at Jerusalem knew of the lowering tempest; they knew that the slightest expression of sympathy from the people at large in behalf of Jesus and his movement, or the slightest opposition to the decisions of the prō-consul, would bring on the entire people the wrath of the Romans. They feared their ability to hold in check the enthusiasm of the people.[1] But one course was open to them. In the name of political expediency, if nothing else, Jesus must be sacrificed.[2] There is every reason, however, to conclude further that the principal classes just mentioned were more than willing to see this movement crushed.

All know the result. Jesus was arrested, delivered over to Pilate, by him at once condemned to death. He was both scourged and crucified, a punishment only meted out to the lowest criminals of Rome. This shows us how enormous was his offence in the eyes of the Roman pro-consul. Over his head, was placed the insulting inscription, "King of the Jews."

But no human power could avail to head off the movement that had been started. For some centuries, it had

[1] Luke xxii. 1.

[2] John xi. 47-54. There was a world of sad truth in the speech of Caiaphas.

been gathering force. In the fullness of time, the great leader and teacher had appeared. In short, Christianity was now started on its mission. The work now lying before us is to trace the development of doctrines claimed to have been taught by Jesus. We are to watch the growth of Christianity until it embraces the world; we want to notice the conflict of ancient Christianity and the Gnostic sects, the rise and glittering triumph of the Church, go with it into the centuries of medieval times, and witness the growth of those principles which finally led to that great movement known as the Reformation.

In these pages, we have made an earnest and conscientious endeavor to set forth the conflicts of various beliefs in Western Asia, which were preparing the ground for the reception of the truths of Christianity. We have set forth in a kindly spirit what seems to us to be the facts of the case. As the pages are passing through the press, our attention has been called to the following words from the pen of an eminent theologian and scholar of the day,[1] which seem to us to be so true that we hasten to give them expression. "The more the great historic religions of the world are studied in their genesis and their relation to the people who were influenced by them, the more truth, beauty, and good are found in them. They had their appropriate task in preparing the nations of the world for the higher religion when it should come to them in the fullness of time."

[1] Charles Augustus Briggs, D.D., Davenport professor of Hebrew in the Union Theological Seminary. "Messianic Prophecy," New York, 1886, p. 4.

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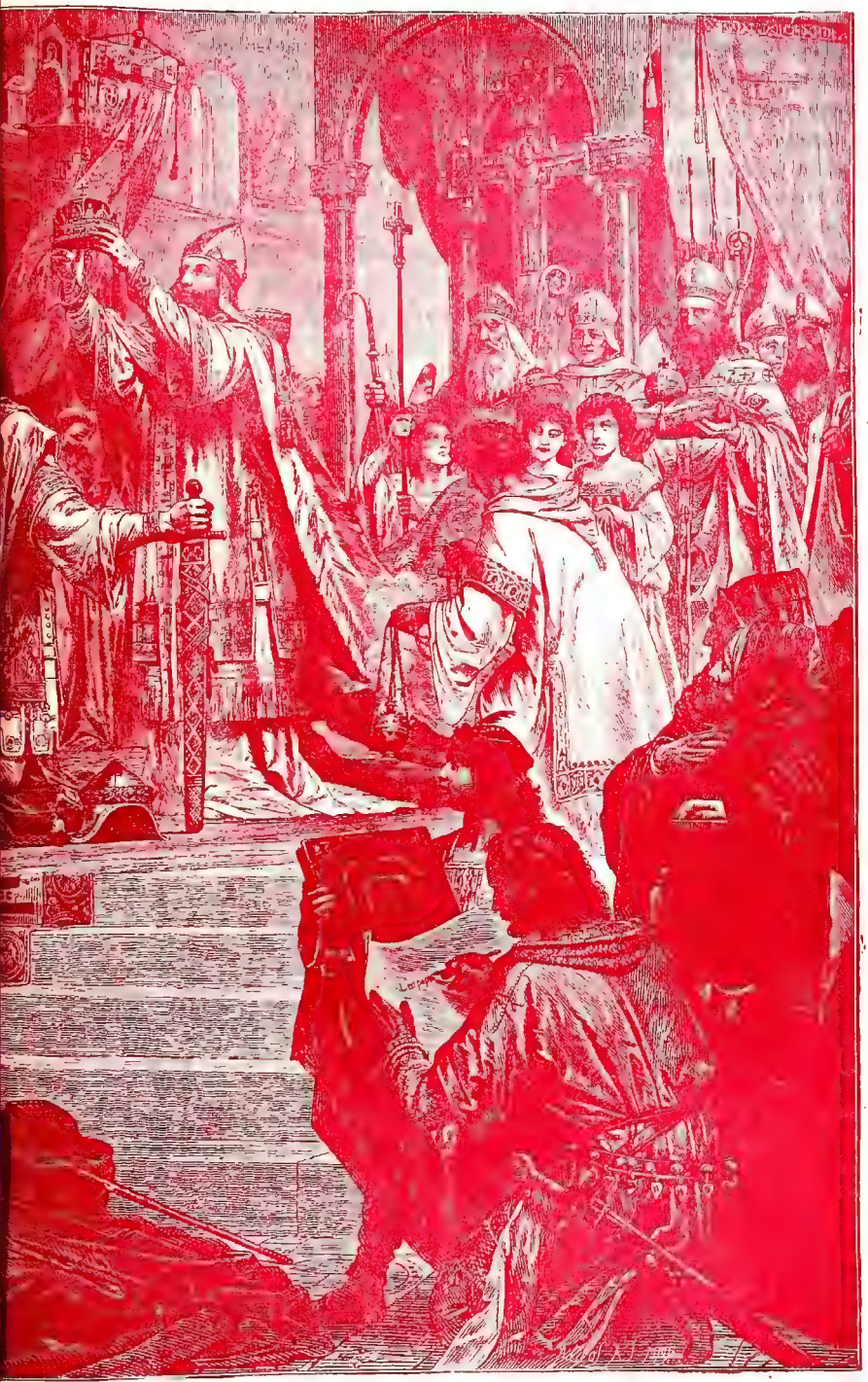


NE AT ST. PETERS, IN ROME.

# CHAPTER VIII.

## Development of Christianity.

INTRODUCTION—Political State of the World—Condition of Sciences—Superstions of the Age—Religious Culture—Belief in a Trinity, Wide Spread—Jewish Belief on this Point—Cause of this Belief—Peculiar Standing of the Second Person in the Trinity—Baptism—The Eucharist—Symbols—Heathen Morality—Sources of Information—Contemporary Writers Silent on this Movement—Organization of the Ebionite Church—Beliefs of the Ebionite Church—How Influenced by Phariseeism—The Essenic Wing of the Church—Influence of the Same—Early History of Paul—Independence of Paul—Barnabas—The Beliefs of Paul—Differences of Opinion between Paul and the Other Apostles—Organization of the Church—Same as the Synagogue—Sunday—Belief in Regard to the Millenium—Gnosticism—Influence of Gnosticism on Christianity—The Catholic Church—Trinitarian Controversies—Arianism—External Development of Christianity—Persecutions of the Church—Growth in Power of the Roman Church—The Reformation—General Outlines of the Same—The Waldenseans—Rise of the Mendicant Monks—Frederick II.—Wycliffe—John Huss—Luther—Zwingli—John Calvin—Conclusions.

THE night passes into the day, as the Spring with its flowers and songs grows into the fruitful Summer; so does the world in one stage of culture take on the beliefs of the succeeding and higher plane. Old customs become modified or absolete, bits of old superstitious belief are dropped, clearer ideas as to the great world at large are embraced, from new vantage ground a better understanding is obtained of the laws of science. So, from time to time, the world arouses to the fact that a great advance in culture has been made. The old has passed away, and with it has gone some of the ignorance and superstitions of former generations.

These statements apply to every department of culture, but not to an equal degree. We have before remarked that all religions are conservative. Hence it is that in this direction change is always slow. Many thousands of years passed away before just ideas of the nature of God and his government were enunciated. Taking our stand on this statement, that God has at all times and places done all that infinite wisdom saw fit to do in advancing man in this matter, we have not hesitated in inquiring into the history of growth in this department of culture.

In the preceding chapter we have traced the development of the three centuries, ending with the crucifixion of Jesus. We have now to deal with a more important period in the culture-history of the world. When the sun went down on Calvary, and the terror-stricken apostles sought safety in flight, bold indeed would have been the prophet who ventured to assert that in three centuries the Roman Empire would acknowledge the Christian religion as the state religion. Yet that is what came to pass. What we want to do now is to survey the marvelous developments of those centuries, and gain a clear understanding of the stages of growth ending with the formation of the Catholic Church. From the Galilean Rabbi with his twelve fishermen apostles, to the Church at the time of Constantine with its splendid organization plainly forshadowing its coming greatness under the lead of the mitered bishop of Rome, how great the change!

We must now address ourselves to a study of the various steps of this development. We will find that confusion, doubt, and contradictory statements surround nearly every question we have to consider. Scholars, eminent for their learning, came to directly opposite conclusions in many instances. We must, therefore, with

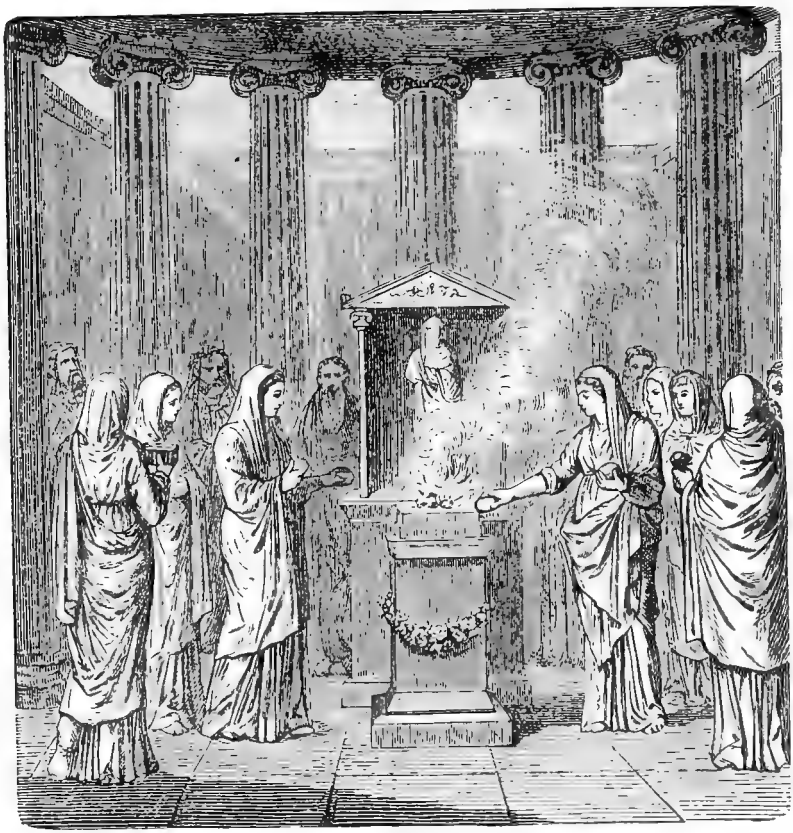
care and consideration take our way across this debatable ground. Let us first inquire as to the general state of the world at large, as to both science and religion.

Tiberius was the emperor of Rome when Jesus was crucified. The empire was then at the zenith of her power. It is true her boundaries were slightly increased afterwards, but her real power was never greater. The Mediterranean had become a Roman lake, and the many nations contiguous to her shores had met a common fate—absorption in Rome. The petty national rivalries were extinct. This represents substantially the facts of the case during the period in question.

It is impossible to over-estimate the importance of this state of affairs in the development of Christianity. The empire included in its bounds all the civilized lands of antiquity. Egypt, with its ruined temples and memories of an unfathomable past; Chaldea, whose soil had felt the tread of disciplined armies thousands of years before the mythical twins had established the foundations of the Eternal City; Greece, whose poets sung long centuries before the Latin tribes coalesced on the Tiber, were but outlying provinces of one great empire. In fact, antiquity was coming to its end in unity. One empire of apparently irresistible strength had made its appearance.

The citizens of the conquered provinces of this vast empire were alike in at least one respect—the egotistical notions of their own importance had received a crushing blow. They were but more and more impressed with the fact, that they were but parts of a greater whole. They had had rudely forced on their minds that their national gods were powerless to serve them in times of distress. Then there was the enlightenment that always accompanies the expanse of trade and commerce. Traders from all parts

of the empire met at Rome. There they must have learned to their surprise that the many stories of the miracles and wonders devoutly ascribed to their own god were paralleled by those told of other deities, and as devoutly believed in by their adherents. All this must have been



Offerings of the Vestal Virgins.

rapidly educating the masses up to the stage of belief long-reached by the educated classes. In short, polytheism was dying. The universal empire was preparing its citizens for an universal religion.[1]

1 Vide Bauer: "Church History," Vol. I. ch. I.

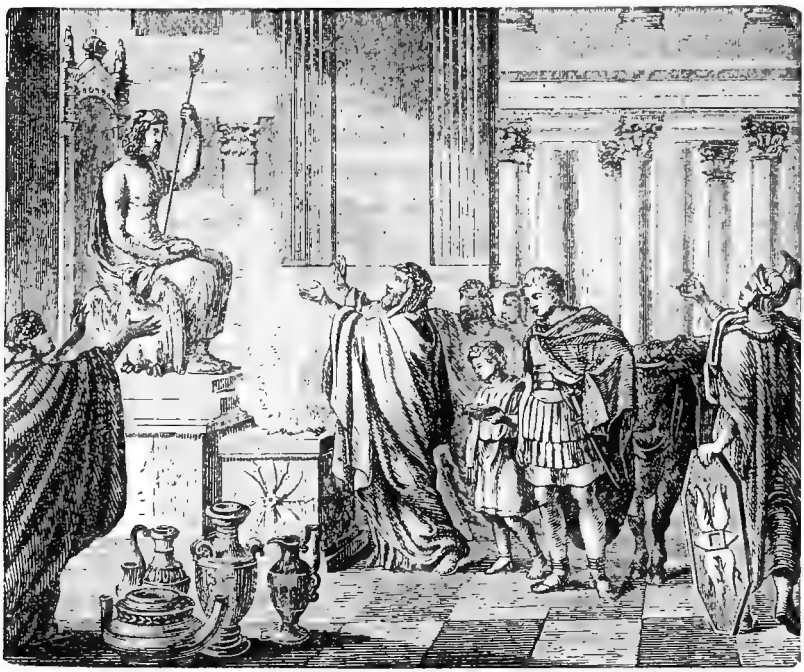
Before going further, it is advisable to glance at the general state of intellectual advance. In nothing are we more likely to err than in imputing to the language of ancient writers our modern meaning. We must, for the time being, forget our modern culture, and put ourselves in sympathy with the general intelligence of the people of that far-away time. We must here distinguish between the knowledge of a few scholars and that of the masses of the people. One of the great points in which modern culture differs from the ancient is the more general and wide diffusion of knowledge. But, at the beginning of the Christian Era, and for many centuries after, the common masses of the people were deplorably ignorant.

Books were extremely rare, and but few could make use of them. There was no way of gathering or of disseminating information. The people of one province of the empire must have been almost totally ignorant of what was going on in another. What did the inhabitants of Palestine know about the events in Gaul or Britain? And so of the most ordinary branches of learning. Geography, arithmetic, natural sciences must have been almost unknown terms to the great masses of the people. It is true that men eminent for learning in all these branches were living. Pliny, for instance, wrote thirty-seven books on natural history—a veritable encyclopedia. This work, though full of errors, is one of the most valuable remains of antiquity.

Strabo, the geographer of antiquity, had both theoretical and practical acquaintance with his subject. But it is evident that only a few were acquainted with such books as existed. The fact is, the world has made such immense strides in these directions since the invention of printing that it is almost impossible for us to conceive of the real

state of affairs in the earlier centuries of the world's history.

Superstition is the handmaid of ignorance. Hence, we are not surprised to read of the superstition of the masses of the people. The people believed in witch-craft, magic, and sorcery. They lived in fear of the evil spirits everywhere swarming around them. This was supposed



Offerings to Jupiter.

to be the most common cause of sickness. Exorcists who could drive away evil spirits were the doctors. Though it is in this direction that the survival of anamistic or savage philosophy comes most plainly to view, yet we need not doubt that it colored every event of their daily lives. Such was the intellectual atmosphere of the first centuries of our era. An ignorant, credulous, superstitious time.

Just the soil in which the romantic, the wonderful, the miraculous would be sure to take root and flourish most luxuriantly.

Now we must take into consideration the state of religious belief and culture outside of Palestine at the beginning of the first century, that is to say, throughout the Roman Empire. We want to survey this field from several points of view. Way back in old pagan times, religious culture showed two well marked divisions or fields of study. The private religion of the masses, and the public religion of the leaders. The public religion was polytheism. There were priests and temples and rituals. Certain days were sacred to the gods, and were celebrated with sacrificial offerings and festival songs. But the private religion, even from the very earliest times, had been simply Ancestor Worship. The household gods were the deceased house-fathers. As far as private religion was concerned, the great system of polytheism cut very little figure.

Now, we have seen in a former chapter how the better educated classes had gradually departed in heart from the religious culture of the people. They had adopted the widely spreading philosophical belief of the Oriental World. Their teachings were veiled and shrouded in mysteries. They were not at all understood by the masses of the people. Only by slow degrees and the exercise of great care were candidates initiated from rank to rank. And in some cases the deeper secrets were hid, save from a select few, from even the most advanced candidates. We need not doubt but that such initiates were to be found everywhere throughout the Roman Empire.

Now the point to be noticed is, that the general mass of the people had been slowly advancing to this same plane of thought. The proof of this fact is the sudden

rise and spread of those forms of religion which, in a measure, voiced the teachings of the mysteries, such as the worship of Serapis and Isis, and Mithraicism. These forms of religious culture were the exact counterparts of Essenism in Judea. They were due to the same wave of Oriental philosophy spreading to the west, on the one hand colored by polytheism, on the other influenced by Judaism.

As a consequence, we find certain points of ritual held in common by people from one end of the Orient to the other. It is both interesting and instructive to glance at some of these beliefs and customs. The first that we need notice is the wide diffusion of a belief in a trinity or triad of gods. Nearly all systems of polytheism pass away in triads. In Brahmanism, for instance, we find the active deity believed to be a trinity, viz: Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva.[1] This triad is called the *Trimurti*. In the cavern at Elephanta, is a three-headed figure springing from one bust, to represent unity.[2] The poet and the commentator teach that these three persons, however, form but one deity. Their reply to a perplexed inquirer is: "Learn, O devotee, that there is no real distinction between us; what to you appears such is only semblance; the single being appears under three forms, but he is one."[3]

We have already mentioned the trinity worshiped in Buddhism.[4] Passing into China, Buddha was called *Fo*. Hence we understand the Chinese expression, "Fo is one person, but has three forms."[5] According to Le Compte, one of the maxims of the Taou sect in China is that "Tao, the Eternal Reason, produced one. One produced two, two

1 Siva is the same as Rudra; see Vol. III. p. 739, note 2.

2 Maurice: "Oriental Trinities," p. 372.

3 Allen: "India," p. 382. 4 Vol. III. p. 795.

5 "Bible Myths, p. 372, quoting Davis: "China," Vol. II. pp. 193, 81.

produced three, and three produced all things."[1] According to Colonel Grant, the Tartars in Northern Asia had also their trinity. "They worshiped one god under three denominations—the Creator of All Things, the God of Armies, and the Spirit of Heavenly Love."[2] Turning to Europe, we find in Scandinavia Odin, Frey, and Thor. A triune statue representing this trinity in unity was found

Heathen Temple in Ruins.

in Upsal in Sweden.[3] In the manuscript copies of the Edda preserved at Upsal, these three deities are represented sitting on three thrones. The inquirer is told that the god sitting on the lowest throne is "the lofty one," the second, "it is the equal to the lofty one," and he who sits on the highest throne is simply "the third."[4]

1 Maurice: "Oriental Trinities," p. 429.
2 Ibid. 397. 3 "Bible Myths," p. 377.
4 Maurice: "Oriental Trinities," p. 405.

We have before remarked that Egypt was the land of trinities. We found a trinity in the Jewish Kabbalah. We are told that both the Assyrians and Phœnicians worshiped a trinity. In fact, there was no article of belief more widely spread than that of a divine triad.[1] Here, it may not be out of place to make mention of the Jewish belief. Jewish scholars insist that this doctrine of the Trinity is nowhere taught in the Old Testament. The position of the Christian commentators is that, though not openly taught, it is implied in innumerable passages. Calling the Kabbalah to our aid, it becomes very clear that the latter are right. We must remember that the tendency of Semitic belief was strictly in the direction of monotheism, on the one hand, and the great danger of the Israelites of relapsing into polytheism, on the other; hence the unity of God was held up to view. Probably the triune nature of the godhead was almost wholly an esoteric article of belief.

Now it will help us to a clearer understanding of this matter to briefly consider some possible explanations for this wide-spread belief, and we will notice points of variance among different people. Probably no one explanation will answer all the difficulties. Probably many reasons could be pointed out, all assisting to bring about this conclusion. We have shown, perhaps with tiresome emphasis, the importance of heaven and earth as fetiches. Passing into polytheism, these become two of the greater gods. They become the great father and mother of all

1 Lack of space prevents a more thorough investigation of this interesting question. For a full discussion see Maurice: "Oriental Trinities." As an esoteric doctrine, this seems to have been held by all people of antiquity. Greeks, Romans, and Germans are seen to form no exception. Though nearly a century has elapsed since this book was published, its value is unimpaired.

things.[1] It is, perhaps, not difficult to understand the working of the human mind that nearly always placed with these two greater gods, another god as their son.

Perhaps this was but the lowest form of this belief, illustrated in old Chaldean, Assyrian, and Egyptian belief.[2] But advancing intelligence frees itself from such a conception of deity, and comes to consider these three gods as separate but equal beings. This fairly represents the so-called trinities in many cases, although even here the old idea still retains its influence; one of these gods still represents the masculine element, one the feminine, and the third holds a mediatorial position between gods and men. Probably the so-called Scandinavian trinity belongs to this class.[3]

But as the idea of monotheism advances, these three gods mysteriously blend into one. This was the stage reached in nearly all the cases we have thus far discussed. Finally, as philosophy begins to grapple with this question, the Infinite First Cause is conceived as lying back even of this triune god. We know this was the case in Brahmanism.[4] It was probably so in the philosophical system of Plato.[5] This was the belief of the Alexandrian school,[6] and of the Jewish Kabbalah.[7] And here we should note the doctrine of the Taou sect; Eternal Reason lay back of all. Finally the doctrine of emanation springs up, the triad of gods composing the active trinity are but emanations from the First Cause. But, as showing the tenacity of old beliefs, we need only remark that, of these successive

1 Vol. II. p. 336 *et seq.*; pp. 384 and 385; p. 516; Vol. III. p. 729.
2 Vol. II. pp. 519, 695-6.
3 Wilder, Payne Knight: "Mythology," p. 169.
4 Vol. III. p. 739.
5 The Demiurge of Plato was a trinity; vide Ueberwig, Vol. I. p. 123.
6 Cf. "The Cherubim," Allegories of the Law, ii. 1.
7 "Kabbalah Unveiled."

emanations, some are masculine and some feminine. This subject will be considered again in treating of the Gnostics.

Another point of interest in regard to these ancient trinities must be examined. Going back to the primitive belief when the trinity was god, goddess, and offspring, it is, perhaps, not difficult to see why the offspring, the son of the god, should be regarded as the special protector of men. He was the mediator between god and man. Thus, in Chaldea, we find prayers and supplications addressed, not to Hea, but to his son, Mirri-dugga.[1] This conception was never lost; in all the trinities some one appears as mediator, the especial friend of man; Vishnu in India, Thor in Scandinavia, Mithras in Persia, illustrate this point. We have already seen that in a number of cases this person in the trinity was called the Logos. To what was said above, we need only add, that in Egyptian belief the Logos was regarded as a great mystery. The god Thoth was sometimes called the Logos.

Regarding this person of the trinity as the mediator and friend of man, it is not singular that in some cases the belief had arisen that he had from time to time consented to become incarnate in man, and pass an earthly life in elevating their condition. In earlier times, it was common to believe of any eminent personage that he was the son of a god. When advancing intelligence discarded these stories, religious belief in some instances still held that these gods had passed a mortal life on earth. It is well known that the Hindoos believe there have been a number of avatars of Vishnu. Though, perhaps, only one, Crishna, ought to be regarded as a true incarnation; in the other cases only a part of the deity was bestowed on the mortal. Some of these avatars are purely mythical; some

[1] Vol. II. p. 697.

are, perhaps, historical personages, though a vast amount of mythical incidents has been connected with their lives. Guatama Buddha is supposed to be the ninth incarnation of Vishnu.

In Buddhism itself, we have seen that each Buddha was an incarnation, not indeed of a god, but of a pre-existing angelic being. One more curious point must now be touched upon. We have seen that in all the earlier trinities the goddess appears. We can easily understand why this goddess worship should tenaciously survive into higher forms of culture. In quite a number of triads she still retained her place. And in other cases she survived in another form. At any rate, the worship of the Virgin Goddess was one of the most wide spread worships in the Orient. We have spoken of the worship of Isis, represented with the infant Horus in her arms. The Etruscan worshiped a Virgin goddess with a child in her arms.[1] Almost all the goddesses of ancient Greece and Rome were at times and places dignified with such titles as "Virgin Queen of Heaven," "Mother of God," etc.[2] In the cases of the incarnations we have just mentioned, of course the mothers of the holy children were holy and sacred persons. We need only recall what was said of the mother of Buddha,[3] and state that similar beliefs were entertained in regard to the mother of Crishna, one of the avatars of Vishnu, and of Myrrha, the mother of Bacchus. The latter was called the "Queen of Heaven," and was represented with the infant saviour (Bacchus) in her arms.

Leaving this field, let us treat of some of the rites and ceremonies common throughout the Orient. The statement has already been made that baptism was a very common

[1] Innman: "Ancient Faiths," p. 101.
[2] Vide "Bible Myths," pp. 332-3.
[3] Vol. III. p. 802.

ritualistic act. It is interesting to note how wide-spread this rite was. Frequently, in reading the account of the adoption into the ranks of barbarous tribes, we note that the candidate was thoroughly washed, generally in running

Josephus.

water.[1] This idea was, perhaps, the one extended to the case of children. They were not considered full members

[1] This was the custom in most of our Indian tribes.

of the society in which they were born until they were baptized. Of course, religion was the department of culture that early secured control of this movement. A short time after birth, the infant was baptized, and the name was formally bestowed on him. We know this to have been the state of affairs among nearly all the nations of Northern Europe.

In both Greece and Rome the case was similar. The child was not a member of the joint-family until it had been adopted by the house-father.[1] "The goddess *Nundina* took her name from the ninth day, on which day all male children were sprinkled with holy water, as females were on the eighth, at the same time receiving their pagan names."[2] The pagan priests gave a certificate of such baptism, and spoke of the child, born "in original sin and the wrath of God," being regenerated by the laver of baptism. In Mongolia and Thibet, the Buddhist priests go through quite a ceremony when the child is baptized. "Candles burn, and incense is offered on the domestic altar, the priest reads the prescribed prayers, dips the child three times in water, and impresses on it a name.[3]

But baptism was not confined to childhood. In general it tended to mark a new beginning in a moral life. Thus, in all the heathen mysteries, the candidate on his admission was baptised, after which he was said to be regenerated.[4] In the Egyptian mysteries of Isis, the candidate was baptised by the attending priest, and purification and forgiveness of sins were supposed to be the result.[5] In Egyptian hieroglyphics, a very expressive sign is used for

[1] Vide Coulanges: "The Ancient City," p. 67; Hearn: "The Aryan Household," p. 73.

[2] Taylor: "Diegesis," p 233. [3] "Bible Myths," p. 317.

[4] Mackey: "Encyclopedia of Freemasonry," pp. 222, 247, 341.

[5] Apuleius: "Milesis," taken from "Bible Myths," p. 319.

baptism, "the waters of purification."[1] It was one of the rites adopted by all of the religions of antiquity. The Jewish proselyte was baptised before admitted to all the rights of Judaism. When this rite had been bestowed on him, he was said to be "born again."[2]

When a Buddhist monk was initiated, after a confession of sin and much catechising, the candidate was baptized. This operation is called the "Whole Birth."[3] The candidate into the ranks of Mithraicism was also baptized.[4] We have not yet exhausted the purificatory rites of water. In front of the heathen temples were placed marble vases concontaining lustral water. The priest stood at the door, in his hand a branch of laurel or olive tree, which he dipped into the water and sprinkled all who entered the door.[5] In fact, the idea that baptism conferred some sort of virtue, irrespective of the disposition of the candidates, proceeded to such lengths that such writers as Ovid and Cicero condemned it as an unworthy superstition.[6] We need simply remark that in several cases we catch glimpses of baptism by fire as well as by water. In Greece and Rome, the child was carried three times around the sacred fire;[7] while adults jumped three times through the flames. In this latter form, baptism by fire is still employed in India.[8]

Let us trace out one more custom, taking its rise in a primitive stage of culture, but surviving into higher forms of religious belief. In the stage of fetichism, we have seen the people choosing various inanimate things for

1 Bonwick: "Egyptian Belief," p. 416.
2 Cox: "First Century of Christianity," p. 274.
3 Lillie: "Buddhism in Christendom," p. 81.
4 Mackey, Op. cit. p. 503.
5 Smith: "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities," Art. "Chernips." 6 Taylor: "Diegesis," p. 233.
7 Coulanges: "The Ancient City," p. 67.
8 "Bible Myths," p. 324.

adoration. In some cases, plants were thus worshiped. We know that the early Aryans of India thus reverenced the soma plant. It was their god. They made from it an intoxicating drink. To partake of a cup of this drink was a religious rite, it was really drinking their god. "O Soma, immortal, may we drink of thee and be immortal like thee" is their wish.[1] But we have seen that fetiches could be made. We know that the Mexicans made paste figures of their god, and eating that, thought that they were literally eating their god.[2] Explain it how you will, the fact remains that this idea—that certain sacrifices, offered, become literally part of the deity, and hence a most meritorious thing to eat and drink them—survived into almost all the religions of the Orient. In the earlier belief, the earth itself was a deity. Hence, all that was produced was a part of that deity. This notion was kept alive on certain feast days, when what was eaten was regarded as literally part of the god. This is the meaning of Arnobius, when describing those who took part in the Bacchanalian feasts, he declares, "they thought they received the fullness of God's majesty when they tore and ate struggling rams."

But such crude conceptions as these soon disappeared. Wine or water, or simple cakes of bread and rice, took the place of other victims. The point to be noticed is, that when these simple articles were duly consecrated, they were believed to be literally parts of the god. When the ancient Egyptians celebrated the myth of the death and resurrection of Osiris, little round cakes, marked with a St. Andrew's cross, were placed upon the altar. When blessed by the priest it was supposed to become a part of the

[1] Baring-Gould: "Religious Belief," Vol. I. p. 401.
[2] Bancroft: "Native Races," Vol. III. p. 299.

veritable Osiris; it was then broken by the priest and given to the assembled multitude, portions being carried to absent members.[1] In extremely early sculptures from Sanchi, we see cakes ranged by the side of a vase, and in other cases groups are adoring rice cakes.[2] In Thibet, the Grand Lama blesses the bread and wine, partakes of a portion, and then it is passed around.[3] Judging from the statements just made as to early Buddhism, this consecrated bread and wine is regarded as a part of deity. Prodicus tells us that the ancients worshiped bread as Demeter, and wine as Dionysus, therefore, when they ate the bread and drank the wine, after it had been consecrated, they thought they were eating the flesh and drinking the blood of their god.[4] It is, perhaps, sufficient to remark that in the worship of Mithras as celebrated at Rome, there was also a sacrament of bread and wine. The early church fathers spoke of it as being exactly the same as their own sacrament.[5] Among the Essenes, we might remark that they celebrated every day this sacred meal.

Now, it may not be out of place to consider the subject of symbols. What signs were used to express these various ideas? The cross was one sign in very common use. This is so generally known and admitted on all sides that we need not dwell on it. The probabilities are that quite a number of new ideas found expression in the symbol of the cross. One was probably that of the generative powers. The Egyptian key of life and death, seen on some of the most ancient monuments is substantially the same

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1 Bonwick: "Egyptian Belief," pp. 163, 417.

2 Lillie: "Buddhism in Christendom," p. 83.

3 "Bible Myths," p. 306.

4 Ibid. 309; vide also Taylor: "Diegesis," p. 214.

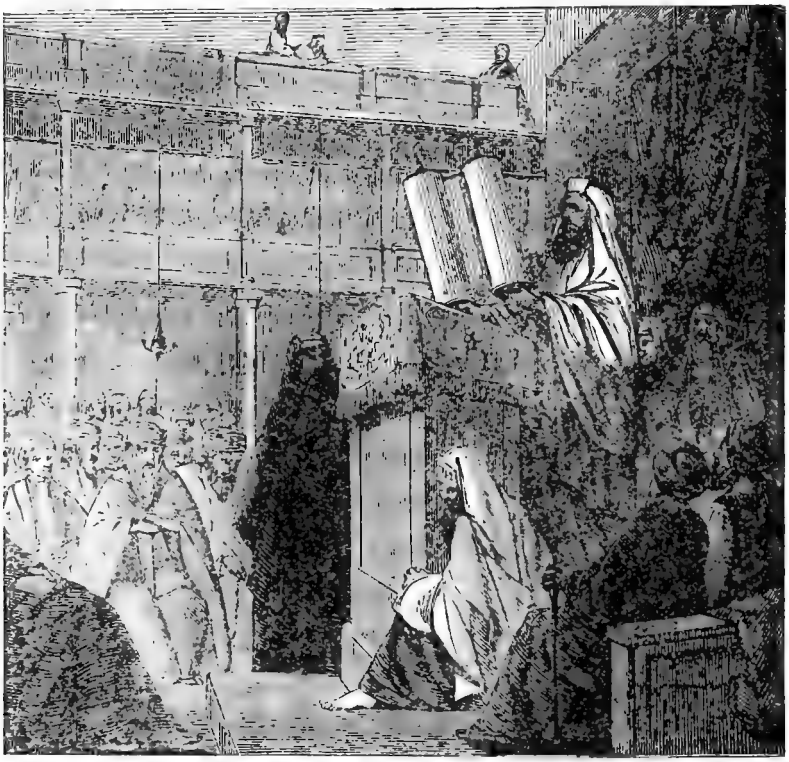
5 Justin Martyr: "Apology," quoted in King: "Gnostics," and other places.

symbol.[1] The idea of a trinity in unity was represented in a great variety of ways, such as the triangle, the clover leaf, etc. Some of these, in an earlier age of the world, undoubtedly represented Phallic symbolism.[2] The various personages of the triad received separate symbols. The feminine element was generally represented by the dove. Juno, Astarte, Cybele, Isis, and other important goddesses are often represented with a dove.[3] Quite a number of symbols were connected with the second or mediatorial members of the triad. The serpent was sometimes used as such a symbol. Why this should be so used is useless to discuss in the limited space at our command. Probably a great many conceptions here combine; primitive mythology, ancient Phallic symbolism, alike were satisfied by the use of this symbol. We know that the serpent was the special symbol of the worship of Bacchus.[4] In Egyptian belief, though appearing in the worship of many deities, it was the especial symbol of Thoth,[5] this god was sometimes called the *Logos*.[6] In India the serpent is also intimately associated with Vishnu.[7] And it is well to recall that Alexandrian philosophy made the brazen serpent of Moses significant of the Word. The fish was another emblem referring to this same person of the triad. The Hindoos believe that the first appearance of Vishnu was in the form of a fish.[8] In China, Buddha is sometimes called the "Fish-Buddha."

Now that we have spent some time in considering the externals of pagan beliefs, it may be well to glance at their

1 Vide Vol. II. cuts pp. 471, 485, 490, 498, 534, etc.
2 Vide Innman: "Ancient Pagan and Modern Christian Symbolism."
3 Lundy: "Monumental Christianity," p. 293.
4 Wake in: "Ancient Symbol Worship," p. 39.
5 Ibid. 40. 6 Bonwick, Op cit. p. 404.
7 Wake, Op. cit. p. 72.
8 Williams: "Religious Thought in India," p. 107.

morals. In the first stage of culture, religion was not at all connected with morality. But, from that point on, the two came more and more into harmony. It is easy to talk about the immorality of pagan beliefs, but, taken as a whole, there is little doubt that all systems of religion have tended to emphasize the necessity of morality. The priesthood at



Worship in the Synagogue.

all times and places, have, as a whole, been an influence for good. Viewed at this distance, in both time and culture, it is easy to see much in the beliefs of the pagan nations of the first century of our era that seems to us strange, grotesque, and even abominable. Much of this information comes to us through prejudiced channels, and we

ought to be candid enough to reflect on certain general principles that were as strong then as now.

The human heart, the heart that fears and loves and suffers, was constituted then as now. There was certainly philanthropy as well as philosophy, love as well as selfishness; there must have been living, here and there, pure and gentle souls, who sorrowed with others in their sorrow, whose lives made the world better. There was more of good in the world than of evil. Inasmuch as what we call paganism had been one of the factors that had served to conduct man from lowest savagism to a high state of civilization, we must admit that its tendency was not downward. Way back in old Assyrian times there were souls who felt oppressed by sin, and longed for deliverance. There were such people in all periods of history, and it is not for us to say they were denied this boon. The Infinite Father is near to all who seek after him. The following fragment of a beautiful hymn to Venus, tells of spiritual victory won:[1]

"Thy adoring vot'ry, I
In thy faith will live and die;
And, when Jove's supreme command
Calls me to the Stygian strand,
I no fear of death shall know,
But with thee contented go;
Thou, my goddess, thou, my guide,
Bear me through the fatal tide;
Land me on th' Elysian shore,
Where nor sin, nor grief is more—
Life's eternal blest abode,
Where is virtue, where is God."

Let us now leave this direction of inquiry and return

[1] Taylor: "Diegesis," p. 241.

to Palestine. We have now cleared the way and made an earnest effort to place ourselves in sympathy with the thoughts of the age. Probably those who have never had occasion to investigate this question, feel a little surprised, if not incredulous at the results. We think we have fairly stated the facts of the case. We must leave the result to the good judgment of the reader. Probably the easiest explanation is, that Christianity did not go forth claiming to teach doctrines and ideas before unheard of, but simply took many of the beliefs, rites, and ceremonies of the heathen world, freed them from error, and taught a more excellent way. We will not dwell on this suggestive thought. Quotations could be here given from the early fathers showing that they regarded the matter in this light.[1]

Before proceeding to learn what we can of the development of Christianity, it may be advisable to refer to the sources of information. In the New Testament we have the "Acts of the Apostles," giving us some history, but by no means a full account of events, down to about the year 65 A.D. From the Apostolic writings, some further details may be obtained; almost nothing in this way can be gathered from Revelations, though we can gather details of belief. As to the value of the information to be obtained from the sources just named, there is unfortunately considerable dispute among scholars whose ability and honesty of purpose is unquestioned. The day for blind credulity is passed, and on all sides it is admitted that we are at liberty to ask certain questions in regard to these books and their authors, questions which an earlier and a more

[1] St. Augustine states, that what had become known as Christianity, was known to the ancients, and had not been wanting from the beginning of the human race.—Taylor: "Diegesis," p. 42.

intolerent age would not have allowed. In regard to Acts, for instance, who was its author, when was it written? And similarly of the Epistles, who wrote them and when? We shall make no efforts whatever to answer these questions. Were we qualified for the task, it would be impossible to give even an outline of the same. We shall try to make only such statements as will remain true, whatever the final result may be.[1]

Outside of these sources, it is certainly remarkable how little material we have, until the second century is well under way. The fact is, Christianity is not noticed in any of the writings of the first century. In some cases, the only explanation we can make of their silence is, that Christianity had nothing to distinguish it from other religious sects; they were confounded with the Essenes on the one hand, or with some such sect as the worshipers of Mithras on the other; and so escaped notice. A glance at some of the writers of the first century will show this very clearly. Philo, the Alexandrian writer and philosopher, lived during the first half of this century. He was a voluminous writer on Jewish beliefs. On one occasion, at least, he visited Jerusalem; he went once on an embassy to Rome. He makes not the slightest mention of the important religious movements in Palestine during this era.

Josephus, the Jewish writer and historian, died somewhere near the close of the first century. He wrote the history of the Jews, describes their manners and customs,

1 The one opinion is, that these books were all written in the first century, and generally by the men whose names they bear. Commentators and men of great ability support this view. On the other hand, with the exception of the Revelations and a few Epistles of Paul, it is claimed that the books were written late in the second century, and some, as II. Peter, later still. On this side, consult "Supernatural Religion" (Vol. III.,) for the Acts. Rev. J. A. Giles ("Apostolic Records of Early Christianity") presents much historical research in this matter.

mentions the various Jewish sects, commanded the Galilean forces during the Roman war, and afterwards wrote an account of the war, yet he nowhere mentions the Christians. In two passages[1] of his works, mention is made of Christ and his brother James, but, unfortunately, it is now admitted on all sides that these two passages, especially

St. Paul Before the Council.

the former one, have been so interpolated by later Christian writers, that we do not know what the words of Josephus were.[2]

[1] "Antiquities," xviii. 3, 3; xx. 9, 1.

[2] The first passage is given up by the vast majority of scholars. No mention is made of it before the time of Eusebius. The second passage, the words "who was called Christ, named James," were, perhaps, inter-

Strabo, the geographer, who lived in the early part of this century, traveled extensively to obtain his information. In his twelfth book, he treats somewhat at length of Palestine and the Jews, but no mention is made of the Christian movement. Valerius Maximus, about the time of the crucifixion, wrote extensively on the various religions and matters therewith connected. The two Senecas were living at this time. The younger Seneca was a famous moral philosopher. He was living in Rome when St. Paul is supposed to have arrived there, and this was long after a Christian church was established in Rome; but Seneca seems to have known nothing of the new movement. The elder Pliny, the author of "Natural History," devotes considerable attention to Palestine and the Jews, describes their religious sects, etc. He took a great deal of interest in the games of the amphitheatre. He died in the year 79. In none of his writings, does he make the slightest mention of the Christians.

Now there is not the slightest doubt that the new movement inaugurated by Jesus had been continued by his apostles, and was making rapid headway, but for some reason it failed to be noticed by such a writer as Pliny, who was on the look-out for whatever was out of the ordinary run of events. As far as external appearances went, the Christians must have been confounded with the somewhat numerous similar bodies already existing in the Roman Empire. Josephus must have confounded them with the Essenes. It is, to say the least, singular that he makes not the slightest mention of such a character as Paul or of Peter, and, probably made no mention, or at most but a passing notice, of even Jesus of Nazareth.

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polated. Giles: "Apostolic Records;" p. 285; cf. Ewald: "History of Israel," Vol. VI. p. 138.

Let us trace very hurriedly the probable course of events after the crucifixion. Of course, the apostles, in making their re-organization after the death of Jesus, had to model after some body with which they were familiar. They had to make use of existing copies, with, perhaps, some slight changes. Now, we have pointed out that Jesus had seen fit to adopt and emphasize quite a number of Essenic precepts, maxims, and practices. It is not strange, then, that we detect quite a number of Essenic elements in the new organization. There is probably little doubt that they adopted a communistic plan of life. Converts were expected to dispose of their property and turn the proceeds into the common fund, from which they were all sustained.[1] Like the Essenes, they spent much of their time together; and doubtlesss had their holy meal in common.[2]

But their organization was much more centralized. In the first place, the apostles were at the head, but of these one, James, brother of Jesus, was virtually high-priest. His decrees were to be respected, his displeasure to be feared.[3] According to Epiphanius, James even wore the metal plate of the high-priest, and once a year entered the Holy of Holies. The churches of the first period seem to have recognized the church at Jerusalem as their head.[4] Decrees given by James through this church, were "to be kept" by the other churches.[5] But we must point out that this church departed in some respects from Essenic teachings. The Essenes did not visit the temple; accord-

[1] Acts ii. 44-45; iv. 32-34. [2] Acts ii. 42.

[3] Acts xv. 19. The true meaning of this passage is "wherefore I decree," etc. Cox: "The First Century of Christianity," p. 214: cf. Gal. ii. 12.

[4] We often see them sending subsidies or collections to Jerusalem. Acts xi. 29-30, xxiv. 17; Gal. ii. 10; Rom. xv. 26, etc.

[5] Acts xiv. 4.

ing to Acts, the apostles and leaders of this church did visit the temple daily.[1]

In fact, however strongly some factors of their external organization point to the influence of Essenism, they were still more strongly influenced by orthodox Judaism. The only distinguishing doctrines of belief were in regard to Jesus of Nazareth. The new sect believed him to be the promised Messiah; they believed he would soon come again, this time in power and glory, and usher in the Millennium age. On all other points, they seem to have been devout Jews. They visited the temple, they kept the feasts, they obeyed the law of circumcision. Gentile converts were to be treated in the same spirit that Judaism treated them.

As is well known, Judaism had two classes of proselytes. In the first class, or proselytes of the gate, were the *devout* or God-fearing persons mentioned in various parts of the New Testament; they accepted Judaism, but not all of its rules. They obeyed what the rabbis called the commands of Noah, which were seven rules drawn mainly from the Mosaic law.[2] This was regarded as a preparatory stage; attempts were afterwards made to induce them to submit to circumcison, in which case they were addressed as *righteous*. It is interesting to observe that a liberal party in Judaism thought that the first stage was sufficient.[3] In the case of the new community at Jerusalem, of which James was the head, they finally consented to accept the Gentile converts as proselytes of the first class. The four rules they imposed on them[4] were the only important ones out of the seven Judaism had

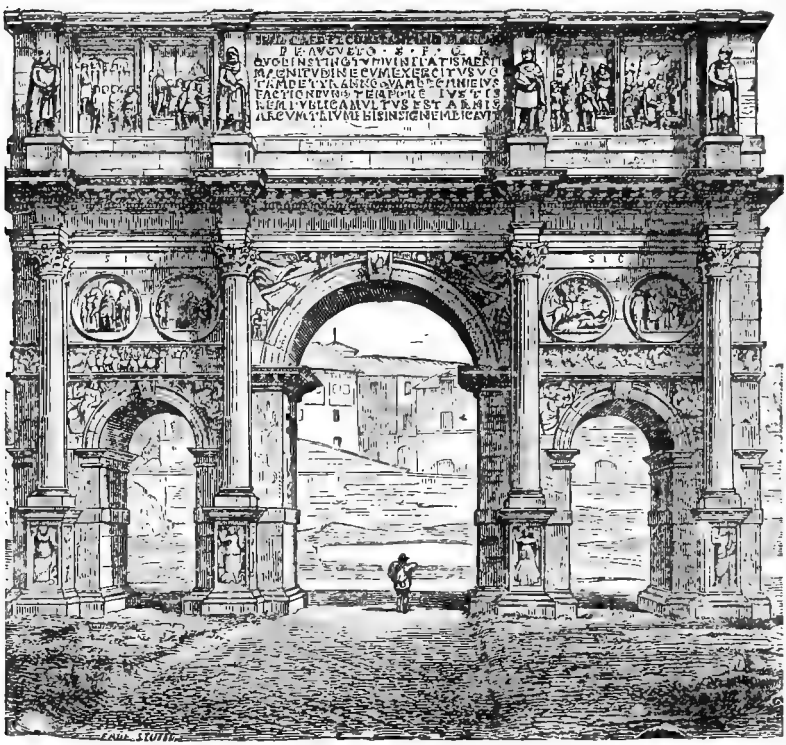
1 Acts ii. 46.

2 Leviticus xvii. 8-16, xviii. 27; cf. Ewald, Vol. VII. p. 311.

3 Joseph: "Antiq." xxii. 3-4. 4 Acts xv. 29.

imposed.[1] Like orthodox Judaism, they, for a long while at least, urged them to be circumcised.[2]

The word, "Christian" was unknown in Palestine and elsewhere for a number of years after the crucifixion. This new sect seem to have been called *Ebionites*, the word properly meaning the poor, and, perhaps, was bestowed



Arch of Constantine.

in the first place by way of derision.[3] We have no reason

[1] The rabbis made seven rules. In adition to the four adopted by the Jerusalem church, they forbade the observance of idolatry, the blasphemy of the true God, and commanded them to acknowledge the courts of justice. Ewald, VII. p. 311; cf. Bauer: "Church History," Vol. I. p. 109.

[2] They persisted in wanting Paul's converts to be circumcised. Cf. Galatians.

[3] Cf. Ewald, Vol. VIII. p. 152.

to conclude that this body was greatly disliked by the more orthodox party, as we will soon see. We have seen that to this body the apostles belonged, and were, as was but natural, the leaders. They seem to have lived in Jerusalem, and the most of them probably never thought of extending their labors outside the bounds of Palestine. In a subsequent time, this Ebionite church, from its narrow Judaistic stand-point, became stigmatized as *heretics*.[1] It is, of course, possible that in process of time they departed from some of their first practices, responding more readily to Jewish influence.

Now this Ebionite church was quite removed from the Catholic church. What are some of the steps of advance by which the one grew into the other? When we reflect what an amount of ripe scholarship has been brought to bear on this one point, we naturally suppose that all this has been quite clearly traced out. On the contrary, scholars eminent for their ability and learning, and whose honesty of purpose no one need question, come to opposite and even contradictory conclusions. Statements, therefore, on this point, must be made with caution and with due allowance for opposite conclusions, and must be accepted in the same spirit.

Let us inquire from what direction this new movement was liable to influence. On the one hand, there were the customs and beliefs of the so-called pagan world. We have just been discussing their religious culture. This growing movement must soon come in contact with the religious culture of the heathen world, and would inevitably be influenced by the same. The new movement must also come in contact with the great Jewish sects, with the Pharisees on the one hand and with Essenism on the

[1] Eusebius: "History," xxvii.

other. We all must admit that these contacts would take place, and it is simply unreasonable to claim that nascent Christianity would not have its course of development influenced by the same.

In the first place in regard to Pharisceism. There are not wanting those who insist that Christianity arose out of Phariseeism.[1] This was doubtless one of the factors of the new movement. For the Pharisees must have found much to commend in the teachings of Jesus. They are represented as often in his company, and interested in his sayings.[2] At times, his words met there warm commendation.[3] When he purified the temple of the money changers,[4] we need not doubt that this act met the hearty approval of the strict Pharisees. We hear of their warning him in time of danger.[5] It is true he found much to condemn in Phariseeism, and as if fearful of their influence on his movement, he repeatedly warned his disciples against the "leaven of the Pharisees."[6]

For we can easily see, that such influence would tend to throw round the new church many Jewish notions that would seriously cripple its usefulness. If it was to be an universal religion, it was first of all necessary to cut free from some Jewish customs. We think that it was this influence that held the Ebionite Christians in the old grooves, and, perhaps, caused a return to ideas from which, in the first instance, they had freed themselves. Whatever may be the facts of the case, we know that the stricter Ebionites observed the Sabbath and other discipline of the Jews, and thought the observance of the law was still necessary.[7] They furthermore thought that Jesus was the

[1] Kuenen: "Hibbert Lectures," 1882.

[2] Matth. ix. 11, xii. 2, xv. 1; Mark vii. 1; Luke vii. 26, xiv. 1; John iii. 1, *et seq.* [3] Luke xx. 39. [4] Matth. xxi. 12. [5] Luke xiii. 31.

[6] Matth. xvi. 6; Mark viii. 13, etc. [7] Eusebius xxvii.

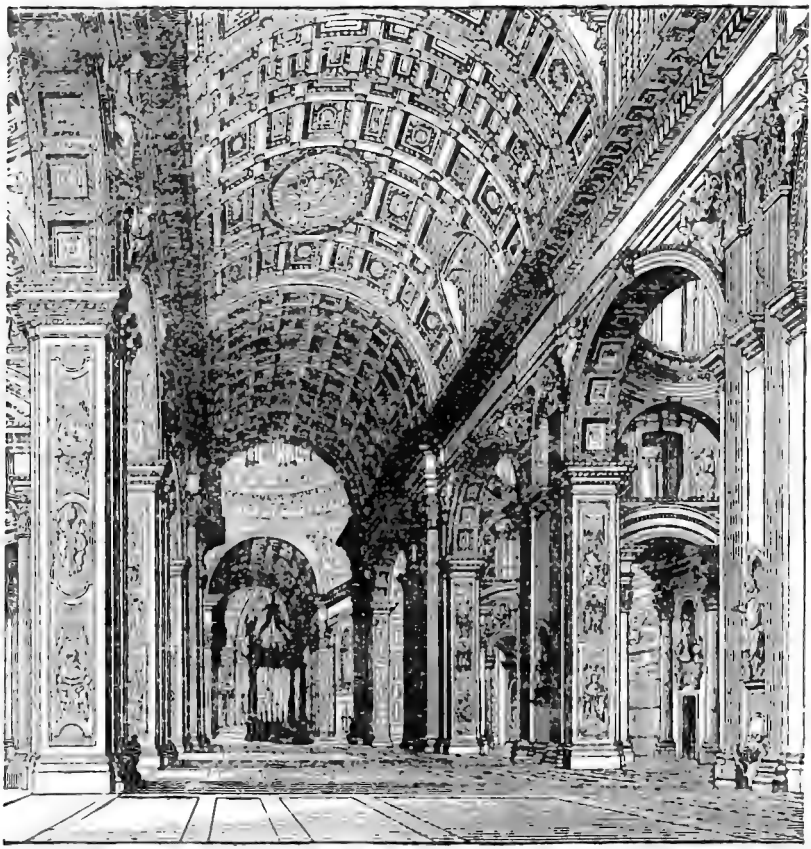
natural son of Joseph and Mary, and was distinguished as the Messiah simply by his advance in virtue. They rejected the writings of Paul, and accepted the Gospel according to the Hebrews.

We will not dwell longer on the Ebionites, nor will we attempt to decide how many of the beliefs just laid down are to be considered as the beliefs of the primitive church, and how many as due to the influence of subsequent Jewish converts. Strong assertions are made on both sides of this interesting question. Neither will we make further inquiries as to the Gospel according to the Hebrews. Quite eminent scholars think that it was the original Hebrew form of the Gospel according to Matthew. It did not contain the first two chapters of our Matthew, and in many respects varied from the present gospel of Matthew. It is generally admitted to be one of the oldest gospels extant.[1]

Thus, in Judaism itself, we find this new organization exposed on the side of Phariseeism to conservative, if not retrogressive, influence. But when we turn to consider Essenism, we see at once an influence tending in the other direction. We must recall the main outlines of Essenism, their allegorizing attitude in regard to the Old Testament; their probable conception of the Messiah, a supernatural angelic being; and their belief that the kingdom of heaven was near at hand. We have seen that the external organization of this new movement was largely Essenic. It is somewhat singular that the Essenes are not mentioned in the New Testament. We have seen that, though Jesus

[1] Consult Ewald: "History of Israel," Vol. VIII. p. 126-152. A good outline of this gospel is contained in "History of the Christian Religion," by C. B. Waite, Chicago, 1884, chap. ix.; also vide "Superanatural Religion," Vol. I. p. 419 *et seq.*

had uttered most scathing condemnation of the Phaisees,[1] yet the Pharisees found much to commend in his teachings. These remarks apply with still greater force to the Essenes. As Ewald observes, "no other party in the old community



Interior of St. Peter's at Rome.

stood, fundamentally, so near Christianity as that of the Essenes."[2]

It is almost certain that large numbers of the Essenes at an early day embraced Christianity. We seem to catch

[1] Math. xxiii. 13 *et seq.*

[2] "History of Israel," Vol. VIII. p. 144.

clear traces of this in the Acts. We read of a sudden and almost unaccountable increase in the church. When it was first publicly proclaimed, that Jesus had risen from the dead, and that he was the Messiah, we read of three thousand addition to the church, and in a few days thereafter, the number was said to be about five thousand.[1] From what body was this large accession most liable to come? There can be but one answer to this question, the Essenes. Josephus tells us there were about four thousand Essenes in Palestine.[2] They were expecting the coming of the kingdom of heaven. They probably claimed this whole movement as originating in their ranks. The immediate disciples of Jesus were claiming with great zeal and earnestness that he had triumphed over death and was the expected Messiah. Nothing is more likely, then, than that this large addition was mainly from the Essenes.

And as if to prove the whole matter, let us refer to the first persecution. In those days, we are told, when the number of believers were multiplying, there arose a dispute between the Hellenistically inclined believers, and the stricter Hebrews.[3] We have seen that the word *Hellenism* is a general expression meaning the movement in favor of Oriental philosophy.[4] In a true sense, the whole mystical movement in Palestine could be called Hellenic. Hence it becomes almost certain these "Hellenistically inclined believers" were Essenes. Continuing the investigation, we next read of the introduction of a new office in the church, stewards or serving men, afterwards called deacons. It is suggestive to say the least, that Josephus

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[1] Acts ii. 41; iv. 4. [2] "Antiq." xviii. 1, 5.

[3] We submit that this sentence correctly expresses the meaning of Acts vi. 1. "*Helleniston pros tous Hebraious*," means "Hellenistically inclined Hebrews."

[4] Above, p. 564.

tells us of the Essenes, that they have "stewards appointed to take care of their common affairs."[1]

Let us inquire, in what direction their influence would be thrown. Here we observe that we need not say they would introduce new ideas, but we simply inquire as to what ideas they would strengthen. There need be no question on this point. They would emphasize the divinity of Christ. They would insist on his pre-existing life in heaven. They would transfer to him all mystical expression regarding Wisdom, or the Logos. This one sublime personage would draw to himself all the previously floating beliefs in this matter. In proof of this, we need only refer to the recorded speech of Stephen. He identified Jesus with the angel who appeared to Moses in a flame of fire in a bush; he was the prophet whom Moses foretold; he was with the church in the wilderness; he was the angel who spoke to him on Mt. Sinai; he was with the fathers who received living oracles to give unto the people. We have abundantly shown that this was the reasoning of Hellenism as to the expected Messiah, and this seems to settle whence this large accession came, and the direction of its influence.[2]

Here, then, we see that in Judaism itself the new movement was exposed to two counter influences; one conservative, if not reactionary, in the direction of orthodox Judaism; the other away from this stand-point and more in favor of the general trend of advanced religious thought of the times. We must not forget that the Essenes were much disliked and feared by the other parties in Palestine. We must keep in mind the curse hurled at the mystical

[1] Wars, II. viii. 3.

[2] To catch the full force of this argument, see above, pp. 571, 578, 581, 587

GALILEO BEFORE THE TRIBUNAL. NICOLO BARABINO.

"E Pur Si Muove."

movement by the devout Jews.[1] Hence, when persecution broke out, it was not so much against the Ebionite church, the church of the apostles, as against the Essenic wing. In the persecution that followed the death of Stephen, we read that the church was "scattered abroad," *except the apostles*,[2] who remained at Jerusalem.[3] There can be but one explanation of this exception. The apostles and the Ebionites generally visited the temple daily,[4] and were not regarded with great disfavor. The case was different with the "Hellenistically inclined believers."

Now, in approaching the consideration of the influence likely to come from the religious culture of the outside world, we must first make a general observation. Essenism was but the Jewish form of a general stage of religious culture at that time almost general throughout the Orient. The waves of this movement had indeed overrun Palestine, but the Essenic Jews were still Jewish in many respects. They still held numerous one-sided ideas of the importance of certain Jewish customs, such as circumcision. To become a Jew was still an important and almost necessary step in becoming a Christian. It was necessary to advance beyond this idea. This introduces us to Paul, who accomplished the important work of advancing Christianity to the stage of an universal religion.

In treating of such an eminent personage as Paul, it may be well to ask whether we have any information of him outside of the New Testament. All of the contemporary history we have of that time is silent concerning him. It has been thought by some Jewish scholars that the Jewish Talmud mentions him under the name of Acher, and it is really surprising what an amount of evi-

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[1] Above, p. 609. [2] Acts viii. 1. [3] Acts viii. 14. [4] Acts ii. 46.

dence is offered on this point.[1] It is, to be sure, not very important; but, if this be true, some details can thus be gathered of his early life. He had the reputation, rare at that time in Palestine, of being a Greek scholar. "Grecian poetry did not fail upon his lips," says the Talmud.[2] While yet a student at college, when he rose up to speak, "many books of the unbelievers dropped from his lap."[3] He chose as his master Gamaliel,[4] and studied to be a rabbi, but was converted to Christianity. The Talmud ascribes this important event to the cruel death of an innocent person.[5]

Gathering of the Crusades.

The Talmud speaks of this conversion as the "apostasy" of Acher. It speaks of him afterward as "known all over the earth." It also speaks of him as being once in ecstasy carried up into heaven.[6] We might remark that the poet Lucian, writing in the early part of the second century,

[1] Vide Wise: "The Origin of Christianity," ch. ix.

[2] Cf. Acts xvii. 28. [3] Wise, Op. cit. p. 314. [4] Cf. Acts xxii. 3.

[5] Perhaps, here is a Talmudic reference to the death of Stephen. The Jewish name of the personage, whose death effected the conversion of Acher, signifies the "steward." [6] Cf. II. Cor. xii. 1 *et seq.*

makes one of his characters describe Paul as "The Galilean . . . that bald-headed, long-nosed man, who trod the air into the third heaven."[1]

Turning to New Testament sources, we learn that Paul was born in Tarsus of Cilicia, and was educated at Jerusalem.[2] He belonged to the sect of the Pharisees,[3] and was very zealous in his work. He was one of the official witnesses of the death of Stephen,[4] and was soon after converted on his way to Damascus, whence he was journeying to persecute the church. The first question coming up is, which party in the early church was the one with which Paul cast his influence? On investigation, we will learn that apparently he agreed with neither. He adopted the Essenic teachings as far as they would go, but cut loose from many of their one-sided views. His excellent education, his strong mental powers, his whole past life, rendered him fit to be a leader and not a follower. He was naturally independent, he scorned to build on another man's foundation,[5] and he was not at all afraid to speak his convictions.[6]

We want to notice first, that after his sudden conversion at Damascus, whither he had gone to persecute the Essenic wing of the church, he went away at once to Arabia. By this phrase we are to understand Arabia Petra, the very home of the Essenes. Here he seems to have spent three years.[7] It is extremely suggestive that the full term of initiation into the Essenic order was three years.[8] It was not until some fourteen years after this, or seventeen years after his conversion, that he was finally

1 Giles: "Apostolic Records," p. 410.
2 Acts xxii. 3. 3 Acts xxvi. 5.
4 Cf. Deut. xvii. 5, and Acts vii. 58-59.
5 Rom. xv. 20. 6 Gal. ii. 11.
7 Gal. i. 17-18. 8 Josephus: "Wars," II. viii. 7.

granted the right hand of fellowship.[1] This result was reached at a council held in Jerusalem. Paul seems to have been anxious to do everything in his power to conciliate the two wings of the church; and that he was largely successful appears not only in the pages of the New Testament, but stands before us as an historical fact.

During the fourteen years of active work preceding this council, Paul seems to have met with two only of the apostles—Peter and James—and he expressly states that he was unknown by face to the churches in Judea.[2] His headquarters were at Antioch. Now it seems probable that the Church at Antioch stood in about the same relation to the Essenic churches as the Jerusalem church did to the Ebionites, save that the organization was not near as perfected and centralized. As we shall see, it was some time before anything approaching the Jewish organization was adopted in the Essenic churches. As the community at Jerusalem adopted or was known by the name of Ebionites, so the community at Antioch adopted the name of Christians.[3] Let us ask more particularly about the important members of this church.

There was first Barnabas, the one who induced Paul to come to Antioch, going to Tarsus, Paul's native city, for that purpose.[4] He seems to have foreseen the important role that Paul was destined to fill, and made mention of the wonderful work he was doing to the apostles.[5] But the church at Jerusalem distrusted the tendencies of Paul's teachings, and, as we have seen, it was not until some years later that this distrust was removed.[6] There is considerable evidence to the effect that this Barnabas, "son

[1] Gal. ii. 6-10. [2] Gal. i. 18-24.
[3] Acts xi. 26. [4] Acts xi. 24. [5] Acts ix. 27.
[6] This can be the only sense in which the apostles at Jerusalem were *afraid* of Paul. Acts ix. 26.

of consolation,"[1] is the same as the "Joseph, called Barsabbas," who was one of the two candidates for the apostleship, made vacant by the defection and death of Judas.[2] However this may be, Barnabas ranked as an apostle, and was one of the influential leaders in the church at Antioch.

He wrote a general epistle, which, though now ranked as one of the apochrypha, was cited by many of the early fathers as canonical. Examining this epistle, we find it to be full of Essenic reasoning and teachings. It makes great use of allegory in explaining the Old Testament. The three hundred and eighteen men circumcised by Abraham is a most significant number; the letters representing these numbers stand for Jesus and his cross.[3] He regards the brazen serpent, the cross, the paschal lamb, the scape goat, the red heifer, all as symbolical of Christ. He recognizes the Messiah as existing before the worlds were made.[4] Some essentially Essenic maxims are inculcated. "Thou shalt communicate to thy neighbor of all thou hast, thou shalt not call any thing thine own."[5]

Another character in this early church was Manaen, or Manahem.[6] It has been stated that this must have been the noted Essenic prophet who predicted the future reign of Herod.[7] Of another personage of this church, "Simeon, called Niger," it is barely possible that this is the same as Simon the Magus, whom the fathers regard as the first Gnostic. It is certain that after Paul had been accepted as an apostle, and the cause he represented was

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1 Acts v. 36.

2 Bunsen: "Angel Messiah," p. 327. Codex D, and the Ethiopian translation actually read Barnabas instead of Barsabbas in Acts i. 23.

3 Barnabas viii. 11-14. 4 Barn. vi. 13.

5 Barnabas xiv. 16. See this point more extensively discussed in "Angel Messiah," p. 327 *et seq.*

6 Cf. Acts xiii. 1, and Ewald: "History of Israel," Vol. VII. p. 378.

7 Josephus: "Antiq." XV. x. 5.

about triumphing, the figure of Simon the Magician is the one that draws to itself all the dislike of earlier years. In the Clementine Homilies, Simon, as a general name, often stands for Paul.[1] Antioch was the center of Simon's activity, and much of his teaching was Essenic, though he probably went to extremes.[2]

Preaching the Reformation.

It was among such workers that Paul was numbered.[3] Now in regard to Paul's own teachings, we have his own declaration that he now "preached the faith of which he

[1] Homily XVII. ch. xix. is unmistakable in its reference to Paul.

[2] Cf. Bunsen: "Angel Messiah," p. 181 *et seq.*; and Bauer: "Church History," Vol. I. p. 91.

[3] Acts xiii. 1.

once made havoc,"[1] this by itself would show that he embraced the doctrines of the Essenic wing of the church. In his defence before Felix, where he was charged with "being a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes,[2] he openly confesses "that after the way which they call a heresy so worship I the God of our fathers."[3] When he arrived at Rome, we are informed that among the Jews the "sect" to which he belonged was "everywhere spoken against."[4] Now we have no right to assume that the Ebionite church at Jerusalem was "everywhere spoken against," for they were "all zealous for the law."[5] Such a feeling as that, among the Jews, like charity, would cover a multitude of sins.[6]

Then besides, in the writings and speeches of Paul, we have abundant testimony as to his beliefs. Let us pause to make a general observation. We have no right to assume that truth is a monopoly of any one sect, people, or age. We shall refer once more to the stand we have taken.[7] God has always been near unto those who seek him. It is no longer possible to shut our eyes to the simple truth that a part of the theology of Christianity, as well as its rites, ceremonies, and symbols was derived from extra-Jewish sources. The idea, that everything must be either traced back to Judaism, or else be shown to be a

1 Gal. i. 24. 2 Acts xxiv. 5. 3 Ibid. 14. 4 Acts xxviii. 22.

5 Acts xxi. 20.

6 In "Palestine at the time of Christ," says Stapfer, "men might think as they liked, provided they did what was commanded. They might be very heretical at heart, even semi-materialistic like the Sadducees, and yet be none the less good Jews, faithful Israelites, if they fulfilled the Law, recited the *Shema* and observed the Sabbath" (p. 321). "The feelings habitual to an inhabitant of Palestine in the first century may be summed up in two sentences: hatred of foreigners, and devotion to the Law." (p. 371). "The Law took precedence of everything else" (p. 372). On the other hand, "all those who failed to obey the Law were much looked down upon" (p. 368).

7 Above, p. 618.

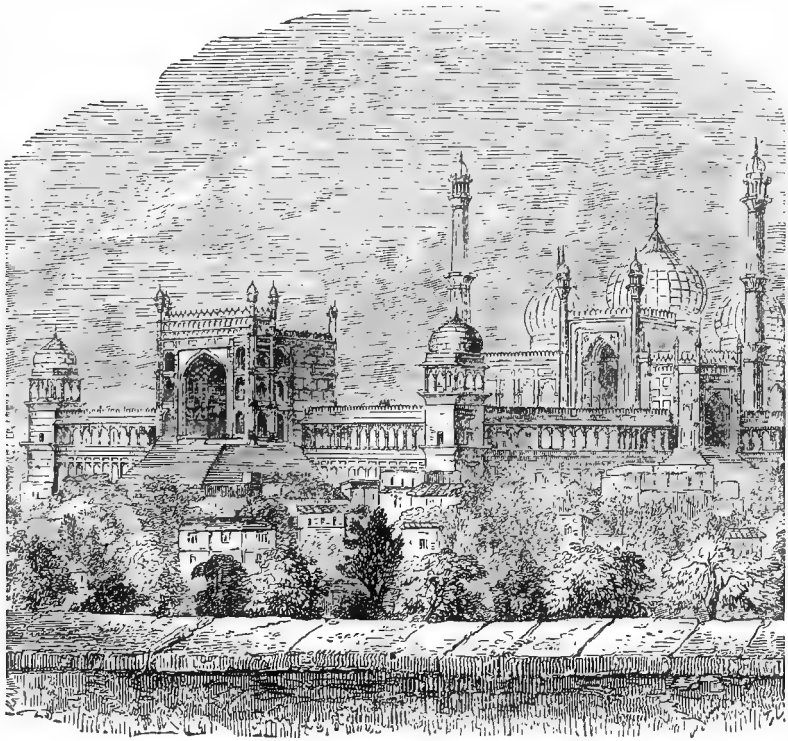
new truth first enunciated by Christ or his disciples, and that Christianity busied itself from its start in discovering to an astonished heathen world doctrines, beliefs, rites, and ceremonies, of which it had never before heard, is now seen to be an error. If allowed to use a bold figure of speech, we might say that Christianity was a precipitate. The life and teachings of Christ and his apostles found in the general religious culture of the world a vast amount of truth in solution; truths of doctrines and appropriate rites, symbols, and ceremonies. From this the purest and best coalesced as Christianity.

And herein is to be found the peculiar beauty and power of Christianity. It always draws to itself what is best and purest in the most advanced thought and culture of the age. This is the secret of its growth, and this is why it is, to-day, making such enormous strides in conquering the world. It fears no criticism, it adopts as its own the latest researches in the sciences, and asks only for truth. If the plant took root in Jewish soil, it drew to itself nourishment from the uttermost regions of the world. It is a living, growing religion, and advances from age to age, as general intelligence and culture advance. Some of its faithful adherents indeed fail to perceive this truth, and act and talk as if all advance was to be disputed, all new inquiries headed off. Their efforts are fruitless, the current flows on, they are forgotten.

Returning now to the case of Paul, we trust it will pain no one to be told that he ardently supported Essenic teachings in many respects. It is, of course, out of place to go into details on this matter. His teachings in regard to Christ and the spirit of God, about the Law, the allegorical interpretation of Scripture, the typical explanation of the rites of Judaism, the atonement, are examples of

Essenic teachings and reasoning. But the statement has been made that Paul seems to have endeavored to bring these two wings of the early church into harmony. Let us now inquire more particularly on that point.

How was Paul regarded by the church at Jerusalem? Simple honesty requires the candid statement that, for quite a number of years at least, and even after he was



The Church of St. Sophia at Constantinople.

granted the right hand of fellowship, they regarded him with suspicion, and that there was more or less friction between them. This need occasion no surprise. Human nature is persistently the same from age to age. Religious factions have their disputes which, unfortunately, are not always conducted with the best of spirit. We have no

special reason to conclude that the case was different in the first century. But few traces now remain of the troublous movements of those far-off times.

It seems that after some fourteen years of active work among the Gentiles, Paul and Barnabas went to Jerusalem to counsel with the community there. Paul took occasion to lay before the principal members of this community, hence, of course, such of the apostles as were then living there, the gospel he preached among the Gentiles.[1] By the word "gospel," here, we are to understand the whole system of doctrine he taught. In several places he makes mention of his gospel, and we are given to understand that in some respects it was peculiar to himself. He expressly states that he did not receive it from man, nor was he taught it, and that the apostles "who seemed to be something" imparted nothing to him.[2] Considerable pressure was brought to bear on the question of circumcising Titus, but this was resisted. The result of this conference was that Paul was given the right hand of fellowship to go unto the Gentiles. No lasting peace was made: no union brought about. There were now two "gospels," one to the Gentiles and one to the Jews. Paul appears as the representative of the one, and Peter and the church at Jerusalem as the other. But this did not immediately remove all difficulties. The question of the standing of the Gentile Christians continued to harass the church.

Some time after this there was a painful scene at Antioch. An attempt was evidently made to force on the Gentiles the substance of the Jewish Law. James, as head of the church, sent certain of his delegates there for this purpose. Fearful of their censure, Peter, who had taken some steps in the direction of recognizing the Gentile

[1] Gal. ii. 2. [2] Gal. i. 12; ii. 6.

Christians, withdrew from them, and even Barnabas was not free from their influence. Their conduct called forth pretty plain remarks from Paul.[1] This painful scene long continued to haunt the memory of the early Christians. In the Clementine Homilies it is dwelt upon.[2] Still later, there was an effort to force circumcision on the Galatian church. This called forth the Epistle to the Galatians, in which the whole ground is argued over.

We gain another view of this conflict in the Corinthian epistles. In this case, the narrower points of attack such as circumcision are abandoned. The question seems to present itself in a new light. What right had Paul to call himself an apostle? What right had he to pretend to teach as an apostle? It seems that from Jerusalem persons with letters of recommendation had come to Corinth,[3] and, as a result, party divisions had arisen there.[4] The Apostle writes to check these divisions, and takes occasion to defend his own apostolic authority. Here we will not stop to analyze these letters.[5] We might here remark that this phase of the contest was long remembered in the church,[6] and is, perhaps, even referred to in Revelations.[7]

We need not dwell longer on this stage of the question. Perhaps greater importance has been attached to it than the subject will warrant. We have stated wherein Paul seems to have disagreed with the Ebionite church. He did not, on the other hand, accept all that the Essenic teachers taught. He separated from Barnabas on the question of admission of the Gentiles.[8] Judging from the

[1] Gal. ii. 11 *et seq.*
[2] Hom. XVII. ch. xix. [3] II. Cor. iii. 1. [4] I. Cor. i. 11.
[5] Vide Bauer: "Church History of the First Three Centuries," Vol. I. p. 60 *et seq.*
[6] Hom. XVII. xix. [7] Rev. ii. 2. [8] Acts xv. 39; Gal. ii. 13.

Essenic epistle of Barnabas, the Essenes were inclined to distinguish between Christ and the man Jesus.[1] This view Paul expressly condemns, and approaches much nearer the Ebionite church.[2] The Essenic wing of the early church was peculiarly exposed to Gnosticism (which we will soon discuss). We have seen some slight reason to suspect that Simon Magus was one of the workers in this church. In some of the epistles generally accredited to Paul, almost express warning is given against this tendency. The divisions in the church at Corinth show that Paul's party was sufficiently well defined to be distinguished from both the strictly Jewish party (Cephas), and the Essenic party (Christ).[3]

Time, of course, was a great factor in removing the differences of opinion, whether they were great or small, that separated Paul from the other apostles. The mere force of circumstances must have put an end to some points of dispute. The binding claims of the Jewish Law, especially those relating to circumcision must soon have been quietly laid aside. Gentile converts were becoming too numerous to press the claims of strictly Jewish law. When this point was reached, the position assumed by Paul gradually came to be the leading position of the church. The Ebionite church losing numbers and influence grew feebler, and at last was ranked as a heresy. And, on the other hand, the extreme wing of the Essenic church probably drifted into the various Gnostic sects of a slightly later date.

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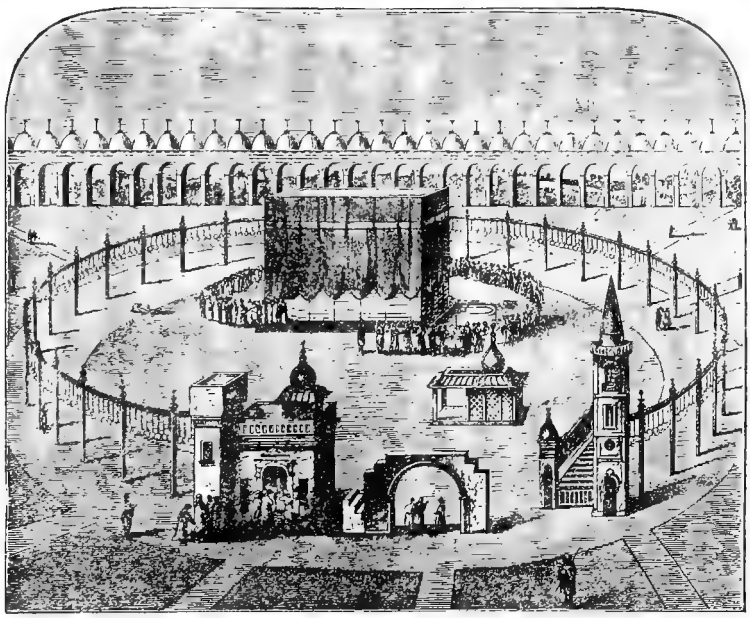
[1] Barnabas xi. 12 *et seq.*; iv.. 1; vide "Angel Messiah," p. 328.

[2] Rom. i. 4. This point can not be further elucidated here. In point of fact, Paul seems to have held an intermediate view between the Christology of the Synoptic Gospels, hence the probable Christology of the Ebionite church, and the views of the Essenic wing of the church. Cf. Bauer: "Church History," Vol. II. p. 65 *et seq.*

[3] I. Cor. i. 12.

But all this took a long while to accomplish. Such frictions and differences of opinion as we have spoken of were inevitable in this formative age of the church. All echoes of them early died away, and it is with some difficulty that we have been able to gather information on this point. We think we have stated the substantial facts of the case. We know that some centuries later, when we have full historic light to guide us, we find the greatest



The Caaba at Mecca

diversity of opinion on theological points of the highest importance. We have no reason to suppose the case different in the first age, only they were on a much smaller scale, so small, in fact, that the historians of the day failed to notice them. We shall now glance at some of the rites and ceremonies of the primitive church.

The early churches patterned very closely after the synagogue. In the start, they were probably called by the

same name.[1] In the synagogue there was a board of *presbyters*, or *rulers*.[2] This board consisted of three members, and decided all questions of interest to the synagogue.[3] The presbyters were also called *bishops*, at least in the Gentile communities.[4] One of these officials acted as chairman or president of the board, but he was possessed of no higher authority than his associates. Under the control of this presbytery there was the *chazzan* or minister He is called the attendant in the New Testament.[5] His duties were quite similar to those of the deacon in the primitive church. But the origin of the latter office is probably to be found in another direction.[6] We might remark that the ordination of presbyters, by the imposition of hands, was the same in both synagogue and church.[7]

The officers so far named were all *administrative*. In the synagogue, there were seven persons appointed to perform the public services on the Sabbath. In this respect, the church appears to have varied quite widely. In order to assist in the up-building of the church in a spiritual capacity, a person must be possessed of a spiritual gift—a *charisma*. Paul mentions a number of these gifts.[8] There was the gift of tongues—a rapid pouring forth of ecstatic, unintelligible utterances.[9] Interpreting these speeches was another gift. In the chapter just mentioned, Paul sought to discourage the speaking with tongues. Prophecy was another gift; teachers and evangelists formed separate classes. Inasmuch as liturgies and rituals had

[1] James ii. 2. [2] Mark v. 22; Acts xiii. 15.
[3] Stapfer: "Palestine in the Time of Christ," p. 337.
[4] Fisher: "History of the Christian Church," p. 36, New York, 1888.
[5] Luke iv. 20.
[6] See above, p. 649, and cf. Fisher, Op. cit. p. 35.
[7] Cox: "First Century of Christianity," p. 418. [8] I. Cor. xii. *et seq.*
[9] Quite a common form of phenomena in certain stages of religious excitement; vide Giles: "Apostolic Records," p. 132.

been in use from time immemorial in the synagogue, they were, probably, early introduced into the church. Analogous to the readers of the synagogue, were the "readers" in the primitive church.

Two of their rites require in their treatment plain and candid statements; the rite of baptism and the Eucharist or the Lord's Supper. Neither of these rites was in any sense of the word a new rite. Baptism was adopted as one of the rites of initiation, but as such it was, indeed, a very common rite as we have seen. In regard to the Lord's Supper, we have before us the account of the simple farewell Passover-supper of Jesus and his disciples. This supper, as described in the three gospels, does not differ from the usual supper, save that a new significance may have been given to it by the words of Jesus.[1] We have seen, that in the Gentile world some such a ceremony as this was very common; the Essenes partaking of their holy meal each day. It would be one of the most natural things in the world, that the Essenes, who did not partake of the Paschal meal, should make this last supper correspond with their ordinance. Hence, in Paul's account,[2] the supper appears without any reference to the Passover ceremonies, and the disciples were bidden to do this in remembrance of Christ, no such monition being recorded in the gospels.

The church at Jerusalem, which was very zealous for the Law, must have faithfully observed the Sabbath. Our ideas as to the strictness with which the Jews observed the Sabbath are undoubtedly exaggerated. The Jews certainly did no work that day; the laws in this respect were very minute.[3] But they could invite visitors to their

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[1] Vide Cox: "First Century of Christianity," ch. xvi.

[2] I. Cor. xi. 23 *et seq.* [3] Vide Stapfer, Op. cit. ch. vii.

houses for a social meal.[1] The Sanhedrim met for business, and Josephus, a Pharisee, mentions a political meeting, held on the Sabbath, and states that it was only dissolved

Baptism of St. Stephen.

when the noon hour came, when, according to law, they

1 Luke xiv. 1 *et seq.*

must go to dinner on the Sabbath.[1] We have no evidence that the Jewish church ever departed from this usage.[2] Only by long and slow degrees, did the Gentile church transfer to Sunday some of the Jewish regulations of the Sabbath. Barnabas, in his epistle, speaks of the observance of the "eighth day with gladness."[3] Even as late as the end of the second century, the Christians met for worship in the morning of Sunday, and then went about their usual business.[4]

The one great article of belief in the primitive church was that Christ would soon come again. The resurrection day was regarded as not far off. Numerous quotations could be made from the various books of the New Testament, showing how strongly this belief entered into their life and feelings.[5] It is strange, but true, that this belief would tend to bring them in sympathy not only with Judaism, but the Gentile world as well. The Jews were expecting the advent of the Messiah, when their Millennium Age would begin. The Hindoos believe that Vishnu will appear at the end of time, riding on a white horse, with a comet-like scimeter in his hand wherewith to destroy the wicked. At his approach, the sun and the moon will be darkened, the earth will tremble, and the stars fall from the firmament.[6] And so we might refer to the Buddhists, the Parsists, etc. The Book of Daniel, the Book of Enoch, the Book of Revelations, show the uniformity of belief on this point.

We must now refer to Gnosticism, but here we need

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1 Life, 54.

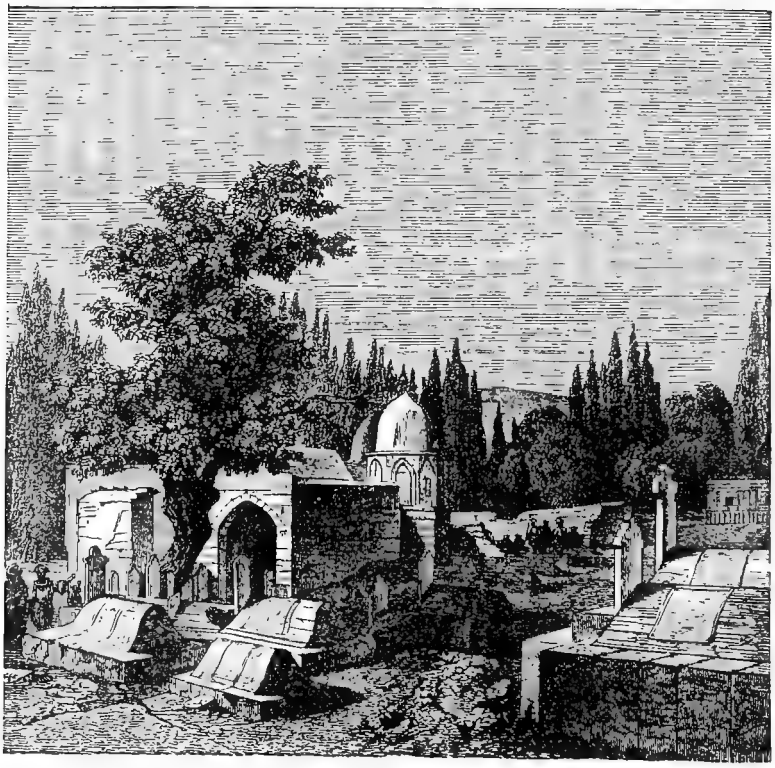
2 See Eusebius: "History," iii. 27.

3 Barnabas xiii. 10. 4 Vide Cox, Op. cit. ch. xvii.

5 Rom. xiii. 11; I. Cor. xv. 51; I. Thes. iv. 10; James v. 8; I. John ii 18, etc.

6 "Bible Myths," p. 237.

not devote the space and time that might be expected, since we have gone over so much of the same ground in previous chapters. Gnosticism comes from *gnosis*, meaning knowledge. It is an extremely difficult task to set forth in an at all readable way, and especially in a short compass, a general outline of Gnosticism. Let us take a



Graves of the Caliphs.

general view of the field. We have tried to show, in several chapters, the gradual development of religious culture throughout the Orient. It stands out very clearly that from India to Egypt, with many differences in detail, religious culture and philosophy were everywhere substantially the same. This result we would indeed expect since

the laws of thought are everywhere the same. Now we have furthermore shown that, spreading to the West, this culture had come in contact with Judaism, we have watched the conflict of this old religion with the outside world at Alexandria, have observed the peculiar religious culture thence emerging, and, turning to Palestine, have observed with interest the rising of Essenism. It was a long and slow process before this body of religious philosophy assumed distinct features. We have now discussed the contact of primitive Christianity with Essenism. But when Christianity crossed the boundaries of Palestine, it was brought directly in contact with the general philosophy of the Orient. It probably could not fail to be somewhat influenced from that source. As time passed on and Christianity grew in strength, and it came more openly to measure strength with Serapis and Isis worship in Egypt, with the philosophy of Alexandria, with the ancient mystery religions in Greece, and with the worship of Mithras in Rome, we can see at a glance that it had entered on a new stage of progress.

If Christianity was to be the universal religion, it must meet and rise superior to all these various systems. In the conflict that must ensue, numerous systems of beliefs would arise, and for the time being, would be supported by numerous adherents as the ones best fitted for meeting all the wants of the time. All such systems must present an union of the general philosophy of the Orient and the leading doctrine of Christianity. That is to say, they must take account of, and explain as best they could, the life and teachings of Christ. All such systems were Gnostic systems. They are usually called Gnostic heresies, but this is an incorrect use of the word, since they did not spring out of Christianity, but were simply schemes for

combining Christianity and the general culture of the pagan world. This whole series of movements shows with great clearness that "Christianity had now become one of the most important factors of the history of the times," and it further shows that it possessed great attractions for "the highest intellectual life then to be found either in the pagan or in the Jewish world."[1]

We shall not attempt to speak of these various systems in detail, but with some general remarks pass them by. Our knowledge of them comes to us mainly through prejudiced channels, that is the writings of the early fathers. In merit and thought the schemes of course varied. Some seem to us very absurd. In general terms we may say that all gnostic sects started with two principles, or antitheses as the German scholars say, spirit and matter, and busied themselves in the endeavor to explain the relations between them. Spirit stands in one extreme and matter at the other. In general, matter is supposed to arise from successive emanations or projections of spirit from itself, each successive projection becoming more and more gross and material. Thus they fill up the space between spirit and matter by a great number of intermediate forms.

God being pure spirit, and thus far removed from matter, the demiurge appears in all systems as the artificer, shaper, or creator of the material world. Thus far, we have but a new presentation of the problem that confronted us in India.[2] Now we begin to come upon traces of the influence of Christianity. We have been considering the *sinking down* of spirit into matter. Christianity has to do, according to Gnostic belief, with the *re-elevation*

1 Bauer: "Church History," Vol. II. p. 1.
2 Vol. III. p. 730.

of spirit. Its office is to free spirit from matter and return it to its original source. Christ, or the Messiah, is supposed to fill, in this part of the work, an office analogous to that of the demiurge in the descending scale. And a distinction is drawn between the heavenly Messiah and the man Jesus.[1]

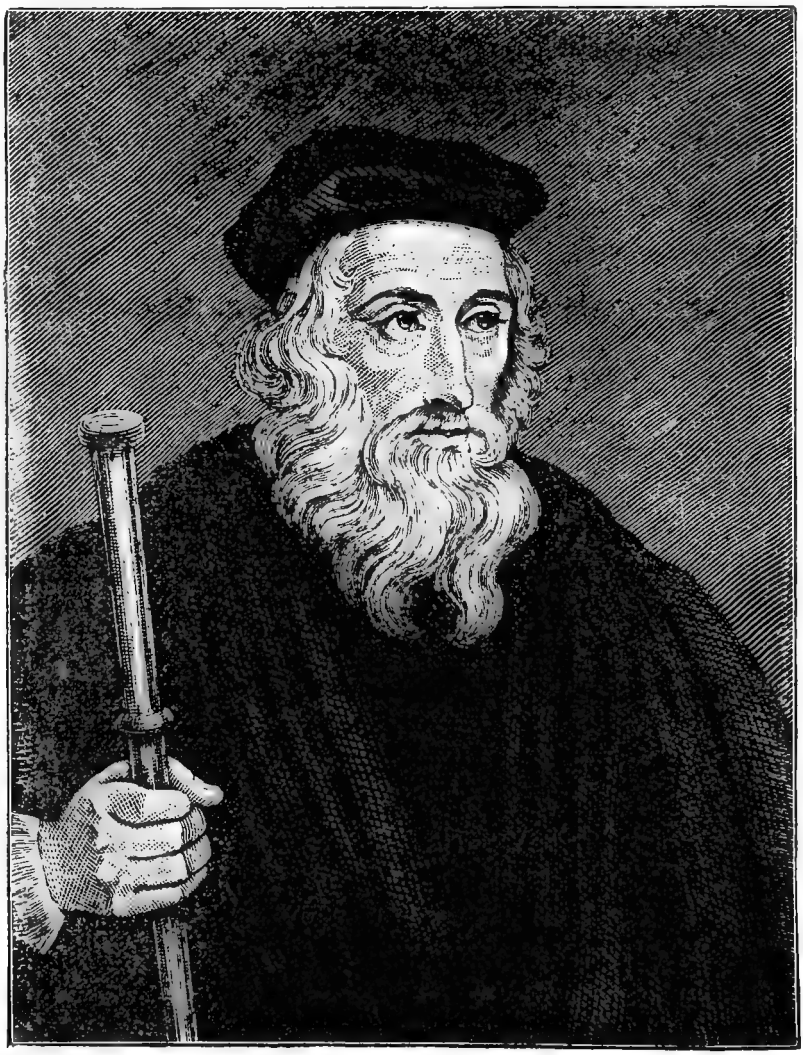
What we have now given is a general outline of Gnosticism. We do not feel that we would be justified in giving in detail the various systems.[2] These varied, as we would expect, from mythical, almost childish, speculations to well-considered systems of thought. The conflict with Gnosticism lasted until the close of the second century. A question of great interest at once presents itself. How was Christianity modified by Gnosticism? In such a contest as this, it is idle to assume that Christianity emerged uninfluenced. This especial point of inquiry has not yet received sufficient study, the most we can do is to point out the probable lines of advance. Let us recall that in the primitive church there was no creed, no digested system of theology. Belief in Jesus as the promised Messiah was the one important point.

Now when the church was confronted by well considered schemes of Gnostic speculations, it had to begin by defining its own beliefs. They had to make use of ordinary, every-day words and phrases to do this. It seems to us, that in this direction we must search for traces of Gnostic influence. If we will recall what we found to be the religious culture of the Orient outside of Palestine, we also recall how similar it was to Christian beliefs, rites, ceremonies, and symbols. It must be evident that the church

[1] Vide Bauer: "Church History," Vol. I. p. 193 *et seq.*

[2] The interested student should consult Bauer's work just mentioned, and in addition thereto, Mansel: "Gnostic Heresies;" King: "Gnostic Remains," etc.

adopted many of the same from extra-Jewish sources, and Gnosticism must have been very active in this matter.



Wycliffe.

Alexandria, the birth-place of Gnosticism, is also the birth-place of Christian theology.[1]

1 On this whole subject, consult Bauer: "Church History," Vol. II. p.2.

One further issue of this long-drawn conflict, is worthy of mention, since the results following it were very momentous. The fathers of the second century clearly perceived that the source of Gnosticism was philosophy. Hence, some of them, and especially Irenæus and Tertullian, threw all their influence against philosophy, and especially Greek philosophy. They declared that philosophy and Christianity could have nothing in common. Unfortunately, philosophy included science, and so the writings of these fathers started the church in the direction of antagonizing learning and science. This deplorable error retarded for many centuries the development of Europe, and, unfortunately, its influence is still felt.

The unity of the church had been furthered by this conflict. We have already referred to organization in the primitive church, and its close relation to the synagogue has been observed. The general understanding is that the chairman or president of the board of presbyters gradually drew to himself the chief rights and functions of the entire board, and the bishop's office, with its extraordinary power became established. It was a long while, however, before the churches lost sight of the fact that the bishop was but one of several equals. When this had taken place, it needed but one more step to usher in the Catholic church. We have seen that in its conflict with Gnosticism, it was necessary to enunciate its own beliefs. What authority was to settle what beliefs were right and what wrong? When it came to be believed, that the bishops in council assembled represented the true church, and that their decision was authoritative on these points, then the Catholic church was established. This was the central point around which its development was to proceed.

We have now reached a most important point in this discussion, and will proceed with greater rapidity. Our object is only to gain a coherent idea of the development of Christianity. The events of the next twelve centuries will be considered only from a few separate stand-points. We trust that those who have followed us in this chapter will recognize and make allowance for the peculiar difficulties under which a writer labors who proposes to treat of this topic. We have not hesitated to set forth the historic sequence of the facts as they appear to us, and have treated religious culture just as we would any other department of culture. We are convinced, that it is an error to suppose that truth is a monopoly of any one people, place, or time.

The trinitarian controversies will afford us an opportunity to investigate an interesting subject—growth in doctrine. Whatever might have been the case in the early church, as soon as Christianity came in contact with the outside world, it had to give verbal expression to its articles of belief. The doctrine of the Trinity is one which the human intellect is not capable of understanding, and yet countless efforts have been made to frame this article of creed in words. We have seen that the heathen world had its beliefs in triads and trinities. The problem lying before the church was a most difficult one. It must guard against all theories of emanation, it must guard the unity as well as the personality of the various persons of the god-head. It had for this purpose to make use of words and phrases, and, to some extent, of ideas then in use.

As the apostolic era receded in time, it was more and more necessary for the church to clear up their conceptions in regard to Christ. We have seen how the church had applied to him the various floating conceptions, the Logos doctrine,

the Angel Messiah, etc. But now clearer views were needed in regard to the Trinity. It is manifest that there are two opposite ways of looking at this question, either of which would clear up many difficulties. On the one side, influenced by the strict monotheistic teaching of the Jewish church, the tendency arises to regard all the distinction in the Trinity as accidental only. The same Being, being now the Father, now the Son, and then the Holy Spirit. The holders of this doctrine, however much they differ in detail, are called *Monarchians.* On the other side, influenced by Gnostic ideas of emanation, there is a tendency to loose sight of unity; and dwell more on the separate personality of the persons of the Trinity, and to hold to ideas of subordination—the Father, for instance, being considered superior to the Son, and both superior to the Spirit. But orthodoxy has always refused its sanction to the one point of view, to the exclusion of the other, though it has steadfastly refused its adherence to any form of subordination. The historical discussions have mostly centered around the first and second persons of the Trinity. When thought had cleared up in regard to their relations, the doctrines in regard to the Holy Spirit were at once adjusted in conformity therewith.

The Monarchian theory was supported at the beginning of the third century[1] by several writers, such as Praxeas, Callistus, and Noetus; their teachings differ in detail only.[2] They would, for instance, deny any distinction between God, the Father, and Christ, the Son. About the middle of the century, Sabellius advanced a modified form of this side of the case, that is of Monarchianism. He taught that God was simple unity, and reposed in him-

[1] Crippen: "History of Church Doctrine," p. 38.

[2] Cf. Bauer, Op. cit. Vol. II. p. 93, and especially on Callistus, note, p. 10.

self as a "silent god" from eternity. When about to create the world, he came forth from himself as the *Word*. During the development of the world, this Word had

Leo X.

appeared in three forms; in the old dispensation as the Father, in the new dispensation as the Son, in the age of the

church as the Holy Ghost.[1] The interested student should here observe the singular combination of Christian and pagan beliefs.

It is interesting to observe that the Monarchians claim that the views they taught had been the received views of the church down to the time of Pope Victor,[2] that is to say, the beginning of the third century.[3] Callistus, one of the supporters of Monarchianism, was afterwards Bishop of Rome.[4] This will show how fluctuating the doctrines of the times were. In fact, the great conflict of the third century was over this question of Monarchianism. In one form or another, it engaged the pens of the doctors of the church all through the century. In opposition to the views set forth above, Origen[5] wrote. He propounded a theory which sought to unite the two opposing tendencies. Though he regarded the Son as personally distinct from the Father, yet in one point at least, he partakes of the same absoluteness. Though begotten, he was not begotten in time, but in eternity; so, in respect to time, he is as truly without a beginning, as absolutely eternal, as the Father. This point of view was rapidly embraced by the church.[6]

But all through this century, these doctrinal disputes continued. Near its close, we find a dispute waging which shows the unsettled state of doctrinal belief. Paul of Samosata was a Monarchian. He taught, in regard to Jesus, that he was a mere man, though supernaturally begotten, became divine by the perfection of his moral life. The Logos, in his system, is simply the divine agency working in man. As showing the advance in church doc-

1 Crippen, Op. cit. p. 43; Bauer: Op. cit. p. 95.
2 Eusebius v. 28.
3 According to Eusebius' chronological table.
4 A.D. 228. 5 About 235. 6 Bauer, Op. cit. p. 108.

trine, we need only refer to the Council of Antioch in the year 269 A.D. This council condemned the doctrines of Paul. The church now would listen to no scheme of belief which did not admit the pre-existence and divine nature of Christ; or which countenanced any form of Monarchianism. The century ended with a triumph of the views of Origen; but the question of subordination remained, and it took another century of contention to settle this point.

This great dispute goes under the name of the Arian Controversey. Arius was a presbyter of Alexandria. Since the church had finally decided against Monarchianism, it was in danger of going too far in the direction of separate personality. Briefly stated, the doctrine of Arius runs as follows: "God was not always a father, but became so at length. The Son was not always, for, before he was begotten, he was not. He is not of the Father, for he was constituted out of non-existence. He is not of the Father's proper essence, for he is created and made, and Christ is not very God, but he was made God by participation."[1] Arius had been one of the competitors for the office of bishop at Alexandria. His successful rival, Alexander, was now his judge,[2] and at once challenged his position; in the dispute, the entire church speedily became involved.

This was just at the time when Christianity first began to bask in the sun-shine of royal favor. Constantine the Great, when he became aware of the furious controversy raging in the theological provinces of his empire, summoned the first general council of the church to meet at Nice. This council, which assembled in the year 325 A.D., marks an important point in church history. The

[1] Crippen: "History of Christian Doctrine," p. 44.
[2] Gibbon: "Rome," Vol. I. ch. xxi.

HUSS BEFORE THE COUNCIL.

Alexandrian party, under the lead of Athanasius, had the good fortune to enlist the emperor in their behalf, hence they carried through the council a formula, which has since been deemed one of the bulwarks of orthodoxy.

John Huss.

This formula declares, amongst other items of belief, that the Son is "of the same essence (homoousion) with the Father." It is instructive to learn that this very point

(using the same word, homoousion) had been expressly denied by the Council of Antioch, fifty years previously.[1] Still, this council settled nothing since that mysterious word, homoousion, was capable of being explained differently.

Accordingly, the next sixty years were years of dispute and turmoil. The whole question was complicated by political entanglements, and by efforts for a compromise made by Eusebius of Cæsarea. Upwards of sixty councils and synods were held, "the members of which anathematized each other with strict impartiality. With equal impartiality did each party, when for a time it enjoyed imperial favor, persecute the others."[2] Apparently, neither party hesitated in resorting to bribes, or shrank from the commission of crimes to maintain its supremacy. But the Alexandrian belief finally gained a lasting supremacy as far as the Roman Empire was concerned. The Council of Constantinople, in 381, marks the definite triumph of their principles.

But, even yet, the danger had not entirely passed, the fire was smoldering in an unexpected quarter. Ulfilas, the apostle to the Goths, had preached among them Arian Christianity. They finally adopted that form of belief, and among these people, the decrees of the Roman emperor had no weight. When the so-called barbarians came in contact with the Empire, religious fanaticism was awakened. The Vandals, who overran Northern Africa early in the fourth century, were Arians in belief, and cruelly persecuted the orthodox Catholics. Similar results followed the conquest of Spain by the Goths. For more than a century (475-575), the Catholics were persecuted.

1 Bauer: "Church History," Vol. II. p. 107.
2 Crippen, Op. cit. p. 46.

By the end of the fifth century, more than half of the German race had embraced Arianism. It seemed at one time as if the sword was to settle this question. It was at this time (492 A.D.), that Clovis, the Frankish chieftain, wedded Clotilda, the Catholic princess of Burgundy.[1] The prayers of his fair and orthodox wife effected what the most learned doctor would have failed to do. Clovis soon became a Catholic, and the orthodox world had now a stout defender. As as result, Arianism was soon in decline.

Our object in the last few pages has been, not so much to gather full information on the doctrinal point of disputes of early centuries,[2] as to learn of the manner and form in which articles of belief grew into creeds. Persons who have never investigated the subject are too apt to suppose that from the very earliest times the Christian world knew just what it believed; in short, that the church has always been in possession of a creed, which has remained ever substantially the same, under which it has moved on to victory, arousing itself now and then to crush some heresy. Mature reflection would, no doubt, convince us that this was an erroneous view, even without referring to the pages of history.

In fact, the Christian church had to feel its way to clearness of view just the same as all systems of philosophical thought. Excluding from consideration Christ and his apostles, we can say that the leaders of the Christian church, the framers of its dogmas, the writers of its creeds, its teachers of theology, were men subject to all the

1 This Series, Vol. III. p. 346.

2 We have not begun to speak of the numerous diverging beliefs. There were some eighteen shades of beliefs during the Arian controversy. Gibbon: "Rome," (Bohn's ed.) Vol. II. p. 412. There were numerous diverse beliefs among the Monarchians.

frailties of humanity. We must take into account the religious culture of the age. We observe them developing their doctrines in regard to certain points, which all regard of the utmost importance, with extreme slowness and care. Factional disputes of the greatest violence were engendered. We observe with surprise an emperor, but

John Knox.

recently converted to Christianity, dictating to the Council at Nice what it should believe, threatening obdurate bishops with loss of office and banishment;[1] the vacilla-

[1] On this point, consult Neander: "Church History," Vol. II. p. 375. According to Eusebius, Constantine was far from being a mere passive on-looker, ready to enforce the decrees of the council. Without his powerful support, the Alexandrian party would certainly have failed to carry their famous decree, since they were in a minority. Vide also Crippen, Op. cit. p. 45.

ting conduct of this same emperor in subsequent years abundantly showing that he had no real understanding of the matter.[1] We observe with astonishment, the petty court intrigues, the bribing of court eunuchs, yes, even the crimes committed by one faction to sustain itself when in power, or to regain power when out of it. We read with amazement the prayer of the Bishop of Constantinople, virtually praying for the death of Arius.[2] That very day, Arius suddenly died, in all probability poisoned,[3] and we learn, not without indignation, of the unseemly exhibition of joy over this event.

We must now glance more particularly at the external development of Christianity. Losing sight of the development in doctrine, let us watch it grow in strength until it became the religion of the world. Suetonius tells us[4] that Claudius[5] expelled the Jews from Rome, because they were continually in a state of tumult, their instigator being *Chrestus*.[6] This decree was probably aimed at an Essenic society, and not against Christians as is often supposed.[7] In the reign of Nero,[8] the first persecution began against the Christians; but this was the wanton act of a despot with-

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1 It is a commonplace of history that he afterwards embraced the Arian cause.

2 Neander, Vol. II. p. 386.

3 At least, all the symptoms were those of poison. He was seized with sudden and excrutiating pains, accompanied with relaxation of the bowels. Neander has a curious argument on this point. The followers of Arius claimed that he was put to death by sorcery; "this," exclaims the worthy doctor, "shows there was no possible ground for suspecting he was poisoned!" To the majority of people it shows no such thing.

4 Vita Claudii, c. 25. 5 41-54.

6 Cf. Acts xviii. 2.

7 The name Chrestus, would indicate this ("Isis Unveiled," Vol. II. p. 323). According to the "Clementines," Barnabas, the Essene, taught in Rome, before the crucifixion ("Angel Messiah," p. 185.) Paul, who was a member of the sect "everywhere spoken against," found brethren in Rome (Acts xxviii. 15, 22.) 8 54-68.

out any state reason to be pleaded in excuse. The Christians were persecuted on "general principles," as we might say. This is the first expression of that feeling of mutual antipathy between Christianity and the heathen world which marks the first stage of the conflict.

This feeling was a perfectly natural one on both sides. The early Christians, with charming egotism, at once assumed that they were the only people in the world deserving of God's care or consideration. Tertullian, in one of the latest Apologies, explained that for the sake of the Christians the world was allowed to remain in existence; that the Roman Empire could thank the Christians that it was not at once blotted out.[1] An unknown writer, in a widely read epistle,[2] claims that "the Christians are in the world what the soul is in the body . . the soul is confined in the body, but holds the body together; the Christians are held in the world as in a prison, but hold together even the world itself."[3] But, in point of fact, the *personnel* of the church, at first, was not of a high order. Speaking of the first church at Rome, Renan says: "The ancestors of the Roman prelates were poor, dirty *proletaires*, without distinction, without manners, clad in filthy gaberdines, having the bad breath of men whose food is insufficient."[4]

Nero.

This condition of things steadily improved. But

1 "Apology," c. 32, from Bauer, Op. cit. p. 130.

2 "Epistle ad Diognetum." This letter is given in Wordsworth: "Church History to the Council of Nice." p. 105.

3 Bauer: "Church History," Vol. II. p. 131.

4 "Hibbert Lectures," 1880, p. 55.

even as late as the second half of the second century Christianity "found its support neither among the great mass of the people nor among the cultivated class."[1] The facts just named are no reproach to Christianity. The historian must be struck with the fact, that, if only the right chord be struck, just such classes as these named respond most readily to religious teachings. We might refer to Methodism of to-day, which covers the land with colleges and seminaries, and draws to its ranks its proportion of the wealth and aristocracy of the land. Yet, how was it in its beginning? What sort of people first embraced it? It is no reproach to that most splendidly organized and rapidly growing church to be told that it started amid just such surroundings as these.

We can only imagine with how little relish the wealthy, cultured, and refined classes of the world would learn of the arrogant claims of the Christians. It is not strange that heathenism responded to Christian claims in the same spirit. Did Christianity teach that "heathenism as a whole was the kingdom of demons, who, by subtilty and all the arts of deception, induced men to worship them as gods;" heathenism responded, that the Christians were as a race hostile, to mankind, and that their so called religion did not have the least right to that name. Did the church doctors descant against the wickedness and immorality of the *mysteries;* the heathens responded by charging the Christians with committing the most abominable acts in their meetings.

All political power was in the hands of the heathen, hence they added persecution to their denunciation of Christianity. This however was in keeping with the spirit of the age. We know, as is shown by their subsequent

[1] Bauer, Op. cit. p. 134.

acts, that the Christians would have been delighted to have reversed this proceeding. But "the blood of martyrs is the seed of the church" the heroism and Christian fortitude of the martyrs undoubtedly served to rapidly advance Christianity. We have observed that the genius of

Massacre of St. Bartholemew.

Christianity is to draw to itself the best religious culture of the age. As time passed on and Christianity spread, its claims were examined by a more advanced class of people. We have observed that the second century was the era of Gnostic disputes, and that the whole movement shows that Christianity had then begun to exercise an attraction for the thinking classes. In increasing numbers

the philosophers began to join the church, even after becoming Christians they wore the philosopher's *pallium*. This must have served to elevate the tone of the church and the second stage of contact between the world and the church was ushered in; the age of the apologists.

The result of this stage of action was conciliatory. The apologists made the attempt to remove the prejudices held against Christianity. They endeavored to show how foolish were the coarse charges laid at the door of the Christians. We cannot refrain from pointing to one significant line of argument. It is not true, exclaims Justin, (in the second century) that Christianity is a thing new and unheard of, which has been suddenly ushered in the world to oppose all that has previously passed for religion, refinement, and culture. If men will only consider the facts of the case they will find plain proofs that, though called by various names, the thing itself, Christianity, is not only now existing in heathen communities, but was in the world long before the time of Jesus.[1]

It is rash at the present day, in the light of our present researches, to deny this argument from the pen of a man who had been a philosopher, and had been thence drawn into the folds of the church.[2] The whole movement of the second century was giving force to this statement, for this was the century of Gnostic disputes, during which the church adopted, as the best expression for its beliefs, considerable of the philosophy floating in solution

[1] Apology I. 55, taken from Bauer: "Church History," Vol. II. p. 137. These same Apologies, however, contain most severe invectives against the whole system of heathen idolatry. Justin probably drew a distinction between the common mythology and idolatry of the masses, and the various philosophical faiths.

[2] Justin, in "Dialogue with Trypho," ch. ii., gives an interesting account of his conversion. See outline of same in Cox: "First Century of Christianity," p. 435.

in the heathen world. It is instructive to learn that this same converted philosopher, Justin, was the first to develop the doctrine of the Logos as incarnate in Christ.[1] Though persecutions continued all through this century, still they were now undertaken from reasons of state policy. Christianity was considered to be in arms against the Roman state religion, and hence, ought to be suppressed.[2]

In the last half of the second century, we come upon the third phase of this conflict. Christianity had now assumed a position of very great importance in the world of culture. It could no longer be put aside with scorn or contempt, thinking men must seriously consider its claims. A comparison worthy of the object in view must now be constituted between Christianity and heathenism, and the system which could best satisfy the wants of the age would be the one to finally triumph. A heathen philosopher, Celsus, wrote a most voluminous attack against Christianity. His writings have been lost, and we only know of them through Origen's reply. He seems to have argued from every conceivable point against Christian belief.[3] The satirist, Lucian, about the year 165, wrote an account of the life of an imaginary philosopher, Peregrinus Protes. He seems to have intended a parody on the life of Jesus.

As neither the reasoning of Celsus nor the wit of Lucian availed to turn the tide against the Christians, a

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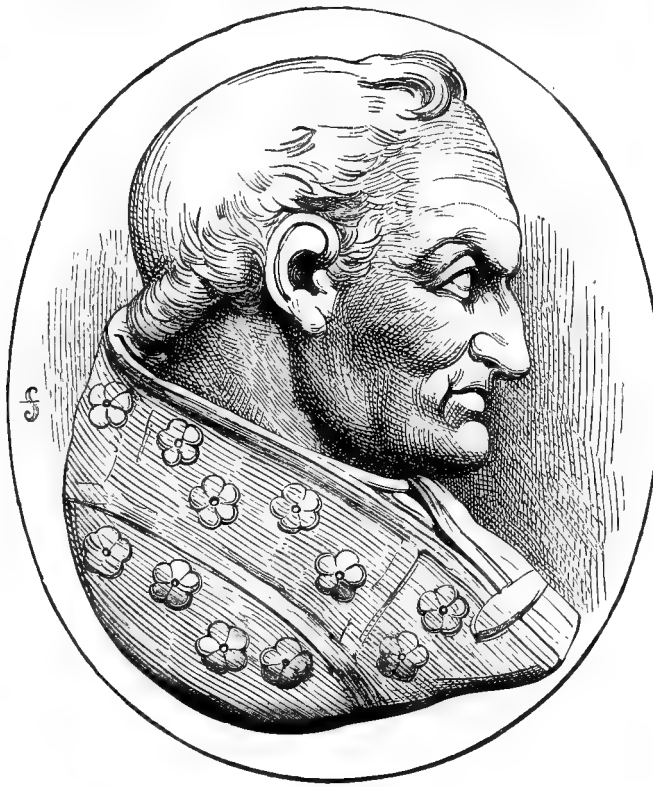
[1] "History of the Christian Church," by G. P. Fisher (Titus Street Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Yale University), New York, 1888, p. 80.

[2] This is apparent in the celebrated correspondence between Pliny, the younger, and Trajan, in regard to the Christians of Pontus and Bithynia, about A.D. 110, for which vide Cox, Op. cit. pp. 200-4.

[3] For an outline of what is known as Celsus' attack, see Bauer: "Church History," Vol. II. pp. 140-166.

new point of attack was assumed by Philostratus. Since the Christians paid such high honor to Jesus, he would show them that heathen history and culture knew of characters every way as worthy of admiration; so he wrote an account of Apollonius of Tyana.[1] There is no doubt that such an individual lived, and he was certainly a most re-



Gregory the Great.

markable personage. For some four centuries, he was regarded by many as a divine being.[2] Philostratus does not mention Christianity or Christ, but he paints such a

1 Written about the year 210. An epitome of this history is given in Waite: "History of the Christian Religion," p. 92 *et seq.*

2 See "Enclyclopedia Britannica."

suggestive picture of the life, miracles, and death of Apollonius, that we can only surmise that his object was to show that Christianity could not claim that its founder, Jesus, was a wholly exceptional, and unique character. This shows, however, the position Christianity had now conquered in the world. Heathenism was now on the defensive. When this point had been reached, the triumph of Christianity was not far removed.

Let us consider the growth in political power and influence of the Church of Rome. We have asserted that the point, around which the development of the church was to proceed, was the bishop's office. The first churches were located in cities. As time passed on, and separate organizations were made in the smaller towns and cities, and outlying suburbs, one of the presbyters, from the mother church in the city, became their pastor, he himself being under the jurisdiction of the bishop. Notice the change that has taken place in this once elected board of presbyters. The chairman has become the bishop; the remaining presbyters, priests. This change was of slow growth, and had not taken place before the close of the second century.[1]

In case rural churches were established independently, they had, of course, their own bishop and presbytery. The Council of Sardica[2] ordained that bishops should not be appointed in the small towns, holding that presbyters were sufficient. A still later council ordered that visiting presbyters should be sent to look after the welfare of the smaller churches, and thus the independent churches passed under the control of the bishop of the neighboring city. A church then, in the third century, meant the

[1] Fisher: "Church History," p. 54. [2] A.D. 343.

bishop's church in the city and all the subordinate churches under the care of his presbyters.

It would seem further as if, at this time, every bishop was called, amongst other titles, *father*, *papa*, *pope*.[1] We might remark that this continued to be the custom down to the time of Hildebrand who decreed that it should be henceforth applied only to the Bishop of Rome.[2] As was but natural, the bishop of the metropolis city in each province gained precedence over the other bishops. They were styled *metropolitans*. There were two reasons for this ascendency. Quite often, it had been really the case that Christianity had spread from the provincial metropolis; but the rank of the city probably had a greater influence in this matter. We can easily see that in provincial synods they would generally be the presiding officers, and that in all cases their influence would have great weight. Each of the four prefectures, or political divisions of the Roman empire in the time of Constantine, was divided into two or more *dioceses*; thus the Prefecture of the East contained the dioceses of Thrace, Pontus, Asia, the East, and Egypt.[3] During the third century, the bishop in the chief city of each diocese acquired the ascendency over the other metropolitans; they were variously styled *arch-bishops* (at first the title of every metropolitan), *primates*, and *patriarchs*.

The student can easily see the tendency of development. From the very first, it has tended towards concentration of power. We can already foresee the end. A little later, we see some of these diocesan bishops gaining precedence over the others; to them only the title of

[1] Bingham, quoted from Pennington: "Epochs of the Papacy," p. xvi.

[2] Baronii: "Martyrol Roman," from Pennington, Op. cit.

[3] See map in Fisher: "History of the Church," p. 104.

patriarch is applied. These were the patriarchs of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, and, after the Council of Chalcedon (451 A.D.), Jerusalem. Here we must notice

Zwingli.

the principle on which these various patriarchs ranked in honor. The Council of Constantinople (381 A.D.) said: "Let the Bishop of Constantinople have the precedence of

honor next to the Bishop of Rome, *because it is the new Rome.*"[1] Jerusalem was raised to the rank of a patriarchate simply on account of the historic standing of the city.

If we will consider the geographical location of the four patriarchates, we will observe that one of them was far more favorably situated for future development than the other, that one favored patriarchate was Rome. But a short time was to elapse before the disciplined armies of the Saracens, marching under the banner of the Crescent, were to extinguish forever the ambitious hopes of the patriarchs of Alexandria and Jerusalem. The two remaining patriarchal cities, Constantinople and Rome, were unequally matched for the struggle. To this day, the Roman Catholic Church and the Greek Church still keep alive this division. But when the Western Empire of Rome fell, we have seen it revived again in the Teutonic Empire. Thus it was that by far the larger portion of Europe continued to give its adherence to Rome.[2] We would, however, err in concluding that Rome owed all its unique position to its geographical location. A wealth of tradition was associated with Rome. It was generally held that

1 Pennington, Op. cit. p. 4.

2 All are aware that there are two sides to the question we have just discussed. Catholic writers, of course, insist that from the very beginning of Christianity, Rome was pre-eminently the head, and that its bishop always exercised substantially the functions of later popes. Those who care to investigate the subject further will find Murphy: "The Chair of Peter," (London, 1883), to be a moderately written book on the Catholic side, defending with learning and ability all the arguments on which they rely. Pennington: "Epochs of the Papacy," (London, 1881), may be consulted for the other side. Fisher: "History of the Christian Church," (New York, 1888), which we have largely used, gives a good outline history of early government. Cox: "First Century of Christianity," (London, 1886), ch. xiii. gives a good study on church government, but he apparently pays little attention to critical study of some of his authorities, the Ignatian Epistles, etc. It would be well to read in connection therewith Giles: "Apostolic Records," (London, 1886.)

two of the apostles—Peter and Paul—had met their death in Rome. The effort was early made to show that Peter had long lived at Rome, and had made that his headquarters for work. It was furthermore early taught that Peter had been the recognized leader among the apostles, and that Christ had indicated him as the one for this office.[1] Although history knows nothing of these claims, yet their influence was very great. Then the position and importance of Rome made her influence greatly to be desired in the doctrinal disputes of the second and third centuries. In the great Arian controversy, although Alexandria was the leader in the fight, yet the final decision of Rome, taking her stand on the side of Alexandria, was the all-important factor in deciding the final issue.

Here we must lift our pen and let the centuries glide until we near the times of the Reformation. Our reasons will be at once understood when we reflect that our object has been simply to learn of the development of Christianity. Volumes would not suffice to fully treat of the history of the church. But the formative age of the church has now been considered. Doctrines had now crystalized into the form of settled creeds, which were no longer to be inquired into. The church, indeed, grew greatly in power and influence, but along lines that have been fully considered. There was a great deal of interest that transpired in the interval of time which we have allowed to pass by.

Mohammedanism had suddenly over-passed the bounds of Arabia, and, like an irresistible torrent, had wrested Western Asia and Northern Africa from the church, and had only with difficulty been turned back from Europe itself. The fanatical followers of Mohammed had

[1] Cf. Matthew xvi. 13-20.

somewhat unexpectedly developed a love for learning. The age of reason supervened on the age of faith in the countries under their control; and once again Alexandria became noted for its scientific researches; but alas! it was under the banner of the Crescent and not the Cross.

Mohammed the Prophet.

Had we time and space, we would have noticed a darker chapter opening before the church. In the course of a few centuries, barbarian Europe, ignorant and superstitious, had nominally embraced Christianity. We can

foresee the result. If Christianity in an earlier age had made use of many terms and ideas of the Gnostics to express its own ideas, and had made use of many rites and ceremonies of the general religious culture of the age, it ended by absorbing an immense amount of pagan superstition. Almost all forms of lower religion found some form and place of expression in the syncretic tendency of the church. Disguise it as you will, the worship of the relics of saints and martyrs was but fetichism; as the worship, or even veneration of saints, was but a new application of ancestor worship. In short, the historian finds himself once more surveying a scene in which the victors were "insensibly subdued by the arts of their vanquished rivals."

To conciliate, or to cause the more rapid spread of Christianity, the church adopted not only the many festival days, but many of the rights and ceremonies of the heathen world. This was clearly seen at the time. "You have," says Faustus to Augustine, "substituted your Agapæ for the sacrifices of the pagans; for their idols, your martyrs, whom you serve with the very same honors. You appease the shades of the dead with wine and feasts; you celebrate the solemn festivities of the Gentiles, their calends, and their solstices; and, as to their manners, those you have retained without any alteration. Nothing distinguishes you from the pagans, except that you hold your assemblies apart from them."[1]

This result is indeed but what we might expect. The religious culture of a people can never be greatly in advance of their general culture. A more deplorable result, to which we have already referred must be noticed. Although the church adopted many ideas from the philosophers of the day, it had unfortunately imbibed a dislike to

1 Draper: "Science and Religion," p. 48.

philosophy itself. Then was begun the conflict between science and religion, which deepened as time went on. All original investigations were discouraged. As the church grew in power, it strengthened that most terrible of all ecclesiastical weapons of defence, the Inquisition, and reso-

Death of Savonarola.

lutely opposed all knowledge that was not in strict accord with the narrow and ignorant views of the first centuries of our era. Briefly summed up, the situation may be described as follows: The church which had adopted as its

own all the best philosophy of the age, and which had then conquered the world, had grown careless by success, until it had fallen a prey to the superstition of the world, and now, too indolent to purify itself, it was striving to hold the world in the grooves of the past, using brute-power to accomplish its ends.

This brings us to consider the Reformation. We see in the Reformation much more than is ordinarily understood by that term. The chapters in which Luther and his band of Reformers played so important a part, were but the conclusions of a long series of movements. Brute force may for a time hold back the development of a world, but the ever-swelling current of advance rises higher and higher, and must in time sweep away the strongest of opposing barriers. The world may count itself happy in such crises if the suddenly liberated torrent does not leave behind it wide-spread desolation and ruin. So in the case before us, Christianity, at the close of the twelfth century had assumed the form of an oppressive ecclesiastical system. It did not hesitate to call to its aid, the terrors of superstition and the arm of political power to retain its hold.

In its comprehensive scheme, the church and religion were everything. The separate nations of Europe were to lose their individuality and their liberty; at most they were to be but integral parts of the ecclesiastical empire at the head of which was the haughty successor of the Galilean fisherman. And in this state there was to be no liberty of conscience. The schoolmen had painfully reared their system of philosophy. "The doctrine of the seven sacraments of transubstantiation, of the power of the priest, of the heavenly treasure of merit, and the prerogative of the church to dispense it, of purgatory, of the invo-

cation of saints, of the honor due to Mary, of her assumption and immaculate conception—were all reduced to a system, were bound to one another by argument and analogy, were followed out to their logical consequences."[1] This was set forth in many dreary tomes, and could be discussed only within very narrow limits.[2] So little was there of the spirit of toleration, that heretical sects were to be remorselessly crushed with fire and sword. Medieval Christianity can never remove from the pages of history the terrible record of the Albigensian crusade.[3]

Original research was not to be encouraged in any branch of science. Theology had grasped science and learning by the throat, and allowed them barely to live on sufferance. "The constant exaltation of blind faith, the countless miracles, the childish legends, all produced a condition of besotted ignorance, of grovelling and trembling credulity that can scarcely be paralleled, except among the most degraded barbarians."[4] In religion, Christianity had become largely an *objective* religion. By paying undue reverence to the past, its forms of worship had stiffened into fetters. A vast machinery of mediation—sacraments, priesthood, discipline, ritual—had been interposed between the individual soul and its God. Its face was towards the

[1] Beard: "Hibbert Lectures," 1883, p. 33.

[2] Thomas Aquinas, at the head of one branch of the schoolmen, published his "Brief Compendium of Theology," consisting of seven hundred and fifty folio pages, each containing over two thousand words. He discusses such topics as: "Whether an Angel can be in more than one place at one and the same time." "Whether angels have local motion," etc. It is a striking commentary on Catholic learning to be told that this dreary verbiage of over six centuries ago, is highly esteemed at the present day. ("Chair of Peter," p. 256, note 1).

[3] 1208 A.D. This sect was located principally in Languedoc, France. In the crushing of this sect, the Inquisition first took form. Those who care for the details of this persecution, should consult Draper: "Intellectual Development of Europe," p. 371.

[4] Leckey: "Rationalism in Europe," Vol. I. p. 282.

past. It demanded only precedents, it wanted no agitation, no discussion; it desired rest.[1] There is no question that the machinery of the church was badly corroded with worldly rust. In Provence, when a person had reached about the lowest depths of depravity, he was said to be "Viler than a priest."[2] Nor were these irregularities confined to the lower orders of the priesthood; but we shall not enlarge on this point.[3]

There is a side to this question which is too little dwelt upon. "By consolidating the heterogeneous and anarchical elements that succeeded the downfall of the Roman Empire, by infusing into Christendom the conception of a bond of unity that is superior to the divisions of nationhood, and of a moral tie that is superior to force, by softening slavery into serfdom, and preparing the way for the ultimate emancipation of labor, Catholicism laid the very foundation of modern civilization."[4] The trouble was, that in the course of time the world had advanced beyond its stand-point. Its beliefs had grown rigid, and could not change with advancing culture. It held to old and antiquated conceptions of the government of the universe, of man's place and importance in the world. The egotistical notions of earlier centuries had grown with the passage of time. Its views must be the only right views, its method of salvation the only one possible; and in defence of the same, it felt justified in using the arm of power.

The church itself seems to have been aware for some three centuries at least before the Reformation finally dawned, that *a* reformation must be made. Pope Innocent

1 Beard: "Hibbert Lectures," 1883, p. 114.

2 Draper: "Intellectual Development of Europe," p. 433.

3 Those who wish to see the dark side of this picture should consult Draper, Op. cit. p. 280 *et seq.*

4 Leckey: "Rationalism in Europe," Vol. II. p. 36.

III.[1] occupied the papal throne at a time when the power of the popes was at its greatest height. King John of England acknowledged his kingdom to be but a fief of the

Martin Luther.

Roman See. The King of France put aside one beloved wife, to receive in her stead the wife from whom he had

[1] 1198-1216.

been divorced, at the stern command of Innocent. Otho of Germany was driven from his throne to make room for Frederick, since he would do more for the papacy. As for the Italian states, they were subject to one lord after another according to the will of the Pope.

Yet, at that very time, the first signs of a yet distant change appeared. There was a sudden and wide-spread outbreak against the oppressive weight of ecclesiastical authority. There were mutterings to be heard even in cloistered halls. It took the shape of various heretical outbreaks. There were the Albigenses in Provence, there were the "Poor Men of Lyons," and in Northern Italy, there were the Waldenses. In one respect at least, all these sects agreed. "Hatred and contempt of the priesthood characterized the whole movement."[1] We can only view with admiration the Waldenses. They translated the Bible into their own language, and believed that Biblical language was to be interpreted in its plain and natural sense. They denied any special sanctity to the priest, and, in general, dispensed with the complicated machinery of the church. This movement spread all over Europe, though largely as a secret society. Thus closed the twelfth century in Europe.

But the church met this movement by a counter reform. In addition to various forcible means of repression, which will forever tarnish the memory of the medieval church, there were instituted the two great orders of mendicant monks, the Dominicans and the Franciscans. The discontent of the masses of the people against the regular clergy could not apply to these monks who, barefooted and in rags, spread over Europe, preaching to the common people wherever occasion offered. The "Poor men of

[1] Beard; "Hibbert Lectures," 1883, p. 8.

Lyons," were more than answered by the "Poor men of the church." We need never doubt the self-sacrificing and Christian spirit of the founders of these orders and their immediate followers. "To reproduce the life of him who had not where to lay his head," was the ardent wish of Francis Assisi. Their efforts were largely successful. But as time passed on, the monks of these orders forgot their vows of poverty. They acquired great wealth, they entered the paths of learning, and their influence with the common people steadily declined. As for the Dominican monks, we must not forget that in 1233 the task of rooting out heresy was intrusted to them, and, under their directions, that terrible engine of persecution, the Inquisition, took form and shape.

The first part of the thirteenth century was distinguished by the conflict between the Pope[1] and Frederick II. of Germany.[2] Now Frederick had spent the early years of his life in Sicily, and his court was the home of Saracen and Jewish philosophers. Hence the liberal tendencies of his mind. We need not repeat the story of his conflict with the Pope. But it suffices to say that the life of Frederick had great weight in preparing Europe to shake off the shackles of the church. Europe observed with surprise an *excommunicated* emperor succeeding in a crusade to recover the Holy Land, for which so many emperors and kings, accompanied by the prayers and blessings of popes, had labored in vain. They had seen this emperor, on his return, measure words with the pope himself, and, at the head of his armies, compel the recall of his excommunication, and the signing of a treaty of peace dictated by him.

They had further profited by the enlightened conduct

[1] Gregory IX. [2] This Series, Vol. III. p. 374.

of Frederick. In Sicily, he provided for the toleration of all professions—Jew and Mohammedan as well as Christian. He established marts and fairs. He encouraged science and learning. He collected libraries, established

Luther and Melanchthon.

menageries for natural history, founded universities, encouraged all the liberal arts. All this led to the renewal of the conflict with Rome. Once more Frederick was excommunicated, and once more his troops were directed against Rome. Death saved Gregory from defeat at the hands of Frederick. Then came, a few years later, the

last struggle of Frederick's life with the papacy. Frederick had now to pay the penalty of being in advance of his age. He aimed to strike a blow at the whole hierarchical system. He declared it to be his purpose to restore the simplicity of apostolic days. The whole power of the hierarchical system was now aroused against him. He was growing old, and finally gave up the contest, dying the latter part of the year 1250.

Frederick, the individual, had indeed passed away, but his influence remained. A part of the old glamor had gone. Europe now began to take a cooler and more critical view of religion and church claims. The age of faith in the West was weakening. Soon after the events just stated, we find Dante in Italy, and Roger Bacon in England, putting forth their works, the harbingers of the new age of learning which was, even then, dawning.[1] A new spirit was abroad in Europe—the spirit of nationality—inspired by Frederick's example, other nations were beginning to feel that they could get along in their domestic affairs without the supervision of Rome. Just as the thirteenth century is closing, we notice both England and France resisting the claims of Rome, and the church discovered that its formidable weapon, excommunication had lost its old power.

The troubles with France were to lead to most important results. When Clement V. was elected Pope,[2] it was by the intrigues of the French cardinals. One probable condition of his election was that the seat of papal authority should be removed from Rome to France.[3] Avignon was now chosen as the new seat of papal authority. Thus

1 Above, p. 345. 2 1305.

3 The sixth condition between Bernard de Goth, archbishop of Bordeaux, who became Clement V., was a secret one; but judging from after results, it must have been the condition just named.

was begun what is known as the "Babylonian Captivity;" some seventy years were to elapse before the popes were to again take up their residence in Rome. During all this time the power of the church was on the decline. In the first place, it was plain to all that they were but the tools of the kings of France. This gave great dissatisfaction

Death of Zwingli.

to the other nations, and finally culminated in an unfortunate quarrel with theEmpire.

Other results flowing from this quarrel were none the less important. Philip was assisted by eminent lawyers, who were ready to discuss questions on the origin and

power of the church. Books began to make their appearance, that an earlier age would have regarded with horror. Egidius de Colonna wrote to show that spiritual and temporal powers were distinct and independent, each being ordained of God. Another wrote to show that there was no historical foundation for the extravagant claims of the popes. Dante wrote his treatise on "Monarchy." In short, all over Europe, discussions were started regarding the origin of power, both civil and ecclesiastical. Several writers ventured to assert the principle, that a general council was the superior even of popes.[1]

It was at such a time as this that Wycliffe was living in England. He also opposed papal encroachments. He urged that the clergy be forbidden to interfere in civil affairs. In many points he anticipated the Reformation. He taught that the bread and wine remained unchanged at communion, he condemned the ecclesiastical machinery, he denied the necessity of auricular confession. His greatest service was in translating the Bible. His writings were carried to Bohemia, and there exerted a great influence.

We must hurry this sketch along. Near the close of the fourteenth century, we witness the singular spectacle of two rival popes, with two colleges of cardinals, one at Rome, and one at Avignon. It became evident to the whole church that steps must be taken at once to heal the schism. Hence the fifteenth century opens with the reforming councils. The first one, meeting at Pisa (1409), only aggravated the difficulties it was intended to

[1] To this the whole Franciscan order assented. Its general, Michael of Cesena, wrote against the "Errors of the Pope." Their great scholar, Occam, composed a treatise to the same effect. The most celebrated production of this period was from the pen of a physician, Marsilis of Padua; his book, "Defensor Pacis," had great influence.

heal. It deposed both the rival popes, and elected Alexander V. as the true and lawful pope. The council was soon after dissolved, but there were now three popes instead of two in the field.

The Council of Constance met in 1414. The objects of this council were to effect the union of the church under one pope, to reform the clergy, and to suppress heresy. It accomplished the first by compelling the deposition of two popes, and accepting the resignation of a third. It failed in the second, except to ventilate the subject, and the carrying of a decree embodying a few general reforms. It took a step in the direction of the third, by condemning Huss to the stake, notwithstanding the solemn promise of the Emperor Sigismund of safety. Huss was the Bohemian agitator who had imbibed the doctrines of Wycliffe. With the blood of an innocent martyr, the great schism in the church had been healed.

But a new spirit had sprung up in Europe. The new learning that we have already discussed, was now beginning to bear its fruits. The discontent against church doctrine and church rule could not thus be checked. Eminent men were living, who boldly attacked the antiquated learning of the age, and their voices were not in vain. There was John of Goch, born about the beginning of the fifteenth century. He condemned Scholasticism. He maintained the binding authority of the Bible, explained in a simple, natural manner. He claimed for it a higher authority than the decrees of popes or councils. He rejected the monastic vow as useless for piety, and hostile to Christian liberty.[1] There was John Wessel,[2] a teacher of theology at several of the leading universities. He advocated so

[1] Vide Ullman. "Reformers Before the Reformation," Vol. I.

[2] 1420-1489.

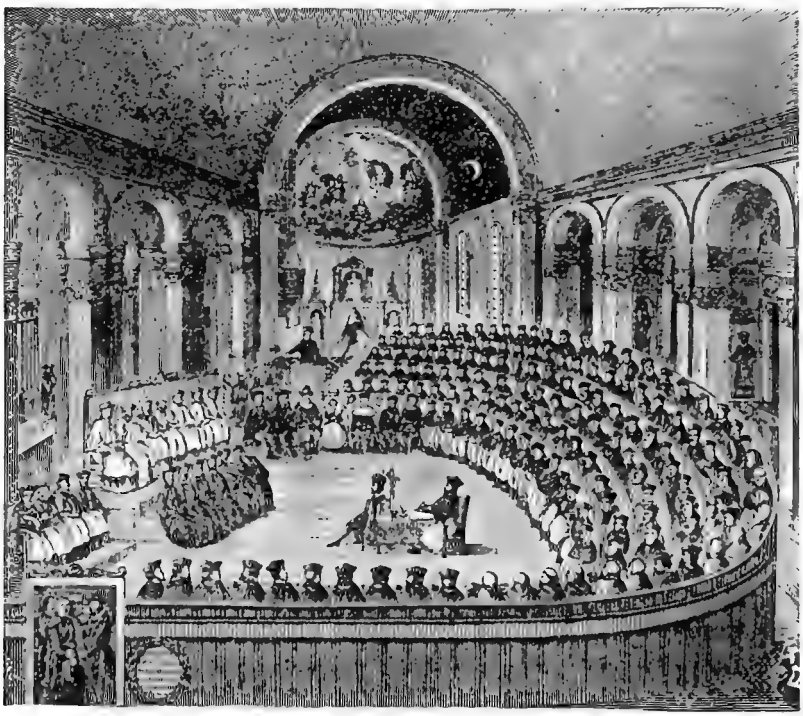
many of those beliefs which became the leading ones of the Reformers, that "Luther declared that if he had read sooner the works of Wessel, it might have been plausibly said by his enemies that he had borrowed everything from them."[1] In Italy, there was Jerome Savonarola, the eloquent preacher of Florence. In his exposition of the Psalms, the ideas he expresses are almost identical with the later reformers. Yet this eloquent preacher, this accomplished divine, met a martyr's death just as the fifteenth century was drawing to its close.

We have as yet said nothing of the mystical movement, which had been making more or less headway in the church for some centuries. We see at a glance that the tendency of such a movement would be against the formal, dogmatic religion—the religion of creeds and ceremonies —and in favor of a more spiritual religion. Mysticism was exposed to many dangers, and gave rise to many heretical sects. But, in another direction, they accomplished much. Such an institution was "The Brethren of the Common Lot." The whole tendency of this order was reformatory. They were practical, every-day Christians. In their schools, they attacked the scholasticism of the age. We find them, one hundred years before the time of Luther, urging that the Bible be given to the people in German; we find them conducting their religious exercises in German. All this was accomplishing an immense work in the direction of reform. Finally, we may mention that from their ranks was produced that epoch-making book of Thomas a Kempis, "The Imitation of Christ."[2]

The Reformation is now in sight. In England, Colet and his band of reformers are lecturing, writing, laughing

[1] Fisher: "History of the Church," p. 276.
[2] Vide Ullman, Op. cit. Vol. II.

the philosophy, the hierarchical system, and the arrogant claims of the church out of existence. In the mountain fastnesses of Switzerland, Ulrich Zwingli is teaching his hardy countrymen to exercise their common sense, to accept the Bible only as their authority, and to dispense with the machinery of the church. In France, Jacques Lefevre is prophesying of the near reformation of the



Council of Trent.

church. He is teaching that the Bible is the supreme and sufficient authority in religion. In Bohemia, the flames that consumed Huss in far off Constance have in some mysterious manner broken out at home, and threaten the destruction of the hierarchy. Finally, in Germany itself,

we see the monk of Wittenberg, Martin Luther, nailing his celebrated theses to the cathedral door.

It is not necessary to pursue this subject further. Perhaps we can now get a clearer view of the Reformation. We have made the assertion that the power of Christianity lay in the fact that it adapted itself to the highest and best culture of the age. That is the secret of its rapid growth in the first centuries of our era. During the course of the dark ages, it had gradually failed in this respect, and was even trying by force to hold back the advancement of the world at large. By the Reformation, we are to understand all that series of movements which had for its object the placing of Christianity once more in sympathy with the best culture of the age.

In the main, we may say that Christianity has since remained true to this cardinal principle. This is shown by the simple fact, that from time to time, belief has adjusted itself to better agree with advancing culture. Witness the change in regard to toleration. The reformers were just as intolerant and as ready to persecute as were the Catholics.

But, in the course of time, the practice of Christianity has changed in this respect. We have also seen Christianity adapt itself to new scientific views. We have further seen a softening down of creeds. Every one knows that the orthodoxy of to-day, on many points, is not the same as it was even fifty years ago. It will not be the same fifty years from to-day; changelessness is an attribute of death, not of life, and Christianity is a living religion.

# CHAPTER IX.

## GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

THE Change in Popular Science of Late years—New Theories—Importance of Our Subject—Change in Ideas as to the Antiquity of Man—Change in Ideas of the Primitive State of Man—The Zero-point of Humanity—Necessity of Studying the Lower Tribes of Men—The Age of the Black Races—The Age of the Yellow Races—Geological Illustration—Rise of the Whites to a Position of Importance—The Hamites—The Semites—Analysis of Semitic Culture—Semitic Religion—European Origin of the Aryans—Asiatic Migrations—Grecian Culture—Roman Culture—Teutonic Culture—Aryan Religion—Possible Future Changes in Government—In the Family—Future Advance—Present Duty.

We have now to sum up the results of our work and see what general conclusions can be drawn as to the life of man on the globe. We want to present in as concise a form as possible the most salient points of the story of his growth in culture. Let us gaze on the picture we have painted as one whole, striving to impress on the memory the principal features of the scene, and carry them with us into the every-day affairs of life. From our present stand-point, let us inquire of the future. Looking down the long vistas of the past, let us observe the general course of events, and thus draw some conclusions as to the development of culture yet to be achieved.

It is not easy to realize the importance of the subject we have been discussing, or to properly estimate the diffi-

QUEEN VICTORIA.

(Coronation Day.)

culties in our path. It is virtually a new field. One after another we have observed the various branches of science changing their teachings on most important points. In astronomy, we have seen the old idea, that the earth was the one important body around which the starry hosts of heaven revolved, exchanged for the well established fact that it is but one of the smaller planets wheeling around the sun, and hurrying with that orb through fathomless space.

In geology, we have seen the idea of sudden cataclysms putting an end to the life and scenes of one geological era, quietly laid aside for the belief in slow working causes which, extending through vast reaches of time, bring about the greatest of observed changes. Nor have these changes of opinion on important branches of learning ceased. The scientist must constantly hold himself in readiness to change his views to agree with newly ascertained facts. Within the last few years, the sciences of zoology and botany have had to consider the claims of the new theory of evolution. It is safe to say that however modified that theory may be in the future, it has left an indelible impress on the branches of science just named.

And who does not know that the whole world of physics is tremulous with new and daring theories. Chemistry knows of more than three-score so-called elements; but it also knows that investigators of wide and varied research are prophesying of some bold experimenter who shall demonstrate that there is but one element; just as it has been all but demonstrated that there is but one force. Nay, more than this, there are those who hope to establish that force and matter are, in their essence, one. What a thought for contemplation! But not considering these more speculative theories, bearing in mind only the

changed opinions in the fields above set forth, it is not rash to re-examine the history of man, and if necessary we need not shrink from quietly setting aside the great mass of current opinions and teachings as to man's life on the globe, and his growth in culture.

Thus the importance of this discussion becomes evident. The difficulties confronting us are equally evident. Think of the extensive field of work! And, unfortunately, for our purposes, a vast mass of material gathered by painstaking historians is useless. They have studied history from a wrong stand-point. They give us a wonderfully exaggerated idea of the importance of some people. How many histories are there that commence with the Flood, then the Tower of Babel, and then turn at once to the Jews, making them the center around which the whole historical world revolves? Or in the field of culture history, how many have discovered that it was necessary to go among the lowest of existing savages and study their beliefs and customs? Or for that matter how many have shown a just appreciation of history at all? Wars and battles, expeditions and sieges, the accession or extinction of dynasties fill their pages. It is of course necessary to have a good, general idea of such facts as these, but is it not evident that the importance of the individual is but local and temporary? They are but the agents by means of which the race or the nation works out its destiny.[1]

Pioneers in a new field, we have been exposed to some dangers. We have had to make new groupings of facts, new divisions or epochs of time. Then we have had to discuss some points not usually considered in an historical work. It has doubtless seemed at times as if we had gone out of our way to consider questions having, to say the

[1] Vol. IV. p. 170-1.

least, very little connection with our subject. We hope, however, that with the whole field before us, it becomes evident to all that in every instance some definite object was in view, some difficulty has been cleared away, and thus new light obtained on the general subject. For the same reason we have had to content ourselves with hurried reviews of important periods in the political history of various nations and people; still this was the only way to do with the immense field lying before us.

In striving to set before ourselves the general results, it will be most convenient to refer with especial emphasis to a few of the more prominent ones. First in regard to the beginning of history. A few years ago it was quite the custom to think of man as making his appearance on the earth about four thousand years before Christ. It was supposed that at least one stream of history could be traced quite continuously from that far away time. But we now see that we have mistaken poetry for prose, and that dreamy scenes of parable and allegory have floated before us as authentic pictures of the past, the reality being far different. We have learned that the earth is a vast palimpsest; beneath the evidence of our present culture, we have read the dim, almost effaced, records of vanished people.

We have learned that back of the historic period of man's life, which is not the same in different regions of the earth, there lies a vastly more prolonged period, of which we know but little, the prehistoric; and what we know of any country in the earlier portions of its historic period is extremely scanty. We are like tourists who view a country from a distant summit, here and there through rifts in the clouds, we catch a distant view; but the scene is repeatedly interrupted, and each successive lift of the clouds shows us a different landscape. No matter in what co-

try we begin our search, we soon come to the uncertain period of half legendary times, beyond which lies the vast region of the unknown.

Calling to our aid the archaeologist, we have learned of him some slight details of the prehistoric period in some of the regions of the earth which are now the seats of the highest culture. In Europe, for instance, we are asked to contemplate a time when the inhabitants were Turanians.[1] We see the dense forests of Western Europe;[2] we see the strangely situated lake settlements,[3] the crannog dwellings in Ireland.[4] The domestic animals are few, the cultivated cereals and fruits are rare, the polished stone implements and weapons show us that we are surveying savage scenes.

But when we ask, is this, then, the beginning of human life in Europe, we are answered in the negative. The scene is changed, we are taken back beyond the beginning of our present geological age. The British Islands are now but a northward projecting promontory of Europe. What is now the English Channel is the grazing ground of animals long since banished from these latitudes.[5] There are elephants and mastodons grazing on the broad savannas, there are lions and tigers lurking in the thickets, and in the streams the sluggish hippopotamus is disporting.[6] The men of this period are as strange as the surroundings.

Judging from their weapons, from the few fragmentary bones of their skeletons, from their dwelling-places, they were certainly as low in the scale of development as the savages of Australia. They may have belonged to the same race.[7] When was this? We cannot answer. We are told by men eminent for their learning that this was

1 Vol. I. p. 211. 2 Vol. I. p 227. 3 Vol. I. p 175.
4 Vol. I. p. 118. 5 See map Vol. I. p. 63. 6 Vol I p. 65. note 3.
7 Vol. I. p 93.

immeasurably remote[1] from the epoch of the lake dwellers of Switzerland. We are told that between these two periods there intervened the Glacial Age. We are asked to realize, as best we can, the slowly lowering temperature that finally resulted in the formation of great beds of snow, which, increasing from year to year in the more exposed regions of land, finally as a desolating glacier descended on the plains.[2]

And then we have carefully gone over the question of the antiquity of the Glacial Age and from several points of view have endeavored to come at some decision in this matter. We found several theories supported by men of great ability as to the causes of the low temperature of the Glacial Age. One of them we found to be astronomical, and if entitled to credit gives us a chance to settle the question of time. But after all, the general conclusion simply remains of a vast and prolonged antiquity; one requiring many thousands of years for its expression.[3]

Such results attended the careful study into the antiquity of man in one section of country, Western Europe. But from a number of other places indications are not wanting to the effect that the same course of events there took place.[4] In our own country, opinion is gradually settling down to the conclusion that here, also, man has been living for a very prolonged number of years; and further, here, too, we find evidence that the beginning of his life must be sought for in some of the geological eras of the past.[5] And the foregoing but receives emphasis from the researches of the anthropologists and scholars in the closely related fields of ethnology, philology, and sociology.

When we study the races of men, when we attempt

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1 Vol I p 172-3. 2 Vol I. p 69.
3 Vol I. chapter v. 4 Vol I p. 91. 5 Vol. I. chapter ix.

to estimate the time it took to produce the strongly marked types, when we study into the origin of language, or endeavor to give a knowledge of the origin of the institutions of society, we are at once aware of the fact that man must have made his appearance on the earth long, long ago.[1]

All this shows how very inadequate was the older view as to the history of man. In no country, are we prepared to say just when tribes of men first took up their dwelling. Of no country, of no people, have we a full and concise history. More than that, we can say that the historic period of man's life on the globe is but a small fraction of the whole. The portion in sight is but a small arc of the circle. That which we can peruse is but a short chapter in the book of events.[2]

With this change of view as to the history of man, is necessarily involved another change; the condition of primitive man in culture. Here a happy scene was wont to be painted. Primitive man, though destitute of our modern comforts, was supposed to be after all quite highly civilized; he was a cultivator of the ground and the happy possesser of flocks and herds, with the family circle constituted much as it is now. Here again the mellow light of tradition has been allowed to woefully distort the vision.

Far different is now seen to be the real facts of the case. As far as we are now prepared to say, man has always been distinctively human; has always been the possessor of those faculties which distinguish him from the most highly endowed animals.[3] But that is all we can say. At the present day advance in learning is gained only by the exercise of natural faculties, building on the foundation already laid. This must always have been the case. Consequently there must have been a time once when man

1 Vol. II chapter i. 2 Vol. I. p. 164. 3 Vol. I. p. 98.

stood at the zero-point. It is no doubt hard to clearly realize what this expression implies. The lowest of existing savages must be considerably removed from that stage. They possess language, have organized society, and possess implements and weapons of stone. All this, even, primitive man had to acquire by the slow experience of many years.[1]

Nor must we think that man passed rapidly through this infantile stage, all evidence points to the fact that for a long period of years his advance was very small in amount.[2] Language itself being an invention[3], there must once have been a time when man was destitute of it.[4] We can only surmise as to the length of time it must have taken to form even the least perfectly developed language and social institution. We have traced the origin of government. Back of our present government we find every where underlying it tribal government. The advance from one to the other can be plainly traced.[5] But we have pushed the inquiry deeper; we have sought to learn of the origin of tribal government, and have found it taking its rise along the line of sex.

In fact, we have tried to show what a deep meaning is concealed in the expression "the infancy of the race".[6] The infant is almost the most helpless of animals; and it takes long years of constant care, supplemented by other long years of training, before it can make good use of its powers. It is even so of the race in general. We are only now beginning to rightly apprehend the long flight of years, that it must have taken to advance man to even the lower stages of culture. Even the modern family, that seems to us to be so perfectly natural, is but the result of experience,

[1] See Remarks Vol. II. p. 64-71. [2] Vol. I. p. 87. [3] Vol. II. p. 29.
[4] Vol. II. p. 52, note 6. [5] Vol. II. chapter ii. [6] Vol. II. p. 253.

passing in its development through several prior forms.[1]

Thus we can see from what an erroneous conception of history the majority of writers have started. We can see how necessary it is to lay broad and deep the foundation in this respect, before proceeding to the mere political history of various people. A history of civilization is a history or description of the various steps by which man passed from the lower stages of enlightenment to that advanced stage that we call civilization. It would be almost hopeless to attempt this work, if we could not call to our aid the experience of another branch of science. What excellent use the astronomer now makes of those strange nebulae in distant space! From them he frames his theory of world-life. Almost every stage of development he finds illustrated.

So in our search after the stages in the development of culture; we are to go among the lowest tribes of men, study their customs and manners. Herein is to be found the true basis for a history of culture. Here we are to search for the beginning of government; of social life; of the primary inventions such as agriculture, horticulture, metallurgy the manufacture of implements, and weapons; alphabetical writing; and even the first stage of religious culture. We have had to hurry over this ground,[2] but we trust that sufficient has been set forth to answer the demands of those who simply desire general information on those points.

Thus we see what erroneous views had to be overcome, and with what care the foundation had to be laid for the examination into the political history of individual people. We are however to use this history simply to illustrate further growth in culture. All advance falls into a few main

[1] Vol. II. p. 150,216

[2] See first four chapters of Vol. II.

divisions. Either it is an intellectual advance, showing itself in art, science, or literature; or it is a social advance, in the direction of greater personal liberty, improvement in government, etc.; or it may be advance in the field of religion. Let us inquire what conclusions we arrived at in each of these directions of inquiry, and what points of interest we observed in the history of various people.

In discussing the various races of men, in addition to the important conclusions as to the antiquity of man and his primitive culture, we saw that, broadly speaking, the races of men fall into three great groups, the Black, the Yellow, and the White Races. We found the probabilities to be that the Black Races were the oldest in point of time. In general terms, we found them to include in their ranks those races who are now the lowest in the scale of culture. We found reasons for thinking that they have very little capacity for advance.[1] In various places, we found ground for concluding that they were once widely spread over the earth.[2] The beginning of social life and many of the primary inventions belong to them. In the great field of religious culture, they probably took only the first steps.

The probabilities are that the Black Races had long inhabited the earth, had occupied all its fairer portions, before we notice the spread of the Yellow Races. The home-land of the Yellow Races seems to have been to the north of the center of Asia.[3] Here for some thousands of years they had been slowly divaricating from the Black Races. They had become lighter in color, and owing to climate and surroundings, perhaps, had become possessed of greater mental endowment. A change has taken place in

[1] Vol. II. chapter 1. [2] Vol. I. p. 93; Vol. II. p. 80.
[3] See remarks Vol. II. p. 358-9; also map, p. 356.

their social organization. Tribal society has become developed. The various divisions of a tribe have assumed definite shapes.

In short the Yellow Races commenced to lay the foundation of our present culture. When this section of country became overcharged with population, great migrating bands sallied forth in search of better homes. When these movements first began, we have no means of determining. In Europe the Glacial Age had long passed away when they invaded the land bringing with them the domestic animals and plants of their Asiatic home, but they were yet in the Neolithic stage of culture. They had not yet learned to make use of the metals. If we are right in our surmises that at least a portion of our Indians came from that same section of country,[1] they must have been among the very first to leave.

We have found the probabilities to be that as early at least as seven thousand B. C.[2] the Turanian tribes had spread widely over the earth from their Asiatic home,[3] while they were as yet in the Neolithic stage of culture. Broadly speaking they introduced the Neolithic culture, which in many respects shows us an advance over the culture of the Paleolithic Age. But their energies were by no means exhausted. The probabilities are that they acquired a knowledge of some of the metals. Increased knowledge in this respect bespeaks advance in other directions as well. The Turanian tribes that wandered into the Mesopotamian Valley began at an extremely early day to develop their picture writing.[4]

Every department of social life probably became more specialized, the rights and duties of each becoming more

[1] See arguments Vol. II. p. 106. [2] Vol. I. p. 258-9.
[3] Vol. I. p. 212. [4] Vol. II. p 376.

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definite. In short, the foundations of our present culture were laid. In religion we see the people guided by their shamans or priests entering the stage of Polytheism. We find great religious poems making their appearance, poems on the creation and nature poems. In fact, in this direction, no less than in various other fields, the world to-day is still influenced by the beliefs of the Turanians of early Chaldea.[1] Canals were dug; temples were built; codes of law began to make their appearance;[2] astronomy began to be studied;[3] mathematical computations were made, the calendar was arranged, every seventh day was made a Sabbath;[4] government was organized; writing reduced to a system; and great collections were made of holy songs, incantations, and religious poems. In the Mesopotamian Valley, probably, Turanian culture reached its culminating point. The larger portion of the Turanian stage of the world's history belongs to the prehistoric times. How instructive it is to learn that in Europe, in Western Asia, in Egypt, we come upon traces of a time when Turanians were the ruling people, and included in their ranks the most advanced, the highest civilized tribes.

To give clearness to a thought that we wish to express let us refer to geology for an illustration. In general terms, the geologist teaches us that various forms of life after struggling into prominence flourish in great luxuriance for a while, and then decline to give place to some other form. The books tell us of the age of fishes, followed by the age of reptiles, and still later by the age of mammals. There are mammals to-day, and mammals long preceded the Tertiary Age, but mammalian life was never so rich, never so abundant as in the Tertiary Age. In all

[1] Vol. II. p. 710 *et seq.*
[2] Vol. II. p. 377, note 1. [3] Ibid. note 3. [4] Vol. II. p. 378.

forms of life there is a beginning, a culmination, and a decline. And each form of life as it declines is succeeded by another and higher form. There was first invertebrate life, then the lowest forms of vertebrate life. The fishes are followed by amphibians, then reptiles, then birds. The first mammals to appear were the lowest organized of all—the marsupials.[1]

The same law seems to hold good with races of men. There seems to have been first the age of the Black Races—the Paleolithic Age. After long preparation the age of the Yellow Races came on. They took up the work where the Black Races left it, and for a long term of years, they were the enterprising, progressive races of the world. In many ways we see we are in the presence of a higher stage of culture. History dawns just as their decline comes on. The history of early Chaldea, brief and fragmentary as it is shows us a long continued contest between the White and Yellow Races, extending over some thousands of years,[2] but in which the result is ever the same—the continued growth and increasing power of the White Race, the steady decline of the Yellow Race. In Asia Minor, what few and fragmentary notices we have of the Hittite confederacy seem to teach the same lesson.

A further parallel presents itself. Do we not see, in secluded localities where for some reason the lower forms of animal life are saved from competition with higher forms, a strange continuance of old life? Look at Australia that has been isolated from the continent of Asia since very early geological times and thus competition with higher endowed forms of life was impossible, and there we find those strange animal forms of earlier geological ages still in existence. So, when four centuries ago this new world

[1] Vol. I. p. 59. [2] Vol. II. chapter ix.

of ours was discovered, it was in full possession of the Yellow Races. But it is none the less true that in the culture history of the world, the Yellow Races reached their zenith of importance some thousands of years before the Christian Era. And here once more we will ask the reader to notice how utterly unable the older historians are to comprehend the importance of early historic times. Like the ancient astronomers, their stand-point is erroneous, and hence their narrow views and erroneous conclusions.

And here it is necessary to refer to the case of China. The advance armies of the Yellow Races, which for a long period of time held possession of the world, have indeed been driven back, but they still hold the original field of occupation. They have however long ceased to do more than hold a defensive position. Never again will the world tremble at the ominous march of a Genghis or Tammerlane. In the case of China, we see a wonderfully inert, impassive people. Wave after wave of other people have rolled in on them, have conquered them, only to be gradually overcome by the arts of the conquered. They have ended by becoming Chinese. Buddhism entered China, and for a time made rapid progress, it has ended by becoming Confucianism. Whether the same experience be in store for Christianity, time only will show. One element of hope in China is to be found in the numerous so-called barbarian tribes, which are more or less white in ethnology.[1]

Side by side with the decline of the Yellow Races, there is to be seen the increasing importance of the Whites. Taking widely extended views of past time, the historic period of the world's history corresponds to the rise of the Whites to a commanding position in the world. Of course

[1] See on this Vol. II. p. 413-450.

there are exceptions to this statement. We have just seen how in the case of Chaldea the dim light of its early historic period shows us the decline of the Yellow Races. The White Races, in many respects, are more highly organized than the Yellow Races.[1] We are called upon to notice the rise to power of two great divisions of the White Races in early times, the Hamites and the Semites.

There seems to be some slight connection between the languages of these two early stocks,[2] and furthermore the lines of migration, as far as we can trace them, seem to converge in the neighborhood of Abyssinia.[3] But this linguistic resemblance is so slight that they must have parted company very early in time; and the subsequent fortunes of the two divisions must have been different. When the Semitic people commenced to spread, they of course found, at least in all the favored localities of the Old World, Turanian people.

We are reasonably sure that such must have been the case in the valley of the Nile, though only the scantiest light is afforded us in this respect; for in yet prehistoric times the Nile Valley was overrun by Semitic tribes coming apparently from Abyssinia.[4] This union of Turanian and Semitic tribes constituted the Hamitic people;[5] and soon the historic period of ancient Egypt begins.

In regard to ancient Egypt, we found a great deal of interest. We noticed that all though Egyptian history, from its shadowy beginning to its tragical end, plain evidence that it rested on tribal society.[6] We observed how faulty was the ordinary understanding of the various dynasties of Egypt.[7] We learned the true meaning of

[1] Vol. II. p. 82. [2] Vol. II. p. 39. [3] Vol. II. p. 464-5 and 644, note 5.
[4] Vol. II. p. 464. [5] Vol. II. p. 466. [6] Vol. II. p. 480, 499, 506 etc.
[7] Vol. II. p. 480

those strange *lacunae* or gaps in Egyptian history, they always occur when the Empire had disintegrated into the units composing it.[1] In matters of religion, we observe that strange combination of lower and higher religion due probably to the unequal union of Turanian and Semitic culture. Ancestor worship combined with the totemic system had resulted in the worship of animals.[2]

As far as the culture history of the world is concerned, we found the civilization of Egypt to be full of diappointment.[3] Their culture was rich, varied, in many respects wonderful, but it was also an isolated exotic. It is surprising how little influence they seem to have exerted on the world at large. Perhaps from them, the Phoenicians gained their ideas as to the formation of an alphabet, but this is questioned.[4] We are furthermore startled when we reflect on the unchangeable features of their culture. Egyptian life and times under the twentieth dynasty were not so very different from what they were under the fourth, though some thousands of years intervened.[5]

In this case we are asked to notice a striking similarity between Egypt and China. "Both were isolated countries; both showed a strange ability to assimilate other people; both built up a high civilization within their borders; but neither of them apparently exercised much influence on the culture of the world in general".[6] Several waves of people entered Egypt; sometimes they came as conquerors, but in all cases, they sooner or later became Egyptianized or were driven from the land. The same results bespeak the working of the same causes. We seem to be contemplating once more the effect of inborn race qualities.

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[1] Vol. II. p. 503. [2] Vol. II. p. 514. [3] Vol. II. p. 638.
[4] Vol. II. p. 246, 251. [5] Vol. II. p. 622. [6] Vol. II p. 627.

In tracing out the fortunes of the Semitic people of Western Asia, we entered on a most interesting period. As far as we can now trace their movements, they converge to Arabia. We have no idea of the length of time they led their nomadic life on the arid plains of this peninsula before they commenced to send out great streams of migrating people. We know that that portion of Arabia bordering on the upper part of the Persian Gulf seems to be the center of dispersion for what is known as the northern branch of the Semitic people which includes by far the most important members of the race.[1] Even in prehistoric times they commence to move out from this common home.

We see the Syrians moving to the north and debouching on the fertile plains of Aram between the Euphrates and the Orontes Rivers. Coming somewhat later and bearing more to the west, occupying the seashore and the upland region of Palestine, came the Phoenicians and Canaanites, and following in their wake came the four closely related Hebrew divisions; the Ammonites, Moabites, Edomites, and Israelites. The early movements of most of these people are completely lost in the night of time. Some had traditions of their former home in the vicinity of the Persian Gulf,[2] and the Hebrew people seem to have known of a migration from the east.

But the evidence of language cannot be gainsaid. These various people were closely connected, and must have had a common origin. As soon as they left the arid plains of Arabia, they must have come in contact with Turanian tribes, and they must either have driven them away or amalgamated with them.[3] The Israelites, after unknown years of nomadic wandering to the south and

[1] Vol. II. p. 646.
[2] The Phoenicians, Vol II p 724.
[3] Vol. I. p. 721, 736.

west of the Dead Sea and one sojourn of unknown length of time in Egypt, forced themselves among the various Canaanite tribes of Palestine, with whom they finally coalesced.[1]

In the East most important movements of Semitic people had taken place; and here fortunately we have some means of testing the probable date of the migrations. We have noticed that in Mesopotamia the Turanian tribes had risen to a high stage of culture and influence.[2] For a long time at least, they must have held back the slowly rising Semitic tide. But a lodgement was at length obtained in Northern Chaldea. Accad became the center of political power and influence.[3] We have seen that, as early as 3800 B. C., all the northern portion of Chaldea had passed under Semitic influence. But many centuries were to elapse before Southern Chaldea was to likewise yield to Semitic influence. Finally in Mesopotamia we have seen the Assyrians taking their rise, destined to become the most powerful Semitic people, holding all other branches to tribute.

We must notice that in the case of the Semitic and Hamitic people there is every reason to suppose a most prolonged prehistoric period. Who can estimate the length of time it must have taken to develop their peculiar system of language,[4] or their strongly marked race features? We catch plain evidence of a mixture with surrounding people as they move away from their original home. In the case of the Semitic invaders of Mesopotamia, we know that it took a very prolonged time to fully complete the subjugation of the country and to assimilate their culture.[5] The

[1] Vol. II. p. 748-755. [2] Vol. II. p. 366 *et seq.*
[3] Vol. II. p. 664. [4] Vol. II. p. 35.
[5] From some centuries before 3800 B. C., to about 3000 B. C., Vol. II. p. 667, 676.

same course of events must have taken place in Egypt and, in fact, in the case of all the migrating branches.

Hence in estimating the importance of the Semitic people in the culture history of the world, we have to learn first of their primitive culture, and then observe the union of this culture and the culture of the Yellow Races which they assimilated. In regard to the Semites in general we found them to be possessed of great energy and capacity of endurance and good mental endowments with great practical abilities, but their imaginative faculties are deficient.[1] Hence we see how they were especially well adapted to carry to practical ends the inventions of others. They are not great artists nor great inventors, but they are splendid developers. This being the case, we can understand the work they performed in advancing man.

In Chaldea, we see them at once assimilating the culture of the Turanian tribes, but carrying it forward to a higher stage. We pointed out how the resulting culture showed plain traces of this mixture; in some directions showing more traces of one previous condition of culture than of the other. In social and political organization, we saw a happy blending of these two cultures, and thus strongly organized governments took form.[2] In the fields of arts and sciences in one direction only, that of astronomy, could the Semites give information to their Turanian subjects.[3] But they could carry forward the ideas advanced by them in other fields. For instance take the subject of writing and literature. They adopted the cuneiform system of writing of the Turanians and consequently the Turanian literature. But we notice not only great improvement in the writing, but a great increase in learning. Following in the wake of the Semitic conquest, we note the formation of

1 Vol. II. p. 699 2 Vol. II. p. 704. 3 Ibid. 705.

great libraries in all the royal cities. In short, Semitic influence in Chaldea was the medium by means of which the Turanian culture was revived, enlarged, and transmitted to the world at large.

In the case of the Phœnicians, we found that owing to their peculiar surroundings they were pre-eminently the traders of antiquity. Early European civilization owes a great debt to the Phœnicians. They were not the inventors of the pottery art, nor of glass, and perhaps not of the purple dye, but they did know how to carry the manufacture of pottery, bronze, glass, and dyed woolen goods to a great extent; and, not satisfied with their home market or overland trade, they sent their ships to all the countries bordering on the Mediterranean, and thus awoke in them a knowledge of, and consequently a desire for, the comforts and luxuries of civilization. The alphabet we use to-day can be traced back to the Phœnicians. They were not the inventors of the idea, but they knew how to develop the clumsy hieroglyphics of the Egyptians, perhaps applying to this question the knowledge they had gained of the system of writing in use in Mesopotamia,[1] the result being our alphabet.

In the case of the Phœnicians, we found an excellent illustration of the fact that trade and commerce are powerful agents in advancing civilization; it was Phœnician trade and commerce that flooded Europe with the products of civilization. It is a striking comment on the Phœnician culture that though they must have been intimately acquainted with foreign lands and customs, and thus must have gathered great stores of information, yet they produced no scholar who sought to make the information so obtained of value to mankind. Yet in Phœnicia itself, one of the

[1] Vol. II. p. 251.

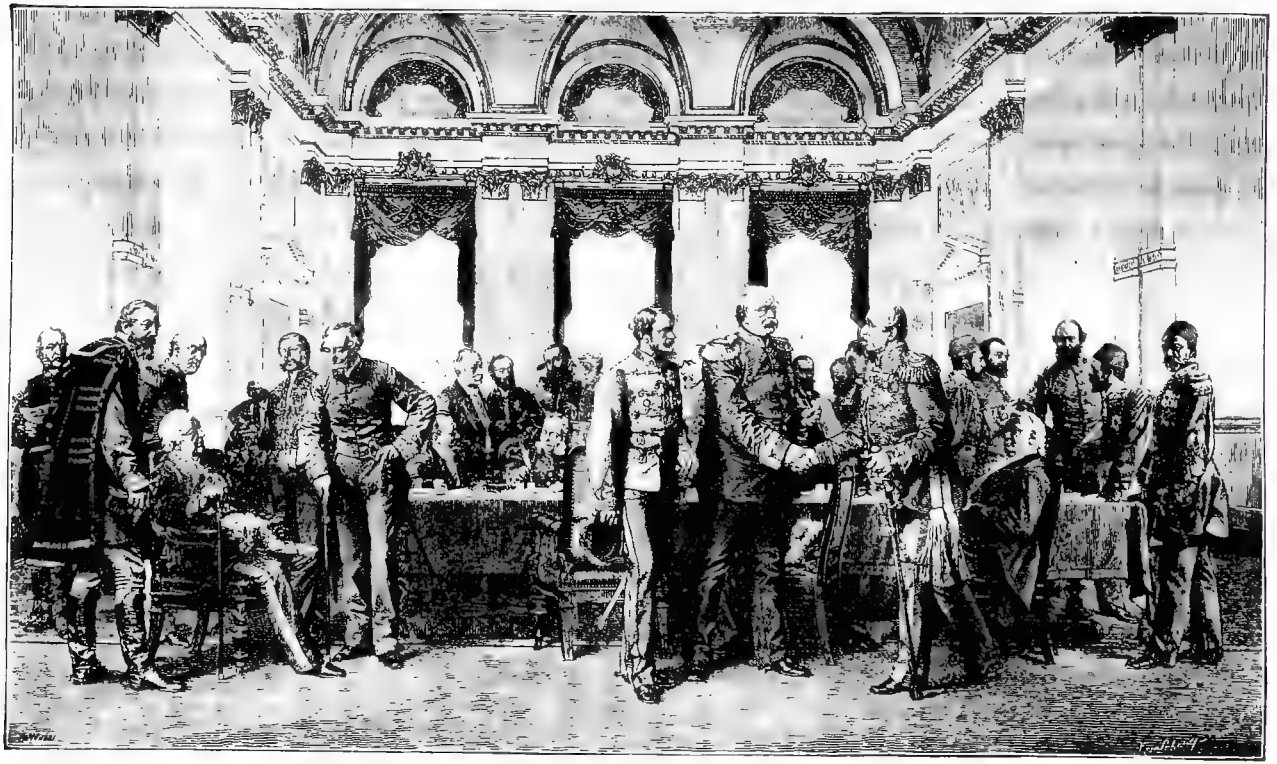
finest flowers of civilization first burst into bloom, the individual first made his appearance, rights and duties were no longer confined to groups.[1]

The Semitic tribes who invaded the valley of the Nile at an extremely early day met a slightly different fate than was the case in Chaldea. Though conquering the country, they were not strong enough to overcome the tendencies of race. Advance in culture may have been very rapid for a while, but it soon reached a nearly stationary stage. This, together with their isolated position and the natural advantages of their location, made Egyptian history and culture what it was. But in this connection we must not forget the singular position of women, so different from the ordinary Oriental treatment of women.[2]

There is a department of culture in which the Semitic people exercised considerable influence on the world, the field of religion. We examined the question of Semitic Monotheism, and found that owing to their strong, practical cast of mind and their lack of imaginative power, on the one side, and their strongly developed tribal system on the other,[3] they had approached Monotheism through the stage of ancestor worship.[4] They had no richly developed system of Polytheism.

We can then understand the result. The Turanian people possessed great mythological systems, vast collections of incantations, holy songs, and religious poems. In Chaldea, where these two people coalesced, we find that the Semitic conquerors adopted the greater portion of Turanian religion.[5] But we also notice Semitic influence at work. Monotheistic tendencies are satisfied by elevating one god to the supremacy, as for instance Asshur among the As-

[1] Vol II p. 734. [2] Vol. I. p. 637.
[3] Vol. II. p 699. [4] Ibid. 202 [5] Ibid. 706.



THE BERLIN CONGRESS.

syrians.[1] As we have seen, great collections of sacred writings were made. In the case of Egypt, Semitic influence was unable to accomplish as much, but we have reason to believe that, as an esoteric doctrine, Semitic Monotheism was held by the priests.

Results similar to those worked out in Chaldea confront us in the religious culture of Phoenicia, Syria, and the Canaanites. But the four divisions of the Hebrew people, coming at a later date, were not exposed to Turanian influence and probably remained much truer to the Semitic type. We know this to be true of the Moabites who worshiped Chemosh as their god.[2] The Israelites are the one important people in this respect. We have referred to the very exaggerated ideas of their importance given them by many older writers. But it remains true that in the field of religious culture they held quite strongly to this qualified Monotheism of which we have spoken. Their prophets and leaders in religious thought seem to have early been led up to a higher standard, and we have referred to their efforts to advance the mass of the people to this same plane.[3]

Let us refer to our geological illustration once more. We spoke of the age of the Black Races followed in time by the age of the Yellow Races. We saw that this latter stage was just passing away as the uncertain light of early history dawns. Hence broadly speaking, the historic period of man's life on the globe falls in the age of the White Races. But this later period is itself capable of subdivisions. It falls naturally into the Ancient, Medieval, and Modern periods. The civilization and culture of the Hamitic and Semitic people belong to the ancient period. Their beginning falls in prehistoric time, their culmination to the first clear light of history, their decline com-

[1] Ibid. 805. [2] Vol. II. p. 745. [3] Vol. II. p. 755, 762.

menced a number of centuries before the Christian Era. Their great work in advancing the cause of civilization consisted in building on the foundation already laid by the Turanian people.

But the inevitable hour finally dawned when the Semitic people were to gradually cease to be the leaders in the world. Another people were to come on the stage of action. The civilization of the world was to enter on still another plane of culture. The European age was at hand. This brings us once more to the consideration of the Aryans. On looking over the entire field, we found reason to conclude, though in opposition to our previous opinions, that Europe was the home of the Aryan people. This opinion must not be pressed too strongly, nor entertained with too much persistence; it is not as well established as some other conclusions, all we can say is, that the general drift of opinion seems to be in that direction, and that there is no good reason for coming to an opposite conclusion.

A great deal remains to be settled in regard to race. The older opinion was that the main branches of the White Races—the Hamites, Semites, and Aryans—were once on a time co-dwellers in some common home. We can now find no scientific basis for this belief. We have just discussed the possible relations between the Hamites and the Semites. We have seen that it is possible that at an extremely early day these two branches formed but one people. But that is all we can say. We cannot trace them out of Western Asia. The lines of migration seem to point to Abyssinia or Southern Arabia. All efforts to show any especial connection between the Aryan and Semitic people, on the side of language at least, have failed.[1]

[1] Vol. II. p. 37. note I.

There is probably no question but that this idea has been very influential in forming the current opinion that the Aryans migrated from Asia. If we can but once persuade ourselves that the sense in which the branches of the White Races are closely related to each other is that they have alike developed from the widely spread Yellow Races, we will then feel more at liberty to deny the Asiatic origin of the Aryans. Almost all the nations of Europe have met in friendly contact in America within the last few hundred years. Owing to trade and commerce and modern culture, the language remains English. But there is probably no question that a peculiar type of people, the American type, is evolving here. Some centuries may yet elapse before the change is complete.

We may never be able to settle definitely how the Yellow Races divaricated from the Black. We have little doubt, however, that it was owing to the long, slow working of substantially similar causes as are now at work in America. And similarly in regard to the Whites. As far as we are justified in drawing any conclusions from the present location or earliest recorded movements of the Semitic people, we place their origin somewhere in the vicinity of the Red Sea. As there is no especial reason, beyond vague tradition, to conclude that the Semites and Aryans ever inhabited a common home, we know of no good reason for endeavoring to establish a home in Asia, for the Aryans.

We examined into the early movements of the Aryans, and found that according to history and tradition on this point, they seem to converge in Europe to the region of country around the Southern Baltic.[1] We can only surmise that for long ages the new race type had been slowly form-

[1] Vol. III. chapter 1

ing here. Here as elsewhere, like causes produced like effects. The home-land became over-crowded. In various directions, migrating people commenced to move away from their common home. We can at once see the result. The various bands of migrating people came in contact with the older settled Turanian people. Intermixture of blood must ensue. This combined with a great many other causes tended in time to produce the various Aryan people in Europe.[1] These movements began in extremely early times. Neolithic culture still held sway in Western Europe when the Celts arrived in that section of the country.[2]

In a southerly direction we know that those mysterious people the Pelasgians, more or less Aryan in ethnology,[3] had crowded into Asia Minor. At an extremely early day we know that they crowded through the dreary passes of the Caucasian Mountains and probably gave rise to the Alarodian people.[4] A great deal of interest centers on the Asiatic migration of these people. Crowding into the plains of Southern Russia they must have slowly gathered force before entering Asia to the north of the Caspian. For a long period of time they were held back by Asiatic tribes.

But at length they succeeded in gaining entrance into Asia. Fortunately we can detect in the dim light of early history the troublous movements of many people which seem to have been caused by this invasion.[5] The invaders, probably well pleased with their new home, settled in contented quietude to the east of the Caspian Sea.[6] This became a second center of dispersion. Or perhaps it may be, that in the course of time the return waves of Turanian

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1 Vol. III. p. 67 *et seq.*
2 Vol. I. p. 214. Vol. III. p. 73.
3 Vol. III p. 186.
4 Ibid. 195.
5 Vol. III. p. 683.
6 Map. Vol III. p. 50.

people, succeeded in dislodging a large proportion of the intruders and assimilating to some extent with those remaining. Be that as it may, we know, that at a very early date the Hindoos entered India from the north-west, and the Iranians commence to spread out on the plains of Iran.[1]

Also at this same early time we found traces of a great stream of at least partially Aryan people setting east through the gates of Kashgar. We found the probable descendants of these people in the so-called barbarian tribes of China.[2] This eastward movement of Aryan people is probably the explanation of those traces of White blood in the ethnology of various people in South-easthern Asia and even in the islands of Polynesia.[3] In short we are to regard the Aryans of Asia as exotics. Two branches of them came to early maturity—the Hindoos and the Iranians. It was the rising power of the latter which finally crushed Semitic power in Western Asia.

It is in Europe, however, that we are to look for the full development of Aryan life and culture. It is most interesting to watch the intellectual development of Europe. We have observed the culture of Mesopotamia and Westtern Asia, we have seen how, under the influence of Semitic genius, the earlier culture of the Turanian tribes had been developed, and carried to surrounding people. Probably all Europe was profiting by this trade with the Orient, not only through Phœnician sources, but overland from Asia itself.[4] Animated by the civilization they saw around them the Aryan invaders of Asia Minor, entered on their career of progress. But soon the theater of Aryan

1 Vol. III. chapter ii. 2 Vol. II. p. 435. Vol. III. p. 46.
3 Vol. III. p. 50, map. Also p. 52 *et seq.* Vol. II. p. 73, 450.
4 Vol. I. p. 252. Vol. III. p. 210.

civilization was enlarged. Greece invited teachers and artisans across the Aegaean,[1] and we see Oriental culture taking root in Hellas, springing up into a most vigorous growth, and producing results not before dreamed of.

And here for some centuries Aryan culture flourished in luxuriance. In all departments of life advance is to be noticed. We see government passing out of its tribal state,[2] codes of well considered laws make their appearance, modern sciences are seen to be taking their rise, literature of all kinds flourishes, and systems of philosophical thought begin to take the place of the older mythologies.[3] But along with all this, we must not fail to notice the exceedingly contracted area which enjoyed this new culture and learning. But the time at length dawned when another people were to claim the supremacy and a new phase of European culture was to ensue.

We traced the gradual rise of the Romans. We have to notice what a singular ethnical mixture laid the foundation of the Roman tribes.[4] We must observe the several centuries of slow growth in power, and then the resistless spread of their arms and influence until all the countries contiguous to the Mediterranean had passed under their control. We also studied Roman civilization and have observed wherein it differed from that of the Greeks. We might say that the culture of Greece was intense, polished, and refined, fitted only for a nation of scholars, artists, poets and philosophers. The civilization of Rome was more of the practical every day sort; government, law, and practical inventions engrossed their attention.

But still a third stage of medieval culture remained to be considered; the Teutonic. Although we have but very

[1] Vol. III. p. 205.
[2] Vol. II. p. 178. *et seq.* [3] Vol. III. chapter vi. [4] Vol. III. p. 265.

little light to guide us, we are reasonably sure that the various tribes of Europe, who had been slowly passing through the stages of barbarism, were drawing near to the confines of civilization. But the time finally came that Rome could no longer protect her immense empire from their wandering assaults, and we notice the development of Europe enter on its third phase. We must notice how the area subject to culture has been enlarged, in each case. Its beginning was the extremely limited area of Greece, it finally included Europe.

To-day Aryans include in their ranks the progressive nations of the world, and modern culture is altogether Aryan, but it, also, rests on a Turanian foundation, very largely influenced from a Semitic source. As the Aryans are not at all lacking in imaginative faculties, they have been inventors as well a developers; and thus it is that in all directions advance has been made. However, there was one long period of years when the Aryan advance was retarded by the unfortunate attitude of the church in regard to learning. It took a long while for this retarding influence to be removed, and even yet it is felt in certain directions.

It was the co-working of several causes that ushered in the Modern Age of the world. The discovery of America by Columbus, which gave a great impetus to trade and commerce, greatly advanced our knowledge of the world on which we live, and afforded room for the further development of the Aryan people. This was followed by the invention of printing. It is impossible to overestimate the marvelous influence this invention has had in advancing the world in culture. It is not too much to say that modern civilization would be impossible without the aid of printing. By its aid, the accumulated knowl-

edge, no less than the daily experiences of the world, is laid before the student, who is thus made the recipient of a vast store of information denied to the ancients. The two factors thus far named gave rise to modern learning, and the modern age was begun. One of the first fruits of this new age was the Protestant Reformation, which shook off the shackles of scholastic theology, and took the first steps in bringing modern Christianity into full agreement with the highest learning and culture of the day.

Thus far we have been considering the past, what of the future? We have little doubt that, as the years pass by, Aryan civilization will continue to grow. Think for a moment of the advance in practical arts and sciences of the last twenty five years—ocean cables, electric lights and railways, cable-railways, telephones, phonographs, not to mention the hundreds of minor inventions all contributing to the physical comfort of man. Beyond the shadow of a doubt, the near future has as great if not greater discoveries in store for man.

Looking to the past, we see certain very great changes taking place in various directions that have wonderfully influenced advancing culture. In government, we have, for instance, seen tribal society taking its rise, after a long series of years giving place to modern political government. Is this the final stage, or will future wants and exigencies call forth some other plan of government? Time only can answer such a query as this. One thing is evident that grave dangers are now confronting organized society, not only in Europe but in this country as well. The wisest prophet can not tell just how the future will deal with these various social problems. The early Greeks and Romans had to meet and solve problems relatively quite similar. They succeeded in their task, and political

society arose. We ought to have little doubt that, if it becomes necessary, society in the future will not hesitate to reorganize itself in its attempt to solve the social problems crowding upon it. And we need have as little doubt that, when this is done, progress will become more rapid than ever. But here observe, we do not say such re-arrangement is in store for us. All we want to say is, that some way will be found of dealing with the various problems that now confront us and in such a way as to further advance the general good.

Social advance must take place along the two great divisions already pointed out. Advance in science and in religion. Advance in science, in the knowledge of Nature's laws, and in practical application of the same to the wants of humanity, who can foresee the end! Let us reflect that the wisest men that live are but children on the shore, the great ocean of the unknown is before them. In every department of science, how quickly we reach the stage where no explanation is possible! How much is known about electricity? We talk about brain force—what do we mean, who can explain it, who knows the limits of its power? We look for greater conquests to be achieved in the future than have been dreamed of in the past. All this must wonderfully enrich the civilization of the future.

So, too, in the field of religion. We have observed religion passing out of its territorial or tribal stage; it becomes world wide in its aim. We need not doubt the Infinite Father's pitying care has even been extended to his children, men. We need not doubt his spirit has been quick to assist those who sought him in sincerity and truth, even those who had not learned to call him Abba, Father. Hence we need not doubt that the

great leaders and teachers of religion have been in some way assisted by him. Thus advance took place in the past, thus it will continue to take place in the future.

Hence we have faith that in the future, as in the past, man will live a life of progress. We do not look forward to a happy time when man shall have grown perfect in knowledge and the exercise of all Christian virtues; from the nature of things, that will never be in a finite world; but we do look for improvement in all that goes to make up our present civilization. We believe it is as impossible to foresee the culture of one thousand years hence, as it was for a citizen of ancient Rome to anticipate the culture of the nineteenth century.

In bringing this chapter to a close, we bring to a close our "History of Civilization". It is of course in many respects faulty, but we trust those who peruse even cursorily its pages, will obtain some new ideas as to the antiquity and past history of man. If such be the case, let us further hope that in the history of the race may be found an incentive to that kind of life which will most advance man as an individual. Race advance is possible only when the individuals of that race endeavor to advance. Strive then to grow in knowledge; do your share in diffusing what you thus acquire; deem no subject too abstruse or too sacred to be inquired into. But with a prayer for guidance, with a determination to be loyal ever to Truth, with due regard for the opinions of others, with reverence for the beliefs of the age, resolve to be a man and make the most of life and its infinite possibilities.

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